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THE  
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JANUARY, 1819.

ART. I.—*Letters from the Honourable Horace Walpole, to George Montague, Esq. from the year 1736, to the year 1770. Quarto: pages 446. London, 1818.*

**H**ORACE WALPOLE, the author of this publication, was the third son of sir Robert Walpole, by miss Shorter, daughter of sir John Shorter, mayor of London. He was born in 1717, and died in 1797; having passed through a long life of literary ease, with as few cares to molest him, apparently, as any man of his day. He was the author of many works, some of them of a high class; all of them exhibiting, however, decided marks of a correct and elegant taste, and an acquaintance with the best company of antiquity, as well as of his own times. Had his fortune been as scanty as it was ample, we should probably have possessed at this day, proofs of his industry and attainment that would have done honour to his memory. But what motive has a person of large fortune to embark in great literary exertion? All the consideration that society has to bestow, is usually conferred on wealth; especially if accompanied by elegant attainment and polished manners. Still, although these qualifications are well calculated to add to the happiness of the individual, they greatly lessen his utility; a quality which is rarely recompensed in proportion to its value. We cannot therefore impute to Horace Walpole much blame, that he lived more for himself than for the world; and that with talents and acquirements that might have raised him high in literary eminence, he was contented to pass through life as an elegant trifler.

Much of his youth was passed in French society, particularly in the elegant circle of madame du Deffand. In France, society is on a different footing from what we find it in this country, or even in England. It is frequented not merely for the purpose of passing a few pleasant hours, but those who frequent it, feel the obligation of endeavouring to make others pass their time as pleasantly as themselves. They feel, that in return for the entertainment they receive from the conversation of those whom they visit, they are bound to pay the admission price of their own endeavours to entertain, without intrusion; and social converse becomes something

like an occupation and profession, which those who excel in it, are valued for accordingly. Even in England, a good *diner-out*, like Cumberland, Wilkes, or G. Selwyn, or the present Mr. Canning, is a character that implies knowledge, wit, taste, readiness, and vivacity, as well as conviviality. Hence the lively turns, the sallies of good tempered wit, and the frequent mixture of good sense displayed in knowledge of books, and knowledge of the world, that adorn even the most familiar epistles of those who were accustomed to frequent the Belles Lettres coteries, so fashionable in the French metropolis. We see marks of this, in the letters of St. Evremond, of madame de Sevigny, of madame du Deffand, of mademoiselle L'Espinasse, and in that most entertaining and interesting miscellany the *Grimmiana*, as it may properly be called. Epistles and correspondence of this description, not only amuse our imaginations by the wit and gayety that pervades them, but they give us insight into the manners of polished society, the characters of eminent men, the intrigues, the quarrels, the hopes, the fears, the failures and successes, the gradual march, and changing features of the literary republic; and not a little of the secret movements in the political world, which history seldom condescends to notice; but which furnish better keys to the secrets of cabinets than the profound reflections of the grave historian.

In the letters of Horace Walpole to his intimate friend, Mr. Montague, we find many amusing and interesting traits of the principal characters who flourished among the politicians of the day, as well as of the fashionables who furnished sources for the tea-table scandal, of what is usually called polished society. In all of them, we are struck with an elegant gayety of style seldom seen in epistolary correspondence, or seen in the same degree.

To justify these remarks, we shall offer a few of these letters for the perusal and entertainment of our readers. If they do not furnish much instruction, they are at least equal in their power of amusing, to the generality of our fashionable novels, and they have at any rate the advantage, that if they be tell-tales, they give us the tales and anecdotes of real life.

*Arlington-street, May 26, 1748.*

Good b'ye to you! I am going to my Roel too. I was there yesterday to dine, and it looked so delightful, think what you will, that I shall go there to-morrow to settle, and shall leave this odious town to the court, to the regency, and the dowagers; to my lady Townsend, who is not going to Windsor, to old Cobham, who is not going out of the world yet, and to the dutchess of Richmond, who does not go out with her twenty-fifth pregnancy: I shall leave too, more disagreeable Ranelagh, which is so crowded, that going there t'other night in a string of coaches we had a stop of six-and-thirty minutes. Princess Amelia finding no marriage articles for her settled at the congress, has at last determined to be old and out of danger; and has accordingly ventured to Ranelagh, to the great improvement of the pleasures of the place. The prince has given a silver cup to be rowed for, which carried every



body upon the Thames; and afterwards there was a great ball at Carlton House. There have two good events happened at that court: the town was alarmed t'other morning by the firing of guns, which proved to be only from a large merchantman come into the river. The city construed it into the king's return, and the peace broke; but chancellor Booth and the bishop of Oxford, who loves a labour next to promoting the cause of it, concluded the princess was brought to bed, and went to court upon it. Booth, finding the princess dressed, said, 'I have always heard, madam, that women in your country have very easy labours; but I could not have believed it was so well as I see!' The other story is of prince Edward. The king before he went away, sent Stainberg to examine the prince's children in their learning. The baron told prince Edward that he should tell the king what great proficiency his highness had made in his Latin, but that he wished he would be a little more perfect in his German Grammar, and that it would be of signal use to him. The child squinted at him, and said, German Grammar! why any dull child can learn that. There, I have told you royalties enough!

My Pigwiggien dinners are all over, for which I truly say grace. I have had difficulties to keep my countenance at the wonderful clumsiness and uncouth nicknames that the duke of Newcastle has for all his offspring: Mrs. Hopefull, Mrs. Tiddle, Puss, Cat, and Toe, sound so strange in the middle of a most formal banquet! The day the peace was signed, his grace could find no body to communicate joy with him: he drove home, and bawled out of the chariot to lady Rachel, 'Cat, Cat!' She ran down, staring over the ballustrade; he cried, 'Cat, Cat, the peace is made, and you must be very glad, for I am very glad.'

I send you the only new pamphlet worth reading, and this is more the matter than the manner. My compliments to all your tribe. Adieu.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. The divine Ashton has got an ague, which he says prevents his coming amongst us.

*Arlington-street, May 15, 1750.*

The high bailiff, after commending himself and his own impartiality for an hour this morning, not unlike your cousin Pelham, has declared lord Trentham.\* The mob declare they will pull his house down to show their impartiality. The princess has luckily produced another boy, so sir George Vandeput may be recompensed with being godfather. I stand to-morrow, not for member, but for godfather to my sister's girl, with Mrs. Selwyn and old Dunch; were ever three such dowagers? when shall three such meet again! If the babe has not a most sentimentally yellow complexion after such sureties, I will burn my books, and never answer for another skin.

You have heard, I suppose, that Nugent must answer a little more seriously for lady Lymington's child. Why, she was as ugly as Mrs. Nugent, had had more children, and was not so young. The pleasure of wronging a woman, who had bought him so dear, could be the only temptation.

Adieu! I have told you all I know, and as much is scandal, very pos

\* Lord viscount Trentham, son of John earl of Gower, and married to lady Louisa Egerton, sister of the duke of Bridgewater.

sibly more than is true. I go to Strawberry on Saturday, and so shall not know even scandal. Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

*Arlington-street, May 30, 1751.*

Mrs. Boscawen says I ought to write to you. I don't think so: you desired I would, if I had any thing new to tell you; I have not. Lady Caroline and Miss Ashe, had quarrelled about reputations before you went out of town. I suppose you would not give a straw to know all the circumstances of a Mr. Paul killing a Mr. Dalton, though the town, who talks of any thing, talks of nothing else. Mrs. Finch and her Jeffrey are parted again. Lady Orford and Shirley married; they say she was much frightened.

My evening yesterday was employed, how wisely do you think? in trying to procure for the dutchess of Portland a scarlet spider from admiral Boscawen. I had just seen her collection, which is indeed magnificent, chiefly composed of the spoils of her fathers, and the Arundel collections. The gems of all sorts are glorious. I was diverted with two relics of St. Charles the martyr; one the pearl, you see in his pictures, taken out of his ear after his foolish head was off; the other the cup, out of which he took his last sacrament. They should be given to that nursery of nonsense and bigotry, Oxford.

I condole with you on your journey, and glad Miss Montague is in better health, and am yours sincerely,

HOR. WALPOLE.

*Arlington-street, Nov. 8, 1759.*

Your pictures will set out on Saturday; I give you notice that you may inquire for them.

I did not intend to be here these three days, but my lord Bath taking the trouble to send a man and horse to ask me to dinner yesterday, I did not know how to refuse; and besides, as Mr. Bentley said to me, you know he was an old friend of your father.'

The town is empty, but is coming to dress itself for Saturday. My lady Coventry shewed George Selwyn her clothes; they are blue, with spots of silver, of the size of a shilling, and a silver trimming, and cost —my lord will know what. She asked George how he liked them; he replied, 'why you will be change for a guinea.'

I find nothing talked of but the French bankruptcy —sir Robert Brown I hear, and am glad to hear, will be a great sufferer. They put gravely into the article of bankrupts in the newspaper, Louis le petit of the city of Paris, peace-breaker, dealer, and chapman—it would have been still better, if they had said, Louis Bourbon of petty France. We don't know what is become of their Monsieur Thurot, of whom we had still a little mind to be afraid. I should think he would do like sir Thomas Hanmer, make a faint effort, beg pardon of the Scotch for their disappointment, and retire. Here are some pretty verses just arrived.

Pourquoi le baton à Soubise,  
Puisque Chevert est le vainqueur?  
C'est de la cour une meprise,  
Ou bien le but de la faveur.  
Je ne vois rien là qui m'étonne,  
Répond aussitôt un railleur;  
C'est à l'avengle qu'on le donne,  
Et non pas au conducteur.

When do you come? if it is not soon, you will find a new town. I stared to-day at Piccadilly like a country squire; there are twenty new stone houses: at first I concluded that all the grooms, that used to live there, had got estates and built palaces. One young gentleman, who was getting an estate, but was so indiscreet as to step out of his way to rob a comrade, is convicted, and to be transported; in short, one of the waiters at Arthur's. George Selwyn says, 'what a horrid idea he will give of us to the people in Newgate!'

I was still more surprised to-morrow day, than at seeing Piccadilly, by receiving a letter from the north of Ireland from a clergyman, with violent encomiums on my Catalogue of Noble Authors—and this, when I thought it quite forgot. It put me in mind of the queen that sunk at Charing-cross, and rose at Queenhithe.

Mr. Chute has got his commission to inquire about your Cutts, but he thinks the lady is not your grandmother. You are very ungenerous to hoard tales from me of your ancestry: what relation have I spared? If your grandfathers were knaves, will your bottling up their bad blood mend it? Do you only take a cup of it now and then by yourself, and then come down to your parson, and boast of it, as if it was pure old Metheglin? I sat last night with the Mater Gracchorum—oh! tis a Mater Jagorum—if her descendants taste any of her black blood, they surely will make as wry faces at it, as the servant in Don John does, when the ghost decants a corpse. Good night, I am just returning to Strawberry, to husband my two last days, and to avoid all the pomp of the birth-day—Oh! I had forgot, there is a Miss Wynne coming forth that is to be handsomer than my lady Coventry—but I have known one threatened with such every summer for these seven years, and they are always addled by winter! Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

Strawberry-hill, June 18, 1761.

I am glad you will come on Monday, and hope you will arrive in a rainbow and pair, to signify that we are not to be totally drowned. It has rained incessantly, and floated all my new works; I seem rather to be building a pond than a gallery. My farm too is all under water, and what is vexatious, if Sunday had not thrust itself between, I could have got in my hay on Monday. As the parsons will let nobody else make hay on Sundays, I think they ought to make it on that day themselves.

By the papers I see Mrs. Trevor Hampden is dead of the small pox. Will he be much concerned? If you will stay with me a fortnight or three weeks, perhaps I may be able to carry you to a play of Mr. Bentley's—you stare, but I am in earnest: nay, and, *de par le roy*. In short here is the history of it. You know the passion he always had for the Italian comedy; about two years ago he wrote one, intending to get it offered to Rich, but without his name. He would have died to be supposed an author, and writing for gain. I kept this an inviolable secret. Judge then of my surprise, when about a fortnight or three weeks ago, I found my lord Melcomb reading this very Benteleiad in a circle at my lady Hervey's. Cumberland had carried it to him with a recommendatory copy of verses, containing more incense to the king, and my lord Bute, than the magi brought in their portmanteaus to Jerusalem. The idols were propitious, and to do them justice, there is a

great deal of wit in the piece, which is called the *Wishes, or Harlequin's Mouth Opened*. A bank note of two hundred pounds was sent from the treasury to the author, and the play ordered to be performed by the summer company. Foote was summoned to lord Melcomb's, where Parnassus was composed of the peer himself, who, like Apollo, as I am going to tell you, was dozing, the two chief justices and lord B. Bubo read the play himself, *with handkerchief and orange by his side*. But the curious part is a prologue, which I never saw. It represents the god of verse fast asleep by the side of Helicon: the race of modern bards try to wake him, but the more they repeat their works, the louder he snores. At last *ruin seize thee ruthless king* is heard, and the god starts from his trance. This is a good thought, but will offend the bards so much, that I think Dr. Bentley's son will be abused at least as much as his father was. The prologue concludes with young Augustus, and how much he excels the ancient one by the choice of his friend. Foote refused to act this prologue, and said it was too strong. Indeed, said Augustus's friend, I think it is. They have softened it a little, and I suppose it will be performed. You may depend upon the truth of all this; but what is much more credible is, that the *comely young* author appears every night in the mall in a milk white coat with a blue cape, disclaims any benefit, and says he has done with the play now it is out of his own hands, and that Mrs. Hannah Clio, alias Bentley, writ the best scenes in it. He is going to write a tragedy, and she, I suppose, is going — to court.

You will smile when I tell you that t'other day a party went to Westminster-abbey, and among the rest saw the ragged regiment. They inquired the names of the figures. 'I don't know them,' said the man, 'but if Mr. Walpole was here he could tell you every one.' Adieu; I expect Mr. John and you with impatience. Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

*Arlington-street, Feb. 2, 1762.*

I scolded you in my last, but I shall forgive you if you return soon to England as you talk of doing; for though you are an abominable correspondent, and only write to beg letters, you are good company, and I have a notion I shall still be glad to see you.

Lady Mary Wortley Montague is arrived; I have seen her; I think her avarice, her diet, and her vivacity are all increased. Her dress, like her languages, is a galimatias of several countries; the ground work, rags, and the embroidery, nastiness. She needs no cap, no handkerchief, no gown, no petticoat, no shoes. An old black-faced hood represents the first, the fur of a horseman's coat, which replaces the third, serves for the second; a dimity petticoat is deputy, and officiates for the fourth, and slippers act the part of the last. When I was at Florence, and she was expected there, we were drawing *sortes virgilianas* for her; we literally drew

*Iusnam vatem aspicias.*

It would have been a stronger prophecy now, even than it was then.

You told me not a word of Mr. Macnaughton, and I have a great mind to be as coolly indolent about our famous ghost in Cock-lane. Why should one steal half an hour from one's amusements to tell a story to a friend in another island? I could send you volumes on the ghost, and I believe if I were to stay a little, I might send its *life*, de-

dedicated to my lord Dartmouth,\* by the ordinary of Newgate, its two great patrons. A drunken parish clerk set it on foot out of revenge, the methodists have adopted it, and the whole town of London think of nothing else. Elizabeth Canning and the Rabbit-woman were modest impostors in comparison of this, which goes on without saving the least appearances. The archbishop, who would not suffer the Minor† to be acted in ridicule of the methodists, permits the farce to be played every night, and I shall not be surprised if they perform in the great hall at Lambeth.‡ I went to hear it, for it is not an *apparition*, but an *audition*. We set out from the opera, changed our clothes at Northumberland-house, the duke of York, lady Northumberland, lady Mary Coke, lord Hertford, and I, all in one hackney coach, and drove to the spot: it rained torrents; yet the lane was full of me, and the house so full we could not get in; at last they discovered it was the duke of York, and the company squeezed themselves into one another's pockets to make room for us. The house which is borrowed, and to which the ghost has adjourned, is wretchedly small and miserable; when we opened the chamber, in which were fifty people, with no light but one tallow candle at the end, we tumbled over the bed of the child, to whom the ghost comes, and whom they are murdering by inches in such insufferable heat and stench. At the top of the room are ropes to dry clothes. I asked, if we were to have rope-dancing between the acts? We had nothing; they told us, as they would at a puppet show, that it would not come that night till seven in the morning, that is, when there are only 'prentices and old women. We staid however till half an hour after one. The methodists have promised them contributions; provisions are sent in like forage, and all the taverns and ale-houses in the neighbourhood make fortunes. The most diverting part is to hear people wondering *when it will be found out*—as if there was any thing to find out—as if the actors would make their noises when they can be discovered. However, as this pantommie cannot last much longer, I hope lady Fanny Shirley§ will set up a ghost of her own at Twickenham, and then you shall *hear* one. The methodists, as lord Aylesford assured Mr. Chute two nights ago at lord Dacres, have attempted ghosts three times in Warwickshire. There, how good I am! Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

*Strawberry-hill, June 15, 1768.*

No, I cannot be so false as to say I am glad you are pleased with your situation. You are so apt to take root, that it requires ten years to dig you out again when you once begin to settle. As you go pitching your tent up and down, I wish you were still more a tartar, and shifted your quarters perpetually. Yes, I will come and see you; but tell me first, when do your duke and dutchess travel to the north? I know he is a very amiable lad, and I do not know that she is not as amiable a *laddess*, but I had rather see their house comfortably, when they are not there.

\* A methodist: a constant attender at the Lock chapel, where Martin Madan, the author of *Thelyphthora*, used to preach.

† Foote's play so called. So in France, the clergy attempted to stop Moliere's *Tartuffe*.

‡ The archbishop's palace.

§ It was on this lady that lord Chesterfield wrote his song 'When Fanny blooming fair, &c.'

I perceive the deluge fell upon you, before it reached us. It began here but on Monday last, and then rained near eight and forty hours without intermission. My poor hay has not a dry thread to its back. I have had a fire these three days. In short, every summer one lives in a state of mutiny and murmur, and I have found the reason: it is because we will affect to have a summer, and we have no title to any such thing. Our poets learnt their trade of the Romans, and so adopted the terms of their masters. They talk of shady groves, purling streams, and cooling breezes, and we get sore throats and agues with attempting to realize these visions. Master Damon writes a song, and invites Miss Chloe to enjoy the cool of the evening, and the deuce a bit have we of any such thing as a cool evening. Zephyr is a north-east wind, that makes Damon button up to the chin, and pinches Chloe's nose till it is red and blue; and then they cry, *this is a bad summer*, as if we ever had any other. The best sun we have, is made of Newcastle coal, and I am determined never to reckon upon any other. We ruin ourselves with inviting over foreign trees, and make our houses clamber up hills to look at prospects. How our ancestors would laugh at us, who knew there was no being comfortable, unless you had a high hill before your nose, and a thick warm wood at your back! Taste is too freezing a commodity for us, and depend upon it, will go out of fashion again.

There is indeed a natural warmth in this country, which, as you say, I am very glad not to enjoy any longer; I mean the hot-house in St. Stephen's chapel. My own sagacity makes me very vain, though there was very little merit in it. I had seen so much of all parties, that I had little esteem left for any; it is most indifferent to me who is in or who is out, or which is set in the pillory, Mr. Wilkes or my lord Mansfield. I see the country going to ruin, and no man with brains enough to save it. That is mortifying; but what signifies who has the undoing it? I seldom suffer myself to think on this subject: *my* patriotism could do no good, and my philosophy can make me be at peace.

I am sorry you are likely to lose your poor cousin lady Hinchinbrook; I heard a very bad account of her when I was last in town. Your letter to Madame Roland shall be taken care of; but as you are so scrupulous of making me pay postage, I must remember not to overcharge you, as I can frank my idle letters no longer; therefore good night!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. I was in town last week, and found Mr. Chute still confined. He had a return in his shoulder, but I think it more rheumatism than gout.

We have made these long extracts, not with careful choice, for the book abounds with such; but as it is not likely to be much known here, they will contribute to the amusement at least of our readers; which, next to instruction, is the best present we can make them.

C.

ART. II.—*Review of 'Letters from Washington on the Constitution and Laws, with Sketches of some of the Prominent Public Characters of the United States.'* Printed and published by J. Gideon, junior. 1818.

**I**F AD these Letters been confined to the fugitive columns of the newspaper in which they originally appeared, whatever might have been their excellences or defects, we should have spared ourselves the trouble of the following observations. But as the author has chosen to submit them to the public, not only revised, corrected, and enlarged, but in a form which at least should promise a short-lived existence, he can neither plead, as an apology for their defects, the haste with which newspaper productions are generally written and ushered into the world, nor complain if we extend to them an impartial examination.

It appears to have been the object of the author to express his views of the constitution and laws of the United States, and to delineate some of the distinguished political characters in our country.

In the exposition of the constitution and laws, he has avoided the discussion of those numerous and important principles, which the American revolution has disclosed in the science of government, and confined himself to the bare enumeration of the executive, legislative, and judicial power. By this enumeration, which may be found with equal brevity and more correctness in the constitution itself, we hope nothing new could be presented to an American reader; and we shall therefore hasten to what was perhaps the principal object of the work.

To know something of those who, by their virtues or talents shed lustre on their age and country, is a sentiment deeply implanted in the heart of man. We examine with eagerness the minutest circumstance that can unfold the character of Washington, Franklin, Burke or Johnson, and view with interest whatever is connected with their lives or fortunes. Even in their busts and paintings, we endeavour to trace the lineaments of their minds; and lament when these imperfect memorials have not been left behind.

Although this sentiment has existed wherever literature and civilization have been known, it has in this country derived additional strength from the nature of our political institutions. There is no citizen so ignorant as to require to be informed that the happiness and prosperity of his country will, in a great degree, depend on the qualifications of those by whom its affairs are administered: in proportion, therefore, to the solicitude with which he watches over its interests, and contemplates its glory or decline, will be his anxiety to learn the characters of every candidate for political preferment. Nor is he prompted to this investigation by a merely general interest. It is his inestimable privilege to contribute by his writings or his vote to the elevation, not only of his immediate representative, but of the distinguished individual who fills the

highest office a free people can confer; and it therefore becomes his duty to investigate, with the most scrutinizing attention, the merits and qualifications of those upon whom may depend the best interests of his country.

To obtain the information requisite to a faithful discharge of this duty, is attended with more difficulty than is generally imagined. The most conspicuous characters can be personally known to few, and the number is still more limited who are admitted to that familiarity and confidence, without which no just estimate of character can be formed. If the persons, then, who reside in their immediate vicinity, are thus liable to misconception, can we wonder at those being deceived who have no better guides in the formation of their opinions than the general observation of their public conduct; the reputation which, whether justly or unjustly, they have acquired; the fallacious representations of interested advocates; or ill-founded suggestions of malignity or envy!

Of all the means by which those deprived of the advantages of personal intercourse are enabled to judge of the qualifications of public men, there is perhaps none superior to *delineations of character* by an intelligent observer. But before we permit them to influence our opinions, we should be assured that the person attempting this arduous, but invidious office, has no other motive than the public good; that he is neither impelled by the desire to conciliate, nor deterred by the fear to offend; and that to a mind liberal, comprehensive and discriminating, he unites that knowledge of the human heart, without which the highest intellectual attainments would be productive of more injury than advantage.

Although the letters of our author may be considered as belonging to this species of composition, he appears to have mistaken its proper province, by blending the incidents of private life with those peculiar characteristics which may be supposed to strike the attention of the observer. In such performances the writer is expected to present a vivid portrait to our view. The countenance, exterior deportment and general appearance of the person described may, with propriety, be considered, because, like the shades of a picture, they give additional effect to the whole colouring and design. But to go farther than this, and, without professing to give even an imperfect biography, to narrate vague and unimportant incidents of private life, appears to us inconsistent with the design, and therefore ill timed, and improper.

This observation will apply to the sketches of Messrs. Crawford, Wirt, and Pinckney. The incidents which are mentioned, whether true or not, impart no interest, because they are too few and unimportant; they divert the attention, destroy the unity of the design, and labour under the additional disadvantage that the writer is supposed to rehearse what he may have gleaned from sources on which little reliance should be placed.

We will here, also, notice an objection which will apply with equal force.—There is scarcely a portrait in which the connexion



of our ideas is not unexpectedly interrupted by *digressions* having no necessary connexion with the subject, and destroying the effect which it should have been the object of the writer to produce.— Thus in the sketch of Mr. Monroe, we find a digression on the awkwardness of manners prevalent in America; in that of Mr. Calhoun, on the influence of climate on the human intellect, and the distinction between oratory and poetry; in that of Mr. Wirt, on the prevalence of false eloquence and the bombastic style among the Virginia orators; and in that of Mr. Forsythe, on the South American question, and the tendency of the study and practice of the law to produce facility of speech and paucity of ideas. That the reader, however, may judge of the *ease* and *grace* with which these digressions are generally introduced, we must beg leave to present him with an extract. ‘Mr. Lowndes is a man of wealth and of probity, modest, retiring, and unambitious; but his mind is of the first order, vigorous, comprehensive, and rapid. He is chairman of the committee of finance, and in that situation has discovered a very general, profound, and extensive knowledge of finance.’ ‘He is not only an able *political economist*, but a *skilful statist*. For your further information, I will draw the distinction in the language of Peuchet, (*Statistique Élémentaire*) who has given it more correctly than any writer I have yet had the opportunity of reading.’ ‘The first, or *political economy*, conceives, produces, and puts in execution,’ &c. &c. The second, or statistics, is occupied in preparing the elements,’ &c. &c. After thus learnedly settling the distinction, which it was surely sufficient to have made, he once more returns to the character of Mr. Lowndes, but not until the reader had almost forgotten his existence.

From these more general objections, we will direct our attention to the fidelity of some of the portraits.

Mr. Monroe is the first in the collection. Of this gentleman, perhaps not a single additional trait could be given, after the portrait in the British Spy. In the one however by our author, the general features are at least preserved; and although it may want the originality, and beauty, and harmony of colouring, which distinguish the productions of Mr. Wirt, it may perhaps claim some merit from the *closeness of its resemblance*. That our author may not be deprived of his merited praise, we present to the reader the following comparison:

#### PORTRAIT OF MR. MONROE.

BY OUR AUTHOR.

He appears to be between fifty and sixty years of age.

—With a form above the *middle size*, compact, muscular, and indicating a *constitution of considerable hardness and vigour*.

*His manner and habiliments* are those of a plain country gentleman.

IN THE BRITISH SPY.

Judging merely from his countenance he is between the ages of forty-five and fifty years.

In his stature he is about the *middle height* of men, rather *firmitly set*, with nothing further remarkable in his person but his *muscular compactness and apparent ability to endure labour*.

His address and personal appearance are those of a plain and modest gentleman.

## BY OUR AUTHOR.

—His countenance exhibits lineaments of great severity.

He does smile however;—at those moments there is a benignity and sincerity that invite confidence.

He is rather awkward in his address.

The peculiar character and magnitude of Mr. Munroe's pursuits

have withheld his attention from the minor and less important subjects of literature.

And he is very far from what we should call a man of general reading and science.

It is said his mind is neither rich nor brilliant, but capable of the most laborious analysis.

Having thus merely noticed some of the points of resemblance between these two performances, we shall permit the reader to form his own conclusions.

To enter minutely into the consideration of all the 'sketches' contained in this work, would lead us into a more extended discussion than is consistent with our limits. For the present, therefore, we will barely remark, that our author has seized some of the features of Messrs. Clay, Wirt, and Barbour, although on many points we differ with him in opinion: that with some allowances for redundances of style, and exaggerations of fancy, he has done no more than justice to the uncommon vehemence of Mr. Pinkney's oratory, as well as to his intellectual endowments; that with an accurate conception of the probity, learning, and talents of Mr. Lowndes, he has produced of this gentleman rather a feeble caricature than a well finished portrait: and that, of all, he has been most happy in his delineation of Mr. King. It would have been surprising indeed if he had altogether failed in portraying the strongly marked features of a gentleman who, with the magnanimity of Aristides, has sacrificed every selfish and ignoble consideration to the public good; and at a time when his country experienced the calamities of domestic dissension and foreign war, instead of seizing the occasion to diminish the public confidence in the government, and cast censure on the administration to which he was opposed, was seen among the foremost in proposing those schemes of finance which were afterwards from necessity adopted; in devising those plans, by which the war could be brought to a successful termination, and supporting every mea-

## IN THE BRITISH SPY.

His countenance when grave has rather the appearance of sternness.

—A smile however lights it up to very high advantage, and gives it a most impressive and engaging air of suavity and benevolence.

—His attentions are never performed with the striking and captivating graces of Marlborough or a Bolingbroke. To be plain there is often in his manner an inartificial and even an awkward simplicity, &c.

It is possible that the early habit of contemplating subjects as expanded as the earth itself, with all the great interests of the nations thereof, may have inspired him with an indifference, perhaps an inaptitude for mere points of literature.

Whatever may have been the occasion, his acquaintance with the fine arts is certainly very limited and superficial.

Nature has given him a mind neither rapid nor rich, but to compensate him for this he is endued with a habit of application which no difficulties can shake, no labours can tire.

sure which his wisdom and experience could suggest, with the most edifying zeal and masculine eloquence.

Of all the characters, however, which the author has attempted to depict, there is none to which he has done so little justice as to that of Mr. Calhoun: and as it is due to this gentleman, as well as to our author, to state the grounds of our opinion, we hope to be excused for any apparent prolixity.

In one part of the portrait our author informs us, that ‘on all subjects, whether *abstract or ordinary*, Mr. C. thinks with a rapidity that no difficulties can resist, and with a novelty that never fails to delight,’ that he ‘possesses the brilliancy of Burke, and the fire of Pitt;’ that ‘with an invention that never abandons him, and whose fertility astonishes, he seems to loath the *parade of rhetoric*, and the *glitter and decorations of art*,’ that ‘in the tempest and whirlwind of his eloquence, his argumentation is so rapid, his thoughts so novel, yet apparently correct, that you can neither anticipate nor think;’ that ‘it is not until the *fascination of his manner has subsided* that you can feel inclined to reason; even then his witchery lingers on the imagination, and casts a veil over the judgment.’

From these laboured, if not brilliant touches, let us direct our attention to the *dark shades* of the picture. We are afterwards informed, that ‘although the *fertility of his invention astonishes*, his creations are not those of imagination, in which he is deficient;’ that with all this ‘fascination of manner,’ ‘his style has none of the embellishments of art or witcheries of fancy;’ and that amidst the tempest and whirlwind of his eloquence, whilst exhibiting the ‘brilliancy of Burke,’ and the ‘fire of Pitt’—‘he is, ALMOST TO DRYNESS, plain, UNADORNED, and concise!’

From the perusal of these passages, we were impelled to the conclusion, that the first or the last part of the delineation has been greatly overcharged; and that from the vain attempt to effect impossibilities, and unite in one person the most opposite qualities, the writer has presented us with a portrait which could have had no original.

While he has thus mistaken the intellectual powers of Mr. Calhoun, he does not appear to have been more fortunate in his view of his *political abilities*. At one time Mr. C. is represented as a prodigy, ‘astonishing the veterans around him by the powers of his mind and the *resistlessness of his eloquence*,’ but at another, ‘without perseverance of investigation, tension of thought, and patience of judgment:’ our author admits that ‘he has all the ingenuity, WITHOUT THE SOPHISTRY, of Godwin,’ but declares that he occasionally is seen to propose schemes *impracticable or injurious*, merely to show the affluence of his mind, and fertility of ingenuity: and, to complete the climax of absurdity, we are not only informed that this man, whose mind is so powerful and eloquence so resistless, can be capable of the childish weakness and contemptible vanity of proposing impracticable and injurious schemes,

merely to display 'his fertility of ingenuity,' but has preserved the esteem and admiration of his political associates, by exhibiting '*inconsistency of mind, and eccentricities and aberrations of conduct.*'

We will not enlarge on the manifest impossibility that every part of this statement can be correct. Its incongruity is evident; and the plain fact appears to be that the author has given us the feverish creations of a distempered fancy for the sober realities of truth and justice. There is not, in our opinion, in the community, a person against whom the charge of inconsistency can be made with less plausibility than Mr. Calhoun. Frank, open, and sincere, the tenor of his life, and the dictates of his understanding, are alike opposed to political duplicity.

Nor do we differ more from our author in our opinion of Mr. C. than in our anticipations of his future course. For while he is apprehensive that the sphere of usefulness of Mr. Calhoun will be contracted by his recent appointment, and that he who in the legislative hall, enrapt by his eloquence, may, in the cabinet, dwindle into obscurity; we feel the strongest conviction that his recent elevation will serve still more strongly to display the liberality of his views, the extent of his resources, and the energy of his character. And when we consider the habit of the American people to examine the dispositions of the heart, as well as the powers of the understanding, and advert to the fact, that no man, however high his endowments, has long continued popular without exhibiting proofs of private and public virtue, we have reason for the belief that his career will be as fortunate in its progress, as it has been auspicious in its dawn.

It would have given us satisfaction if our author had not made it our duty to notice his sketch of Mr Roberts. This gentleman is described as a '*plain farmer,*' who, although '*once a mechanic,*' and '*not able to boast of a liberal education,*' possesses all that can constitute and dignify the patriot and statesman.' While, with our author, we are ready to ascribe to Mr. R. the possession of '*native good sense,*' and '*moral and political integrity,*' we are far from considering these qualities sufficient to justify the most extravagant eulogium. It was not without surprise, therefore, mingled with disgust, that we found him compared to Aristides, Fabricius and Cato, or to the '*spot of fertility amidst deserts of sand,*' or the '*rock in the ocean,*' placid and immoveable, enduring the dangers that surround, and braving the tempests that beat upon him with undeviating firmness, for the safety of his country and the glory of his God. If this were intended as a compliment to Mr. R. it has surely been made at the expense of the community: for no one could suppose that '*moral and political integrity*' could greatly abound, when its possessor has, for those qualities alone, been so highly extolled. The inference, indeed, from his allusion to '*the spot of fertility amidst deserts of sand,*' would seem to sanction the idea, that a universal degeneracy prevailed, if not in the

whole community, at least among the political associates of this gentleman. Such fulsomeness of flattery can require from us no severity of animadversion.

Before we conclude this examination, we cannot omit adverting to one or two opinions advanced by our author, which may, for their singularity at least, deserve some attention. To prevent misapprehension, let us quote from him. (Page 53 & 54.)

‘Between *oratory* and poetry there is, I conceive, an essential *difference*. Conviction is the object of the *orator*, and pleasure that of the *poet*. The powers of mind necessary to produce these different results are not the same: *reason* governs the one and *imagination* the other. The *former* is confined to *argument and truth*, the *latter* to *imagery and sentiment*. The orator analyses and reasons, compares and deduces; the poet combines and imitates. *Memory and judgment* are the powers employed by the *former*: “*imagination and invention* those exercised by the *latter*.”’

As our author has here stated the *difference* between the orator and poet, it follows that they can have none of those qualities in common, which are the distinguishing characteristics of either. According to this novel theory, then, *conviction* is the object of the orator, but not of the poet, and *pleasure* is the object of the *poet*, but not of the orator. Reason governs the orator, but *not the poet*, and *imagination* the *poet*, but *not the orator*. While the orator is confined to the dull regions of *argument and truth*, the *poet alone* is permitted to soar in the elevated atmosphere of *imagery and sentiment*. *Memory and judgment* are the powers employed by the *orator*: but while the poet is condemned to *eternal forgetfulness*, he enjoys some remuneration in the exclusive possession of *imagination and invention*.

Such are the absurdities in which our author is involved, by attempting to draw distinctions which do not exist in nature. We should be gratified to see him strip the orations of Cicero and Burke of their imagery and sentiment, and all those beauties which flow alone from a creative imagination, and then inform us what remains to confirm their reputation as consummate orators. And we are inclined to the opinion that Homer, Virgil, and Shakspeare, are quite as much indebted, for their immortality, to their *reason, memory, and judgment*, as to the unequalled fertility of their imagination. The simple fact is, between the orator and poet there is the closest alliance. They both employ tropes and figures for the purpose of enlivening, beautifying, and invigorating the diction; and it is the object of the former, as well as the latter, to delight the fancy, as in epic; impart instruction, as in didactic; and move the passions, as in tragedy.

Having thus formed, we believe, the first idea of an accomplished orator entirely destitute of imagination, the author afterwards tells us (page 99,) what are the faculties of mind and attainments in knowledge which he conceives to be essential to this character. The following are his words:

‘I do not conceive that the highest powers are necessary to form an orator of the present day.’ ‘*His object is not to inform, but to propel and stimulate the mind to action.*’ For this purpose it is sufficient that his sensibilities are acute, that his knowledge of mankind is accurate, and that his acquaintance with the *common affairs* and transactions of life is not more imperfect than that of those around him.’ ‘We do not wish him to exhibit the philosopher or poet.’

We will not affront the understanding of the reader by attempting a formal refutation of an opinion opposed by every writer upon the subject, ancient and modern. But even admitting that Cicero was mistaken when he declared that the progress which he had made in the art of speaking was not so much owing to the precepts of rhetoricians, as to the lessons of philosophers; that there was neither wit nor sense in his attempt to ridicule those who should undertake to instruct others in what they had never learned themselves; and that Quintilian was equally incorrect when he inculcated the opinion that there was no accomplishment, art, or science, in which an orator should be deficient; it would still afford us pleasure to be informed by what process our author himself would ‘*propel and stimulate,*’ without at the same time *informing* the minds of others. Can it have been his intention, after depriving his orator of imagination and invention, literature and philosophy, to invest him with the thong and ferula, that he might at least apply *external stimulants* to the bodies of his hearers?

We will conclude our examination of these letters, by presenting the reader with only a few specimens of the *style*, not that we are apprehensive of their being resorted to as a model of chaste composition, or that they will have any tendency to corrupt the literary taste of our country; but to exhibit another proof of the liability of all writers to commit the faults they can detect and censure in others, and to show that our author himself is not free from false glitter, affected antithesis, and highly inflated, but unmeaning expressions.

‘The mind which is occupied in trifles, will not be apt to amaze by its greatness, or astonish by its magnificence; it may glitter, but will never blaze.’—p. 40. ‘Darkened by prejudice, or warped by passion.’—p. 41. ‘Foolery and splendour of fantastic fashion, and the mean and inelegant costume of affected eccentricity.’—p. 44. ‘Contortions of cunning, and dexterity of hypocrisy.’—p. 47. ‘Eriphery and festooning of rhetoric, and meretricious and extensive dexterity of imagination.’—p. 50. ‘Sparkle on the fancy, play around the imagination.’—p. 62. ‘You never see him employed in weaving garlands, or strewing flowers on your path; he never strives to lap in elysium, or to delight in the rainbow colours, and erratic blaze of fancy.’—p. 53. ‘Plunge in the labyrinth of science, or be conversant with the intricacies of art.’—p. 99. ‘We do not wish the orator to sport in the rainbow, or flutter on a moonbeam; but with the torch of truth to illumine our path, and lead us in safety through the darkness of error and obscurity of ignorance.’—p. 94. ‘Trammels of error, cobwebs of sophistry.’—p. 94. ‘His (Mr. Clay’s) gate [for gait] is stately but swinging.’—p. 93. ‘The course

he (Mr. Clay) has pursued, will either lead to the goal of his ambition, or crush him *beneath the ruins of irritated power*.'—p. 96. 'Mr. Lownes never takes an opinion, or adopts a theory that *has not been sanctioned by his own judgment*.'—p. 98. 'Excite our wonder, elicit our admiration.'—p. 110. 'Fantastic embroidery, and gaudy festoonings of fancy.'—p. 126.

The following deserves some notice for its peculiar offensiveness—speaking of Washington, (p. 118,) he says,—

'Antiquity would have made him a God,—posterity will make him *more!*'

We do not impute to our author the impiety with which this phrase might be reproached, but we hold it forth as an instance of the extravagance into which an ambitious writer may be betrayed by a perpetual straining after effect.

Desirous as we would be to yield to a 'foreigner' all the merit of this production, we are not without our fears that it is to be attributed solely to an American. Of this, however, there is ample internal evidence; it cannot be the offspring of any of the gentlemen mentioned in the preface by the editor. And whoever he may be, we trust that before he again comes before the public, he will digest the knowledge he appears to have been at some pains to acquire; obtain precise ideas before he endeavours to express them; correct the redundancies, not of fancy but of words; and imitate the models of chaste composition. M.

November 16, 1818.

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ART. III.—*A Complete History of Connecticut, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the Emigration of its Planters, from England, in the year 1630, to the year 1764; and to the Close of the Indian Wars.* In 2 volumes. By Benjamin Trumbull, D.D. New Haven. 1818. 8vo. pp. 567, 548.

THE first part of this work, embracing the history of Connecticut, from 1630 to 1713, was published in 1797. The remainder, continuing the history from 1713 to 1764, has since been completed; and both parts are now printed together, in two well executed volumes.

It is impossible to estimate the merits of Mr. Trumbull by looking merely at his book. Already more than twelve years beyond the period allowed to human existence, and necessitated, by his calling, not only to compose two sermons a week,—but to visit his parishioners, and deliver occasional lectures, he has yet been obliged to peruse the colonial Histories, to consult and copy the records of New England, and finally to arrange and mould his materials into a regular and continuous story. We do not suppose, that his own account of his difficulties is at all exaggerated. 'The author,' says he, in the Preface, 'is under great disadvantages for historic writing. He can command no time for himself. The work of the ministry, which is his chosen and beloved employ-

ment, after all his application, so engrosses his time, that sometimes for weeks and months, after all his application, he cannot find a single day for the compilation of history. When he has attempted it, he has been able scarcely to write a page without interruption. Often he has been so fatigued with other studies, as to be under circumstances not the most favourable for composition.'

After such an account of the mode, in which this History was composed, we can hardly be blamed, if we do not think it perfect. The glory of a work must be rated by the means of its accomplishment; and, as no author can be supposed to undertake, what it is impossible for man to perform, so no critic should be disappointed, if he does not find what he could not rationally expect. The great secret of good composition, is brevity; and the art of being brief is the art of blotting and erasing. Compression is, at all times, a hard operation; an operation, which is not to be performed at a sudden or a single effort. But brevity was not to be looked for on the part of an author situated like Mr. Trumbull. It is enough if he can occasionally snatch time to compose a page; and our wonder is, not that he has written an unpolished book,—but that he has written a book at all. The first expression of our thoughts is always apt to be redundant; and it is only by repeated efforts, that we can prune away those parts, which impair the force, exactly as they add to the prolixity, of our language. This truth has often occurred to us in the perusal of these volumes; and the reader will observe, that, in the passage already quoted from the Preface, the necessary inadvertence of the author has left the same clause ('after all his application') in two parts of the same sentence. Indeed, Mr. Trumbull seems himself to be conscious of his deficiency in this particular; and perhaps it was natural, that he should speak with something like contempt of an excellence, which he found it impossible to attain. 'The compiler,' he says, 'has judged his time too precious, and the field of usefulness before him too extensive to busy himself in rounding periods, and guarding himself against every little matter that might afford business for the critic.'

This sentence may furnish us with the title by which Mr. Trumbull is likely to be known to the world. He is rather a 'compiler' than a composer; and his book is not so much a history as materials for a history. It is difficult, however, to give the work any general character. In some chapters, the author seems to have found time to melt down his materials, and run them into a compact and well-proportioned narrative. In others, he appears to have been driven to the necessity of writing himself so much only as might serve to connect his extracts together; and we are then fatigued with copies of prolix records, which, though they frequently contain some interesting facts, are not always worthy of being preserved entire. The historians of particular states cannot give us too many documents, if they are only pregnant with important facts, or with such facts and opinions as we should desire



to see expressed in the language of the original. It is only by this means, that the future historian of our country is to be furnished with his materials; and, if Mr. Trumbull was reduced to the necessity either of suppressing his extracts altogether, or to publish them word for word, we cannot but applaud him for choosing the latter alternative.

The proximity of our author will meet, perhaps, with least favour, in his account of the religious controversies in Connecticut. Undoubtedly, they form an interesting epoch in the early affairs of the state, and must be a necessary ingredient in its general history. But it could scarcely have been necessary to give them at full length; and, while so diffuse a narration will be read with little interest, if read at all, in other parts of the Union, we are afraid, that even the citizens of his own state, when compelled to toil through the entire epistles and address of the disputants, will think, they have rather too much of a good thing. 'It will be observed,' says the author himself, 'that the ecclesiastical part of the history is kept by itself in distinct chapters, and comprises about a third part of the history. It would make a volume by itself, and might be printed separately without any derangement of the narration.' This would have been a judicious plan; and we are sorry it was not adopted.

There is another subject, upon which our author's details are to be regretted, not only because they are somewhat irrelevant in themselves; but because they have crowded out matter, which would have been pertinent:—we mean the chapters upon the general history of the Colonies. The relations of Connecticut with the other provinces necessarily introduced a portion of their history; but it should have been confined to a compendious outline; and not extended, as it is here, to about one-third of the second volume. Mr. Trumbull once designed to write a complete History of the United States; and had taken great pains in the collection of materials. Nobody could have complained, if he had detailed such new facts as he had been fortunate enough to ascertain; but a great portion of our general history is already before the public;—so much of it, at least, as Mr. Trumbull has, in many instances, been able to communicate. The reader will see, from the following sentence, what has been excluded by the introduction of so much colonial history. 'It was the intention of the writer to have given an account of the cities in the state, their latitude and longitude, their trade, manufactures, &c.; of the state-prison; of the fisheries; of the exports and imports; of the militia, train of artillery, fortifications, &c.: but, finding that the volume would not admit it, he has omitted the account which he designed.' Now, had our author published his Ecclesiastical Chapters, in a separate volume; confined his general account of the colonies to a brief sketch; and condensed, in some places, the remainder of his materials, he might have given us this important statistical information, and furnished his countrymen with one volume of very interesting history.

'It may, possibly be thought a great neglect, or matter of partiality,' says he, in another part of the Preface, 'that no account is given of witchcraft in Connecticut. The only reason is, that, after the most careful researches, no indictment of any person for that crime, nor any process relative to that affair, can be found. The minute in Goff's Journal, published by governor Hutchinson, relative to the execution of Anne Coles, and an obscure tradition that one or two persons were executed at Stratford, is all the information relative to that unhappy affair.' We cannot think this a sufficient apology. It is certain, that a belief in witchcraft was so very prevalent, as to call for a sanguinary law against it;\* and it was not necessary, that there should have been executions or indictments under it, to warrant some account of an epidemic delusion, which so long agitated nearly all the northern colonies. It is a curious passage in the history of man; and we do not see how Mr. Trumbull can be excused for its omission.

After all these deductions, our author can still claim merit enough to redeem his faults. He has a prevalent good sense,—a diligence in the collection, and an accuracy in the statement, of facts,—which are, at least, on a line with the pertinency of matter, the brevity of narration, or the elegance of language. Important and well authenticated facts may often supply the place of beauty of language, or propriety of arrangement; but no elegance of composition, or propriety of arrangement; can compensate us for the want of well authenticated facts and dates. In this particular, the best eulogy of Mr. Trumbull is the enumeration of his labours.

'In pursuance of his design, he collected all books and manuscripts from which he could expect assistance. He read the records of Connecticut, New Haven and the United Colonies; and extracted whatever he judged important. He made a journey to Boston, examined the collections of the Rev. Mr. Prince, and minuted every thing which he could find relative to Connecticut. To him, at the time he was about writing the Chronological History of New England, the ancient ministers, and other principal gentlemen in Connecticut, had transmitted accounts of the settlement of the towns and churches to which they respectively belonged. In this collection, important information was found, which could have been obtained from no other source. The author visited most of the principal towns, and places of burial, and obtained from records, monuments, and men of intelligence, whatever they could communicate on the subject. The ministers and clerks of the respective towns, and other gentlemen of character, assisted him in his researches. The honourable legislature, having been made acquainted with his design, passed a generous resolve, which gave him access to their records and papers on file.'

When Connecticut was first settled, between 1634 and 1635, the country was occupied by a great variety of Indian tribes. Dr.

\* 'If any man or woman be a witch, that is, hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit, they shall be put to death. Exod. xxii. 18. Levit. xx. 22. Deut. xviii 10-11.'—Capital Laws of Conn. 1642. In our author's 1st. vol. p. 123.

Morse states their numbers at 40,000. Mr. Trumbull thinks, there might have been 20,000. In Windsor alone there were ten distinct tribes; and so late as 1670, it is supposed, that there were nineteen Indians to one Englishman. The new settlers would buy the land and the peace of the natives; but no sooner had the latter exhausted their funds, than they broke the peace and reclaimed the land: the colonists would once more pay them their price: the Indians would again recommence hostilities; and thus the defenceless settlers were obliged to pay for their lands several times over, and to fight for them as often, into the bargain. The insecurity of their possessions prevented them from cultivating a great extent of ground; and famines sometimes occurred so severe, that they were obliged to live upon acorns, malt, and grains. Nothing but motives of religion could have induced them to persevere in their efforts under so many difficulties, and in the midst of such merciless enemies. Having emigrated to this country to enjoy freedom of conscience, the first settlers of New England denied to others, what they had so strenuously asserted for themselves; and every new sect, which sprung up, had no other alternative than to submit to punishment, or look for a new place of residence. One of these swarms settled in Connecticut; but no sooner had they partially established themselves, than intolerance produced new sects; and new swarms quitted the parent hive to set up for themselves. Many of the towns of Connecticut were settled in this manner; and many could not have been settled in any other.

Nor was it against famine and the savages alone, that they were obliged to struggle. They first got into a quarrel with the Dutch at Manhadoes; then, with Massachusetts; afterwards, with Rhode-Island; next, with the king; then, with private claimants; and, lastly, among themselves. Perhaps no set of individuals ever underwent more severe hardships. They purchased their territory at a most dear price; and they stuck to it with an affection proportioned to the blood and sweat, which it had cost them. While they needed the support of the king, he took no notice of them; but, as soon as they had fixed themselves, and become somewhat numerous, he was graciously pleased to give them a governor, and claim them as his own. This was the mode, in which most of the colonies were treated; and it was this, which Mr. Grenville called, in one of his speeches, 'planting children by the care of parliament; nourishing them, by their indulgence; and protecting them, by their arms.'

In 1637, the colonists made a successful attack upon the Indians at Mystic fort. The following paragraph from the conclusion of the account, will show at once the moral habits of the settlers, at that time, and the manner in which Trumbull's book is written:

'Several circumstances attending this enterprise, were much noticed by the soldiers themselves, and especially by all the pious people. It was considered as very providential, that the army should march nearly forty miles, and a considerable part of it in the enemies' country, and

not to be discovered until the moment they were ready to commence the attack. It was judged remarkable, that the vessels should come into the harbour at the very hour in which they were most needed. The life of captain Mason was very singularly preserved. As he entered a wigwam for fire to burn the fort, an Indian was drawing an arrow to the very head, and would have killed him instantly; but Davies, one of his sergeants, cut the bow string with his cutlass, and prevented the fatal shot.\* Lieutenant Bull received an arrow into a hard piece of cheese, which he had in his clothes, and by it was saved harmless. Two soldiers, John Dyer and Thomas Stiles, both servants of one man, were shot in the knots of their neckcloths, and by them preserved from instant death.†

The histories of our country are not wanting in specimens of Indian dexterity in war; but the reader will probably be amused with the following account of the stratagem, by which Uncas, the chief of the Moheagans, contrived to rout his enemies, the Narragansets:—

‘When they (the two armies) had advanced within fair bow shot of each other, Uncas had recourse to a stratagem, with which he had previously acquainted his warriors. He desired a parley, and both armies halted in the face of each other. Uncas gallantly advancing in the front of his men, addressed Miantonimoh to this effect. ‘You have a number of stout men with you, and so have I with me. It is a great pity that such brave warriors should be killed in a private quarrel between us only. Come like a man, as you profess to be, and let us fight it out. If you kill me, my men shall be yours; but if I kill you, your men shall be mine.’ Miantonimoh replied, ‘My men came to fight, and they shall fight.’ Uncas falling instantly upon the ground, his men discharged a shower of arrows upon the Narragansets; and, without a moment’s interval, rushing upon them, in the most furious manner, with their hideous Indian yell, put them immediately to flight. The Moheagans pursued the enemy with the same fury and eagerness with which they commenced the action. The Narragansets were driven down rocks and precipices, and chased like a doe by the huntsman. Among others, Miantonimoh was exceedingly pressed. Some of Uncas’s bravest men, who were most light of foot, coming up with him, twined him back, impeding his flight, and passed him, that Uncas might take him. Uncas was a stout man, and rushing forward, like a lion greedy of his prey, seized him by his shoulder. He knew Uncas, and saw that he was now in the power of the man whom he had hated, and by all means attempted to destroy; but he sat down sullen and spake not a word. Uncas gave the Indian whoop and called up his men, who were behind, to his assistance. The victory was complete.’

In all the dealings of the colonists with other powers, such was their inflexibility, that they would not yield the most insignificant particular. Thus, when Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, opened a treaty with them, in 1650, he very innocently dated his letter at *New Netherlands*.

‘The commissioners, observing that his letter was dated at New-Netherlands, replied, that they would not treat, unless he would alter the name of the place where he wrote. He answered, that if they

\* Hubbard’s Narrative.

† Mason’s History.

would not date at Hartford, he would not at New-Netherlands, but at Connecticut. They consented that he should date at Connecticut, but claimed a right for themselves to date at Hartford. He gave up the right of dating at the Netherlands, and the treaty proceeded.\*

In 1674, the duke of York appointed major Edmund Andros the governor of New York, and of all his possessions in America. Under these general words, the governor claimed Connecticut; and, on the 6th or 9th of July, 1675, he appeared before Saybrook to enforce his claim.

‘Captain Bull and his officers, with the officers and gentlemen of the town, met the major, at his landing, and acquainted him that they had, at that instant, received instructions to tender him a treaty, and to refer the whole matter in controversy to commissioners, capable of determining it according to law and justice. The major rejected the proposal, and forthwith commanded, in his majesty’s name, that the duke’s patent, and the commission which he had received from his royal highness, should be read. Captain Bull commanded him, in his majesty’s name, to forbear reading.\* When his clerk attempted to persist in reading, the captain repeated his command, with such energy of voice and manner, as convinced the major it was not safe to proceed. The captain then acquainted him that he had an address from the assembly to him, and read the protest. Governor Andros, pleased with his bold and soldier-like appearance, said, ‘What is your name?’ He replied, ‘My name is Bull, Sir.’ ‘Bull!’ said the governor, ‘It is a pity that your horns are not tipped with silver.’ Finding he could make no impression upon the officers or people, and that the legislature of the colony were determined to defend themselves, in the possession of their chartered rights, he gave up the design of seizing the fort. He represented the protest as a slender affair, and an ill requital of his kindness. He said, however, he should do more. The militia of the town guarded him to his boat, and going on board he soon sailed for Long Island.’

Colonel Benjamin Fletcher was made governor of New York, in 1692; and had been invested with the power of taking under his control the whole militia of Connecticut. The command was conferred on the assembly by charter; and they would not give it up. Colonel Fletcher went to Hartford; and thought he might enforce his power, if on the spot.

The trainbands of Hartford assembled, and, as the tradition is, while captain Wadsworth, the senior officer, was walking in front of the companies, and exercising the soldiers, colonel Fletcher ordered his commission and instructions to be read. Captain Wadsworth instantly commanded, ‘Beat the drums;’ and there was such a roaring of them that nothing else could be heard. Colonel Fletcher commanded silence. But no sooner had Bayward made an attempt to read again, than Wadsworth commands, ‘Drum, drum, I say.’ The drummers understood their business, and instantly beat up with all the art and life of which they were masters. ‘Silence, silence,’ says the colonel. No sooner was there a pause, than Wadsworth speaks with great earnestness, ‘Drum, drum, I say;’ and turning to his excellency, said, ‘If I am interrupted again I will make the sun shine through you in a moment.’

\* Captain Bull’s letter to the assembly.

He spoke with such energy in his voice and meaning in his countenance, that no further attempts were made to read or enlist men. Such numbers of people collected together, and their spirits appeared so high, that the governor and his suit judged it expedient, soon to leave the town and return to New-York.'

Among the numerous sects, which disquieted the people of Connecticut, there was one called the *Rogerenes*; whose principle of association seems to have been that of disturbing the meetings of all other sects. Their name was derived from one John Rogers; the second martyr of that name.

'It was his manner to rush into the assembly on the Lord's day, in the time of God's worship, in a very boisterous way, and to charge the minister with lies and false doctrine; and to scream, shout, stamp, &c. by which he offered insufferable molestations to the worship and people of God. And this was his manner in the court also, when he pleased, or had a mind to make himself sport, and he would laugh at it when he had done until his sides shook.

'I saw him once brought to court for such a disturbance, committed on the sabbath. He had contrived the matter so as to be just without the door when he was called to answer; upon which he rushed into court with a prodigious noise; his features and gestures expressed more fury than I ever saw in a distracted person of any sort, and I soberly think, that if a legion of devils had pushed him in headlong, his entrance had not been more horrid and ghastly, nor have seemed more preternatural.

'When he came to the bar, he demanded of the court what their business was with him? The indictment was ordered to be read. To this he pleaded not guilty, after a new mode; for as the clerk read, sometimes at the end of a sentence, and sometimes at the beginning, he would cry out, *That's a cursed lie*; and anon, *That's a devilish lie*; till at length a number of his followers, of both sexes, tuned their pipes, and screamed, roared, shouted and stamped, to that degree of noise, that it was impossible to hear the clerk read.'

The following tale will give the reader an idea of the adventures, which occasionally happened to the early settlers.

'In 1723, two Indians surprised and captivated one Jacob Griswold, as he was labouring in his field; bound him, and carried him into the wilderness about twenty miles. They then stopped and made a fire, and fastening him down, one of them laid himself down to rest, and the other watched him. Griswold, unnoticed by his keeper, disengaged himself from all the cords which had bound him, except the one which bound his elbows. When the Indian appeared to be awake, and to have his eye upon him, he lay as still as possible, but when he drowsed and had not his eye upon him, he employed all his art and vigor to set himself at liberty. At length he disengaged himself from the cord which fastened his arms, and perceiving that the Indians were asleep, he sprang, caught both their guns, and leaped into the woods. Their powder horns were hung upon their guns, so that he brought off both their arms and ammunition. He secreted himself by a rock until the morning appeared, and then steered for Litchfield, guided by a brook which he imagined would lead him to the town. The Indians pursued him; but when they approached him, he would lay down one gun and

present the other, and they would draw back and hide themselves, and he made his escape to the town. A guard of thirty men was immediately dispatched to Litchfield, to keep garrison there. No further mischief was done in the town that year. But the next year, at the commencement of the summer, the Indians killed one Harris, as he was labouring in his field.'

East-Haddan was called by the Indians, *Mochimoodus, the Place of Noises*. Seldom a year passes without bringing us intelligence of slight earthquakes in New-England. The following extract of a letter to the author from a gentleman in Boston, may give us a key to the circumstance.

'As to the earthquakes, I have something considerable and awful to tell you. Earthquakes have been here, (and no where but in this precinct, as can be discerned; that is, they seem to have their centre, rise and origin among us,) as has been observed for more than thirty years. I have been informed, that in this place, before the English settlements, there were great numbers of Indian inhabitants, and that it was a place of extraordinary *Indian Pawaws*, or, in short, that it was a place where the Indians drove a prodigious trade at worshipping the devil. Also I was informed, that, many years past, an old Indian was asked, What was the reason of the noises in this place? To which he replied, that the Indian's God was very angry because Englishmen's God was come here.

'Now whether there be any thing diabolical in these things, I know not; but this I know, that God ALMIGHTY is to be seen and trembled at, in what has been often heard among us. Whether it be fire or air distressed in the subterraneous caverns of the earth, cannot be known; for there is no eruption, no explosion perceptible, but by sounds and tremors, which sometimes are very fearful and dreadful. I have myself heard eight or ten sounds successively, and imitating small arms, in five minutes. I have, I suppose, heard several hundreds of them within twenty years; some more, some less terrible. Sometimes we have heard them almost every day, and great numbers of them in the space of a year. Often times I have observed them to be coming down from the north, imitating slow thunder, until the sound came near or right under, and then there seemed to be a breaking like the noise of a cannon shot, or severe thunder, which shakes the houses, and all that is in them. They have in a manner ceased, since the great earthquake. As I remember, there have been but two heard since that time, and those but moderate.'

From what has been said above, we hope it will not be understood, that we set too light a value upon excellence of style in historical composition. We have already seen, that Mr. Trumbull disdains all pretensions to elegance or harmony of language; and, if it be not enough to have observed generally, that we consider him rather as a collector of facts than a writer of history, we will now say more plainly, that we can by no means recommend his work as a model of good writing. The necessity of producing two sermons a week, are not fitted to give a man the best habits of composition; and, when we add to our author's other necessities that of being compelled to reduce his materials to paper, in

such brief intervals as he could snatch from his chosen and beloved occupations,' we could only expect to find his book, what it really is, diffuse in its narrative, loose in its texture, and disproportioned in its parts.

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ART. IV.—*Notice of the operations undertaken to determine the Figure of the Earth*, by M. Biot, of the Academy of Sciences. Paris, 1818.—Translated from the French.

**WHEN** on one of the towers of Florence, Galileo, two centuries ago, explained to a very few persons, in conferences almost mysterious, his new discoveries with regard to the laws of gravity, the motion of the earth, and the figure of the planets,—could he ever have foreseen that these truths, then rejected and persecuted, should, after so short an interval of time, come to be considered as matters of so great importance, and contemplated with so general an admiration, that the governments of Europe should cause extensive operations, and distant journies to be undertaken for the sole purpose of extending them, and of ascertaining all their particulars? and that in consequence of an unhopd for propagation of all manner of knowledge,—the results of their labours should be offered to the public interest in numerous assemblies composed of the most brilliant classes of society? Such, notwithstanding, is the immense change which has taken place in the fate of the sciences since that epoch! When Galileo and Bacon appeared, after the many sublime spirits which antiquity had produced, they found the career of the sciences still untrodden,—for the name of science could not be given to the useless heap of hypothetical speculations, in which, before their day, natural philosophy consisted. Till then, men seem to have been more inclined to conjecture than to study nature; the art of interrogating her, and of making her reveal her mysteries, was unknown; they discovered it. They showed that the human mind is too feeble and unsteady to advance alone into this labyrinth of truths; that it requires to pause at phenomena which are connected with each other, as the infant leans upon the supports which it meets with when it first tries to walk; and that in the numerous circumstances, in which nature seems to allow it to embrace too great intervals, it is necessary that, by experiments artfully conceived, new phenomena should be made to spring up in the path, to ensure its footing, and to prevent it from wandering. Such has been the fruitfulness of this method, that in less than two centuries, discoveries without number, discoveries certain and lasting, have burst forth in all the departments of the sciences,—have communicated themselves with rapidity to the arts and to industry, which they have enriched with wonderful applications,—and have increased the sum of human knowledge a thousand times beyond what had been done by all antiquity. But thus extended, the sciences exceed the powers of any individual. Their prodigious circle cannot be embraced but by a great literary body, which unites in its collective capacity, as in a vast sensorium,



every conception, every view, and every thought; which knowing neither human infirmities, nor the decay of the senses and of old age, ever young and ever active, scrutinizes incessantly the hidden properties of nature, discovers the powers concealed in them, and at last offers them to society perfected and prepared for application. In this centre, where all opinions are agitated and combated, no authority can prevail but that of reason and nature. Here even the voice of a Plato could no longer attract listeners to the brilliant dreams of his imagination; and the genius of a Descartes, obliged to continue faithful to the method of observation and of doubt which he himself had created, could only produce truths unmixed with error. But Plato and Descartes, with all their glory, would now be considered but as transient elements of this great organ of the sciences. Its strength would survive their genius, and would pursue into futurity the development of their thoughts. Such is now the noble destination of learned societies. The unity and the duration, which their institution gives to human efforts, complete the power of the experimental method. They alone can henceforth ensure the continuity of the progress of human knowledge,—they alone can develop great theories, and obtain results which, by their intrinsic difficulty, and by the diversity, the perseverance, and the extent of the labours they demand, could never be within the reach of individuals. The determination of the size and figure of the earth,—the measurement of gravity at its surface,—the connexion of this phenomenon with the interior construction of the globe,—with the disposition of the *strata*, and the laws of their densities,—are of the number of those long enduring questions which learned societies alone could propose to encounter and to resolve. They have for a century and a half formed one of the objects of the unceasing labours of the Academy of Sciences. The first exact measurement of a degree of the terrestrial meridian, was made in France, by Picard, in the year 1670. Newton availed himself of it, in order to establish the law of universal gravity, from which the employment of an inaccurate measurement of the earth had at first caused him to wander. Two years afterwards, Richer, who was sent by the Academy to Cayenne, to make astronomical researches, discovered that his clock, which at Paris, beat the seconds, went gradually more slowly as he approached the equator; and that it again went quicker, by the same degrees, in returning towards the north, so as to resume exactly its original motion, at the point of his departure. Again,—according to the discoveries of Huygens, the quickness of the oscillations of a pendulum augments or diminishes with the intensity of the gravity which causes its motion. The observation of Richer then, proved that this intensity was different in different latitudes, and that it increased in going from the equator to the pole. Newton, in his immortal work on the principles of Natural Philosophy, connected all these results with the law of attraction. He showed, that the variation observed in gravity disclosed a flat-

tening of the earth at the pole,—a circumstance which is observable also in the form of Jupiter, Saturn, and the other planets which turn upon an axis. He conceived that this flattened form was a consequence of the even attraction of the portions of every planet, combined by the centrifugal force of its rotatory motion. But in order that the arrangement determined by these two kinds of forces should thus have been able to make itself effectual, it behoved these great bodies to have been originally fluid: he took them then as in that state, and showed how to calculate the flattening of a planet according to the intensity of the gravity at its surface, and the quickness of its rotation, supposing its mass to be homogeneous. This theory, applied to the earth, gave a variation of gravity, but little different from that observed by Richer, though somewhat slighter, indicating that the earth is composed of strata, of which the density goes on increasing from the surface to the centre, as Clairault has since demonstrated.

The calculations of Newton were, for some time, the only inductions which existed for believing the earth to be flattened at the poles. The arch of the meridian, measured by Picard, was quite sufficient to give the length of the semi-diameter of the earth at the place where it was observed, but that arch was much too small even for showing imperfectly the effect of the flattening. More accurate knowledge was expected to be procured from the measurement of the complete arch which traverses France from Perpignan to Dunkirk; a measurement which was intended to serve, if I may so express it, as the axis of a general map of France, with the executing of which, Colbert had entrusted the Academy. But in the imperfect state of the instruments and astronomical methods of that period, this arch itself was too short to make the influence of the flattening distinctly perceptible; and the small variations, which thence result in the lengths of the consecutive degrees, might very easily be lost in the errors of the observations. This indeed happened. The differences which the degrees presented, were found from the effects of these errors, in such a direction as would have led to the result of elongation at the poles, in place of flattening. The Academy was not disheartened; it perceived that the question could not be clearly decided without measuring two arches of the meridian, in regions of the earth where the flattening must produce more sensible differences between the degrees, that is to say, near the equator and the pole. She found among her members, men sufficiently devoted to undertake these laborious journeys. In the year 1735, Bouguer, Godin, and La Condamine, went to America, where they joined the Spanish commissioners. Some months after, Clairault, Maupertuis, and Le Monnier, departed for the north. The results of these expeditions put the flattening of the earth beyond doubt, but its absolute amount still remained uncertain. The degree of Peru, compared with that of France, gave a slighter flattening than if the earth were homogeneous; the operation of Lapland indicated

a greater. In this uncertainty, the lengths of the pendulum, which they were careful to measure, agreed with the flattening deduced from the operation at the equator; but the exactness of these measurements, especially in the operation of Lapland, was not such as could enable them to solve the difficulty. No fault lay with any one, as at that period it was impossible to do it better.

Things remained at this point during fifty years. Bouguer, La Condamine, Clairault, and Maupertuis, died; but after that interval, astronomical instruments becoming much more perfect, and the methods of observation more general and more precise, hopes were entertained of removing the uncertainty which preceding operations had left on the flattening of the earth. The Academy, the heir of these great works, resolved to resume them with all the means which could ensure their success. She gave still more importance to them, by proposing to take the very size of the earth, thus determined, for the fundamental element of a system of general and uniform measures, of which all the parts would be connected together by simple relations, and in accordance with our mode of numeration. At this day, as formerly, she hopes that such a system, founded upon natural elements, invariable and independent of the individual prejudices of the people, will ultimately become as common to all, as are now the Arabian ciphers, the division of time, and the calendar. It was a wish long ago, expressed by the best and most enlightened of our kings. The proposal realizing it, was, so to speak, the last sigh of the Academy; and the act which decided its execution, was one of the last which preceded the fatal epoch of our great political convulsions. All the institutions tending to maintain civilization and knowledge perished, and the Academy perished with them. But true men of science do not require to have repeated to them the authority for doing that which they believe useful. In the midst of the disorder and madness excited by popular anarchy, MM. de Lambre and Méchain, furnished with new instruments which Borda had invented for them, began, and continued, often at the risk of their lives, the most extended and exact measurement of the earth which had ever been undertaken. They concluded it as well, although not so easily, as they could have done in the bosom of the most profound peace. The measurement of the pendulum was not forgotten. Borda, who had done so much to perfect all the other parts of the observations, invented for this experiment a method, the exactness of which surpassed every thing which had been till then imagined, and which has never been surpassed.

After these operations were terminated, it was thought that the arch of the meridian might be continued a good many degrees south, across Catalonia, and that it might even be possible to prolong it to the Balearic isles, by means of an immense triangle of which the sides extending over the sea, should join these isles to the coast of Valentia. Méchain devoted himself to this operation. I say that he devoted himself, for he died of fever in a small town

in the kingdom of Valentia, after having surveyed all the chain, and measured the first triangles. M. Arago and I were charged with the completion of the work, jointly with the commissioners of the king of Spain, Charles IV. We had the good fortune to succeed; but it is in remembrance, that M. Arago did not return to France without encountering great danger, and after a distressing captivity. Our results, by confirming those of the arc of France, gave them a new proof of accuracy. We measured also, at our most remote station, the length of the second's pendulum, after the method of Borda. M. Matthieu and I repeated the same operation upon different points of the arc comprised between Perpignan and Dunkirk. These experiments gave for the flattening of the earth, a value almost exactly equal to that which M. de Lambre had already obtained, by comparing the arc of France and Spain with the degree of the equator, calculated with new pains, and with the degree of Lapland which Mr. Swanberg, an able Swedish astronomer, had corrected by new observations; finally, with an arc of many degrees, which major Lambton had measured with great accuracy in the English possessions of India.

Verified by so many combinations independent of each other, our arc of France and Spain acquired farther rights to become a fundamental model for measures. An occasion presented itself of making it of still more importance. Since the rebellion of 1745, the English government had perceived the utility of constructing a detailed map of the three kingdoms, which could serve equally to direct the amelioration of the country in time of peace, and its defence in time of war. I may state in passing, that it is the war which, for twenty years back, has given to geodesiacal operations the great extension, and the extreme perfection, which they have acquired in all the states of Europe; and the value of this slight advantage is thus enhanced by its being dearly enough paid for. However this may be, the English *triangulation*, begun by general Roy, and continued after him by colonel Mudge, was prolonged from the south of England to the north of Scotland, and presented in that extent many degrees of the terrestrial meridian, measured with excellent instruments. It was extremely desirable that this arc should be joined to the arc of France. But as, from the geographical position of England, she is placed a little to the westward of ours, there was ground to fear lest all the terrestrial meridians, not being exactly alike, the difference of longitude would affect the results which might be obtained from that junction. Nevertheless, there could be no dread of this, so far as concerned the measurements of the pendulum, which are much less disturbed than the degrees by the slight irregularities of the figure of the earth. The Board of Longitude was desirous that the same apparatus which had served for these measurements in France and Spain, should be employed over the whole extent of the English arc. To wish for any thing useful to the sciences, was to have at once the assent of the men of science in England, and the approp-

bation of the government of that enlightened country. Neither the one nor the other was wanting to us. The respectable sir Joseph Banks, and his worthy friend sir Charles Blagden, assured us of all imaginable facilities. M. Lainé, the minister of the interior, with whom every thing useful or honourable has only possibility for its limit, was able, from the resources of his good will, to furnish means for this enterprise, and the Board of Longitude had the goodness to entrust me with the execution of it.

I left Paris at the commencement of the month of May, last year, carrying with me the apparatus I had made use of on the other points of the meridian, a repeating circle by M. Fortin, an astronomical clock, and chronometers by M. Breguet; in fine, every thing which was necessary for the observations. Orders from the English government, obtained through the vigilant intervention of sir Joseph Banks, awaited their arrival at Dover. The whole was sent to me quite entire, and under the seal of the customs, without fees, without inspection, absolutely as if I had not passed from one country to another. Every thing was protected with the same care in the carriage to London, and was at last deposited in the house of sir Joseph Banks. How can I describe what I felt on seeing for the first time the venerable companion of Cook, rendered illustrious by his long voyages, remarkable for a reach of mind, and an elevation of feeling, which make him equally interested in the progress of all human knowledge—possessing high rank, great fortune, and universal respect—sir Joseph has made all these advantages the patrimony of the learned of all nations. So simple, so easy in his kindness, it almost seems, to him who experiences it, the effect of a naturally acquired right; and at the same time he is so good, that he leaves us all the pleasure, all the *individuality* of gratitude. What a noble example of a protection whose sole authority is founded in esteem, respect, and free and voluntary confidence—whose titles consist only in an inexhaustible good will, and in the recollection of services rendered, and of which the long and uncontested possession necessarily supposes rare virtues, and an exquisite delicacy—when we reflect, that all this power is formed, maintained, and exercised among equals!

Under these honourable auspices, every thing became easy. Colonel Mudge, who had shown himself most favourably disposed towards our enterprise, seconded it by all the means in his power. We departed from Edinburgh together, and fixed our first station in the fort of Leith. There I received, equally from him and colonel Elphinston, commandant of the military engineers, all the assistance which the most eager wish to oblige could grant, or even suggest. I required a situation where the view was free, and which was at the same time sheltered, in order to erect my circle. I was induced to construct upon the terrace of the fort a portable observatory, which being capable of being easily taken to pieces at pleasure, permitted me to make observations on all sides.

of the horizon. It was necessary that the apparatus of the pendulum should be fixed with solidity; and stones, of the weight of sixty quintals, were fixed in thick walls, with iron chains. Every thing that could be useful was lavished upon me; and, if my observations were bad, I had no excuse; it was entirely my own fault. Unfortunately the health of colonel Mudge, enfeebled by former labours, did not permit him to enjoy with me these preparations, so much as both of us could have wished; but in this respect his place was supplied by one of his sons, captain Richard Mudge, a young officer full of zeal, with whom I completed my labours. The care which I employed in this duty, did not hinder me from stealing an occasional glance at every thing that was fair and good in Scotland, that abode of morality and intelligence. But foreseeing that such objects might cause me to look upon the minute details of weights, lengths, and measures, as somewhat dry, I resolved not to think of them till my return; and, luckily for the experiments, I faithfully kept the word I had pledged to them.

After they were finished, it behoved us to go and repeat them in the Orkneys, the uttermost limit of the English arc. But colonel Mudge, always reflecting upon what might render his operations more complete, perceived, that it was possible to connect the Orkneys with the Shetland Isles, by triangles, whose *apices* should rest upon the Isles, or rather, upon the intermediate rocks of Faira and Foula. This plan extended the new arc two degrees to the north; and this was sufficient to decide him. But relatively to the general system of the operations of England and France, it had still another advantage of very different importance. This consisted in carrying the English line of operations two degrees towards the east, almost upon the meridian of Formentera, our last southern station in the Mediterranean. By this happy change, the English operation became the prolongation of ours, and the two together form an arc almost equal to the fourth part of the distance from the pole to the equator. If one might hope that the different nations of Europe would agree to choose the basis of a common system of measures, in nature, is there not here an element the most beautiful and the most sure which they could adopt? And this great arc, which, leaving the Balearic Isles, traverses Spain, France, England, and Scotland, and stops at the rocks of the ancient Thule, being taken in combination with the flattening of the earth, which is deduced from the measurement of the pendulum, or from the theory of the moon, will it not give for fundamental unity, or the 'METRE,' a measure the most complete, and I dare to say it, the most European which can ever be hoped for.

As soon as the possibility of this great project was recognised, it absorbed all our thoughts; the delicate health of colonel Mudge did not permit him to realise it in person, and he entrusted the execution of it to one of the officers who served under his orders. He left me his son, whose assistance had been so useful, and which became still more so. My apparatus, the portable observatory, the

large stones, and the iron chains, were all embarked with the instruments of the English operation, in the *Investigator*, brig of war, commanded by captain George Thomas, whose activity and skill do not certainly stand in need of any praise of mine, but whose inexhaustible politeness demands all my gratitude. This officer was so good as to take me on board his ship to Aberdeen, where, during a short day, I experienced the most distinguished hospitality. On the 9th of July we set sail for the Shetland Islands. We remained a long time at sea, detained by calms or contrary winds, regretting with all our hearts the loss of so many beautiful nights, which we could have so well employed in making our observations. On the 6th day we left the Orkneys, with their mountains, of a reddish colour, on our left, which even Roman enterprise had not passed; we discovered the Isle of Faira, which saw the vessel of the admiral of the invincible armada broken to pieces upon her rocks. At last the peaks of Shetland appeared to us in their clouds, and on the 18th July, we made the land, not far from the southern point of these Isles, where the tides of the Atlantic, clashing with those proceeding from the sea of Norway, cause a continual swell, and an everlasting storm. The desolate aspect of the soil did not bely these approaches to it. It was no longer those fortunate isles of Spain—those smiling countries—Valentia, that garden where the orange and lemon trees, in flower, shed their perfumes around the tomb of a Scipio, or over the majestic ruins of the ancient Saguntum. Here, on landing upon rocks mutilated by the waves, the eye sees nothing but a soil wet, desert, and covered with stones and moss, and craggy mountains, scarred by the inclemency of the heavens; not a tree, not a bush, to soften the savage aspect; here and there some scattered huts, whose roofs, covered with grass, allowed the thick smoke with which they are filled to escape into the fog. Reflecting on the sadness of this abode, where we were about to remain in exile during many months, we took a direction, not without trouble, across pathless plains and hills, towards the small assemblage of stone houses, forming the capital called Lerwick. There we began to feel that the social virtues of a country are not to be measured by its appearance of poverty or riches. It is impossible to conceive hospitality more free, more cordial, than that with which we were received. People who, but a moment before were ignorant of our names, were eager to conduct us every where. When informed of the object of our voyage, they gave us of themselves all the information which might be useful; they collected and delivered it to us, with the same interest as if they had been acting in a matter in which they were personally concerned. Above all, we received much essential counsel from Dr. Edmonston, a well-informed physician, who has published a very good description of the Shetland Islands, and who recollects with pleasure, having attended, when at Paris, the lectures of our colleague M. Dumeril. He gave us a letter to his brother, who resides in the isle of Unst,

the most northerly of the Archipelago; for although, on leaving Scotland, we had thought that we should establish ourselves at Lerwick; and although fort Charlotte, which protects that town, offered for our apparatus a very favourable situation, nevertheless we were attracted by this little isle of Unst, which offered us a station more northerly than Lerwick, by about half a degree, and also a little more easterly, consequently nearer to the meridian of Fermentera. It is true, that it did not promise us a very convenient abode; but it may be conceived, that in going, we did not reckon on the enjoyment of luxury; in short, we made the choice which best suited our operations. Our new friends at Lerwick, pointed out to us the most experienced pilot of the isles, and we departed on the evening of the 20th of July, for our final destination. The science of our guide was not useless to us. A thick fog enveloped us; the wind, always favourable, freshened, and our vessel, plunged in profound darkness, flew with the rapidity of an arrow between rocks so numerous, and through straits so narrow, that without being conducted in this labyrinth by management so correct and quick, that it had become, one might almost say, a sense, it must have foundered a thousand times. Arrived at Unst, we eagerly ran over the isle. It presented nothing but fishermen's huts, and here and there some gentlemen's houses, too small to receive the great English instruments. We at first thought of pitching them upon the highest and most northerly mountains of the isle; but the difficulty of transporting thither the great instruments, which must necessarily have been done by men alone, made us give up the project. We preferred a small island called Balta, situated at the entrance of the principal bay of Unst, (which, closing it in, as it were, on the side of the sea, rendered it an excellent harbour, where the brig could cast anchor in perfect safety), and disembarked our instruments. At first I acceded to this choice. But on more nearly examining the new station, and considering how much it was exposed to gusts of wind, the extreme moisture which prevailed, the remoteness from every habitation, and the manifold difficulties which presented themselves to the formation of an establishment sufficiently solid, which the experiments of the pendulum demanded, I dreaded lest, in persisting in it, I should compromise the success of my operations. In consequence of this, captain Mudge and I decided to return to the Isle of Unst, and to ask a reception for ourselves, and our apparatus, in the only house which was in sight. Happily it was that of the brother of Mr. Edmonston, who received us so well at Lerwick. We experienced here the same kindness. A large sheep-fold, which was empty on account of its being summer, and whose thick walls were capable of resisting every storm, received the apparatus of the pendulum. The portable observatory, together with the repeating circle, were established in the garden of Mr. Edmonston. It was not without much labour that we succeeded in landing the large stones, and dragging them to the place of their destination. It required all the efforts of the brig's crew, animated by the obliging perse-



verance of the officers. At last, on the 2d of August, we were in a condition to commence our astronomical observations, and on the 10th, we made the first experiment with the pendulum. On the 17th, we had eight of these experiments, and 270 observations of the latitude. I was now certain of the success of the operation; nothing but time and perseverance were required. Unfortunately, captain Mudge began to feel, in a disagreeable way, the influence of this residence. Although he carefully concealed what he felt, and his zeal was in no respect diminished, I myself perceived the alteration of his health, and the winds having brought to our isle a whale ship, which was intended for Spitzbergen, I determined him to avail himself of it to return to a more genial climate. He departed with regret, leaving me, on behalf of his father, all the powers, and even all the assistance of which I could stand in need. It was then, that left alone, I could feel how lucky it was that I had taken up my residence with Mr. Edmonston. The kindness of that excellent man seemed to increase with the difficulty of my situation. When alone, I could not make observations on the repeating circle, the working of which requires two persons, one to follow the star, and the other to mark the indications of the level. Mr. Edmonston, who took as great an interest in my labours as myself, suggested to me the idea of employing, for this latter part of the observation, a young carpenter, who had already given proofs of his intelligence and address in setting up our observatory, and who, besides, like all the peasants of Scotland, and even of these isles, could read, write, and cypher extremely well. I followed this advice; and having rendered the task of my new assistant as simple as possible, I began to give him some lessons a few days before the departure of captain Mudge. He made a very rapid progress, and perhaps acquitted himself better than a more learned assistant; for he observed and marked my level with all the fidelity of a mechanic; and on no account whatever, not even to satisfy my impatience to observe, would he have admitted my results to be good, before they were strictly within the condition which I had prescribed to him; that is to say, before the bubble of the level was in a state of perfect immobility. Nevertheless, as it is very necessary to reserve to one's self some means of verification, when one resolves to make an astronomer of a carpenter, I had, among the numbers which he wrote certain relations which he did not suspect, and which would have shown me his errors, if he had committed them. This happened sometimes at the commencement; and he was always very much surprised at my being able to detect and correct a mistake, which he himself had not perceived when making it, and which I had not seen made. But at the end of three days, there was no occasion for my occult science any longer to display itself. With this useful and sure assistance, I succeeded in the course of two months in collecting 38 series of the pendulum, each of five or six hours, 1400 observations of the latitude in 55 series, made equally on the south and

north of the zenith, and about 1200 observations of the absolute heights of the sun and the stars, to regulate the going of my clock. After this, it may be conceived that I hardly did any thing else than observe, and, in fact, I did not calculate in this place more than three or four observations, at great intervals from each other, in order to assure myself of their general rate, and to guide me in their continuation, delaying the final calculation until my return. In doing so I doubtless acted well, for although I have since devoted much time to them, they are not yet entirely finished. Nevertheless, the agreement of those observations, of which the calculations are completed, shows the accuracy which may be expected of them; and the results which are deduced from them, being combined with those of Formentera of the arc of France, give for the flattening of the earth exactly the same value which is deduced from the theory of the moon, and the measurement of the degrees compared at great distances. This perfect agreement between determinations so different, shows at once the certainty of the result, and the sure method which science employs to obtain it. It will be seen from this notice, that it is not without trouble that this point of precision has been reached, and it will not excite much surprise when it is known, that the variation of the length of the pendulum, by which the flattening is measured, is in all, from the equator to the pole, but four '*millimètres*,' that is to say, less than two lines; and from Formentera to Unst, one '*millimètre*' and a half, or less than three-fourths of a line. It is these three-fourths of a line however, which, appreciated as can now be done, exhibit and measure, even with great accuracy, the flattening of the whole terrestrial spheroid, and prove to us, that in spite of slight accidents of composition and arrangement, which this exterior and slender surface on which we move, presents to us the interior of the mass of our planet is composed of strata perfectly regular, and subjected to the laws of super-position, density, and form, which a primitive state of fluidity had assigned to them. The advantage of having completely performed my operations, how great soever it necessarily appeared to me, was neither the only nor the most precious I experienced in the family which had so kindly received me. If I had remained upon the rocks of Balta, I should, without doubt, have quitted these isles with all the prejudices of a foreigner. I should only have seen the dreariness of their situation, the poverty of their soil, and the inclemency of their sky; I should not have known that they contained beings sensible, kind, virtuous, and enlightened, like those I had the pleasure of knowing;\* and even if I could have suspected their existence, which some kind service, some delicate attention would doubtless have disclosed, I should not have experienced the charm

\* I cannot here recall *all* the persons who have loaded me with obligations; I shall add at least to the names of MM. Edmonston's those of Mr. Mowat, of Unst, and Leisk of Lunna.

which could retain them in that foggy, rocky, pathless region, without a tree on the mountains or plains for the eye to rest on; kingdom of the rain, of the wind, and of the tempest, whose atmosphere, constantly impregnated with chill moisture, only softens to a certain degree the roughness of the winter, under the sad condition of giving no summer. That which attaches them to it is the profound and unalterable peace which they enjoy, for the pleasures of which they have a perfect relish.

During 25 years, in which Europe was devouring herself, the sound of a drum had not been heard in Unst, hardly in Lerwick; during 25 years, the door of the house I inhabited, had remained open day and night. In all this interval of time, neither conscription nor press-gang had troubled or afflicted the poor but tranquil inhabitants of this little isle. The numerous reefs which surround it, and which render it accessible only at favourable seasons, serve them for defence against privateers in time of war;—and what is it that privateers would come to seek for there? These people receive news from Europe in the same way as they read the history of the preceding age; they recall no personal misfortune; they awaken no animosity, of course they have neither that interest, or to express it better, that momentary delirium which produces the mad exaltations of all the passions, and they tranquilly philosophise on events which seem to relate to another world. If there were only trees and sun, no residence could be more pleasant: but if there were trees and sun, every body would wish to go thither, and peace would there exist no longer.

This calm, this habitual security, gives to their social relations a charm elsewhere unknown. Every one here, in the class of gentlemen, is relation, connexion, or friend; and friendships are like relationships. But as in this world, evil necessarily accompanies good, this very pleasure of living in a great family is sometimes dearly purchased. It causes them to feel with extreme pain, every death which visits this little circle of individuals, in whom their affections are concentrated: such an event, and it must arrive, is a family affliction, and possesses all its bitterness. They but too commonly experience almost equal grief, when their brothers or some one of their friends depart to seek their fortunes elsewhere; the isle, and all the isles together, not furnishing sufficient employment for the upper class of the population. This departure is regarded as a death by those who remain, and it is in effect almost a death to them, since it is but too probable that they will never again see those who depart. People often quit the Shetland isles to establish themselves in a better country, but they seldom return to them. The friendship even which their kindness leads them to contract with the foreigners whom they oblige, become to their affectionate hearts, subjects of regret and sadness, which the far distant voice of gratitude can but imperfectly soften. The necessity of leaving their native country, arises among the higher class of the Shetlanders, from the narrow extent of commerce and of agri-

culture, occasioned by the want of capital, and the want of exportation for the produce of the soil. A small portion only of the estate of each proprietor is cultivated, the rest is occupied in the pasturage of flocks of sheep, and horses in a half wild state, without a keeper and without shelter. The people grub up around their huts such a bit of ground as is merely sufficient for their subsistence, and they pay the rent of it by the perilous but attractive profits of fishing. This they all practise with unexampled boldness. Six men, good rowers, and confident of each other, agree to possess one boat, a light canoe, entirely uncovered; they take with them a small provision of water and of oat cake, and in this too frail skiff, with a compass, they go out of sight of the isles and of all land, the distance of 15 or 20 leagues:—there they cast their lines, and pass a day and a night in fishing. If the weather is good, and the fishing successful, they may each gain ten or twelve francs by such a trip. If the sky is overcast, and the sea becomes tempestuous, they struggle in their uncovered boat against its fury, till they have saved their lines, the loss of which would be the ruin of themselves and their families; then they row and sail in the direction of the land, in the midst of waves rising to the height of houses. The most experienced of them, placed in the stern, holds the helm, and judging of the direction of every wave, eludes its immediate shock, which would be sufficient to swallow them up. At the same time he gives orders as to the sails, which he causes to be lowered every time the boat mounts on the top of a wave, and hoisted every time she descends, in order that the wind may cause her to fly over the top of the following wave. Sometimes enveloped in profound darkness, these poor men cannot see the mountain of water which they would avoid;—they can only judge of its approach by the noise of the howling. In the mean time, women and children are upon the coast imploring Heaven; watching the appearance of the boat which bears their only hopes; sometimes expecting to see it upset or swallowed up in the roll of the waves; striving to assist their husbands and fathers, if they arrive near enough to enable them to succour them; and sometimes calling loudly to those who will hear them no more. But their lot is not always so dismal. By means of skill, hard labour, coolness, and courage, the boat is victorious in this terrible struggle; the well-known sound of her shell is heard; she arrives; tears are then followed by embraces; and the joy of seeing each other is increased by the recital of the frightful danger which has been escaped.

Nevertheless, the ruggedness of their country has charms for these poor people. They love those old rocks, whose bold shape and well-known aspect point out to them the narrow passage which their boat must follow, when, returning from a prosperous fishing, with a favourable wind, she enters the protecting bay, greeted with the cries of the sea birds. They love those deep caverns where they have often lunched their boat into the middle of the waves,

when setting out to surprise the seals. Even I myself, feeling calm under their guidance, have contemplated with admiration those lofty cliffs of primitive rocks, that ancient structure of the globe, whose strata lay inclined towards the sea, and undermined at their base by the fury of the waves, seemed threatening to bury under their ruins the frail bark which bounded at their feet. At our approach, clouds of sea birds issued in thousands from their retreats, surprised to find themselves troubled by man, and making these solitary places resound with their confused cries; some darting into the air; others plunging into the waves, and shooting upwards, almost as quickly, with the prey which they had seized; whilst porpoises and seals, here and there, raised their blackish heads above waves transparent as crystal. Every where life seems to abandon a cold and humid soil, to take refuge in the air and in the waters. But, soon as the evening spreads her veil over these wild retreats, all re-enter in peace and silence. Sometimes a gentle breeze of the south tempers the chillness of the air, and allows the planets of the night to shine with the purest light on this tranquil scene, whose profound peace no noise interrupts, except at intervals, the distant murmur of the dying waves, or the soft and plaintive cry of a '*moette*,' skimming rapidly the surface of the tide.

After a stay of two months, I quitted these isles, carrying with me recollections for my whole life. An equinoctial gale carried me back to Edinburgh in fifty hours. This abrupt transition from solitude to the bustle of the world,—from patriarchal simplicity to the refinements of civilization and luxury,—is not without attraction. Colonel Elphinston, by the kindest reception, convinced me that friendship had not altogether retired to the Shetland islands. It was then that, entirely at leisure from my observations, I could contemplate at my ease every thing which the most social state of this country presents to us, of institutions and of men,—a spectacle at once consoling and sad for whoever has spent his life amidst the troubles of the continent. I witnessed a people poor, but laborious; free, but respectfully submissive to the laws; moral and religious, without sternness; tolerant, without indifference. I saw peasants learning to read in books which contained essays of Addison and Pope. I saw the works of Johnson, and Chesterfield, and of the most agreeable English moralists, offered as a relaxation to the middle ranks of the people. In the passage-boats, as elsewhere, there were games of cards and dice. I witnessed village farmers meeting in clubs to deliberate upon the interests of politics and agriculture, and formed into societies for the purpose of buying useful books; among the number of which was the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which is known to be digested at Edinburgh by learned men and philosophers of the first order. Finally, I witnessed the higher classes of society suited to this high degree of civilization, and truly worthy to occupy the first place in it, by their intelligence and the loftiness of their sentiments. I observed them exciting and directing all enterprises of public utility,—in

unceasing communication with the people, and never confounding themselves with them; anxiously employed in displaying their information to enlighten them on the subject of their duties and of their true interests; knowing how to comfort them in their necessities, without depriving them of those virtues, and that independence, which are produced by the care of providing against them; thus every where procuring their respect, without exciting their envy, and enjoying, as the reward of so many exertions, peace, union, reciprocal esteem, mutual confidence, and even a very lively affection, founded, on the one hand, on the habitual exercise of the kindness and the gentleness of an intimate relation, and on the other, upon gratitude and respect.

On quitting Scotland, I visited the most industrious counties of industrious England. There I beheld another spectacle: I saw the powers of nature employed in the service of man, under all imaginable forms, and himself reserved as a mechanical power of a more expensive, and more delicate construction, for these intermitting or accidental operations only, which his divine reason render him more peculiarly fit to execute; and whether it was that the considerations of social morality, with which I had been so much struck, had left too deep traces on my soul; whether it was that a great manufacturing system ought to be appreciated rather in its national results, than in its local and particular influence, I admired that immense display of manufacturers, rather than wished to see it estalished in my own country. After having paid my respects to Oxford and Cambridge, those ancient and tranquil abodes of learning and of science, I proceeded to rejoin Mr. Arago at London, and again to associate myself with him for the measurement of the seconds pendulum, no longer in a desert island, but in the magnificent Observatory of Greenwich. Mr. Humboldt, who had accompanied him, assisted in this operation, and was desirous, while it lasted, to forget the multitude of his other talents in his labours as an excellent observer. Mr. Pond, the astronomer royal, was pleased to offer us all imaginable facilities, with that generous eagerness which men truly devoted to the sciences can alone feel for every thing which contributes to their progress. After having enjoyed the pleasure of observing the heavens, and of studying one of the greatest phenomena of nature with fine instruments; all, already consecrated, if I may so express it, by so many observations, and in a place renowned for so many astronomical discoveries, I once more beheld my native country, with that happiness at return, which the hearts of Frenchmen feel so keenly, and of which the charm was rendered still more agreeable, by the internal feeling of satisfaction and gratitude, of which I brought her back the homage. It is truly in a voyage undertaken for the advancement of science, that a Frenchman can learn still more to honour, and still more to cherish, his noble country. Placed without the circle of political passions, not attracted to it by interest or ambition; without rank, without the riches which support it, there

only exist for him those titles which his country has acquired to solid glory,—to that which consists in doing good to mankind. He is exalted by the recollection of the many services which she has rendered to the civilization of the world, by the universal admiration which she has excited by the many masterpieces with which she has enriched literature, the sciences, and the arts. Like Minerva, that country accompanies him in a foreign land;—she speaks for him, introduces him, protects him, disposes all hearts to him, and claims in his favour a hospitality, which she herself has so often and so nobly bestowed. Thus, after having reached the end of his toils, and while relating to his countrymen the reception, the assistance, the kindness, and even the friendship, which he received from a justly celebrated nation, he experiences, in manifesting the expression of his gratitude, a pleasure so much the more pure, that all these favours are still in his eyes, new gifts from his country.

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ART. V.—*Reign of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia*—abridged from an unpublished ‘Outline of the Political History of Russia,’ by an American.

**T**HE revolution which seated Elizabeth on the throne, in December 1741, wears a broader character, than those by which it was immediately preceded. It was more than a mere change of the sovereign and the principal ministers of state. Her accomplices had exacted as one of the conditions of their aid, a promise that she would, on her accession, relieve Russia from the oppression of foreigners. This engagement was fulfilled, to the extent of making the whole administration completely Russian, and of putting all strangers under the ban of the court. The talents of such commanders as Lacy, Keith, Lowendal, Mansfeldt and others, could not be spared for the moment: they were therefore excepted from the edict which hurried their patrons and friends into Siberia. But those distinguished officers soon felt the necessity of abandoning the Russian service, and of seeking honors and glory under other auspices than those of the indigenous ministry.

It was fortunate that the condition of the foreigners did not undergo a more serious change. A memorial was presented in form to Elizabeth by the guards, requesting that all the foreigners who were then in the employ of Russia might be massacred, and a general impression prevailed among the populace that permission to this effect would be given to the troops. The capital was agitated by sanguinary tumults, and the army sent against Sweden, arrested by a serious mutiny, of which the guards were the instigators, with the avowed object of butchering the foreign officers of every grade. But for the intrepidity and judicious arrangements of marshals Lacy and Keith, the most horrible scenes might have every where ensued.

The natural consequence of the discredit and humiliation of foreigners, was the revival of the old Russian spirit both in the

government and people; of those manners and habits which prevailed at the beginning of the century. The reader will understand what peculiarities of character and usage I have in view, by recurring to the reign of Ivan IV, or that of Peter the Great. Among them the blind and superstitious adoration by the people of the person of the sovereign, was now liable not only to re-appear but to gather additional strength from the circumstance of the union of the religious with the political supremacy. The monarch, at once head of the empire and the church, attracted a double idolatry. Whoever examines minutely the spirit of Elizabeth's administration, will discover that it had a tendency to check the progress of civilization and freedom; as the previous ascendancy of the foreigners conduced on the other hand, to promote both, notwithstanding the violence and machiavelism which distinguished their career.

Although the empire suffered in some respects by the restoration of the old régime, it lost nothing as to its domestic strength or in its foreign relations. The military establishment was fully sustained by the borrowed skill and martial genius of the natives; the lust of dominion predominated as before, and the ambitious projects of Peter or of the adventurers whom he patronized, were never, for a moment, out of view. Some of the youths whom Elizabeth invested with command, cultivated the military art with equal ardour and success; and she selected as her prime minister a Russian count, Bestucheff, of eminent talents and sagacity; bred in the school of Osterman; long and intimately conversant with the national affairs, and whose fundamental creed is said to have been, that the natural state of Russia was war; that every thing should be subordinate to the object of military consideration;—that she should never be without one hundred thousand men on her frontiers, ready to maintain her influence in Europe. The empress was of an indolent and easy temper, and too devoted a voluptuary to be capable of application to state-concerns. Free scope was therefore allowed to the passions and designs of her favourites and ministers.

At the accession of Elizabeth, Russia was involved in hostilities with Sweden. Two violent parties had grown up in this latter country; the one in the interest of France, and inimical to Russia, denominated the *Hats*; and the other—the *Caps*, disposed to preserve peace with its formidable neighbour, and more or less under her influence. The intrigues and menaces of Bestucheff who acted as Russian minister at Stockholm during the regency of Anne, were insufficient to prevent the first from acquiring a decided preponderance in the Swedish councils, and satisfying the desire of France, who aimed at embroiling the two powers, at that period, from the same motive, already mentioned, which impelled her to foment simultaneously a domestic revolution at St. Petersburg. Sweden embarked in the war at a juncture the most unpropitious for herself; with a distracted government, and military preparations no ways adequate to the enterprise. She was constantly de-



feated by marshals Keith and Lacy, the generals of the regent; who pursued their successes under Elizabeth, reduced a considerable Swedish army to the necessity of capitulating, made themselves masters of the whole of Finland, and threatened still more serious evils.

The reigning monarch of Sweden was far advanced in age, and without natural heirs. The choice of his successor devolved on the Diet, and an attempt was made by the war party, to procure the election of the king of Denmark, in order, by the union of the two monarchies, to retrieve the fortunes of their country, and raise a powerful barrier against the ambition of Russia. However desirable this course for the independence of the North, it did not suit the altered temper of the majority, who, struck with consternation by the victories of the Russians, most earnestly desired a peace. As a propitiatory sacrifice, they resolved to tender the inheritance of the crown, to the young duke of Holstein Gottorp, grandson of Peter the Great, whom Elizabeth had previously called to St. Petersburg, and nominated as her own successor. The duke preferring the sceptre of the czars, declined the offer.

Negotiations were then opened (June 16, 1743) at Abo, the capital of Finland, and terminated in the treaty of that name, by which it was stipulated, that Sweden should elect as heir to the throne, Adolphus Frederick, bishop of Lubeck, uncle of the duke of Holstein, and cede to Russia several important districts and fortresses of Finland. The establishment of their candidate on the Swedish throne, was an advantage of as much moment to the Russian ministry as the enlargement of their boundaries on the west. A treaty of defensive alliance followed not long after, which entangled Sweden still more deeply in their toils. Henceforth we shall find them dictating laws to this humiliated kingdom, in the tone of a metropolis towards the government of a province or colony.

A mutual enmity had long subsisted between the courts of France and Russia, occasioned by their rivalry at Constantinople, Warsaw, and Stockholm. France, jealous of the aggrandizement of the northern empire, and of its intimate connexion with England and Austria, had laboured assiduously to cripple its strength and arrest its progress, by fomenting border-wars and domestic revolutions. Notwithstanding uninterrupted hostilities of this nature, and although she had encouraged and subsidized Sweden in the contest of which I have just spoken, she yet entertained the expectation of converting the cabinet of St. Petersburg into a close and active ally of her own, through the influence of her minister, the marquis la Chétardie, who had so usefully seconded Elizabeth in deposing the regent. La Chétardie did not however continue in Russia many months after the event. While he remained, he was greatly caressed, and on his departure, received a magnificent donation from the hand of the empress.

He had made no progress in the alliance which he was instructed to effect. Bestucheff was wedded to the connexion with Austria and England, and to the old scheme of politics in relation to Turkey, Sweden, and Poland. The wily chancellor understood fully the real views and dispositions of the French court, and the true interests of the empire. He counteracted the pressing instances of la Chétardie with the czarina, and when left with a clear stage, moulded her and the cabinet entirely to his favourite purposes. A party existed, nevertheless, about the person of Elizabeth, in the interest of France, and indefatigable in its endeavours to ruin the chancellor. The surgeon Lestocq, now a privy counsellor, one of its leaders, took advantage of a momentary disgust which she had conceived for the Austrian alliance, on account of a domestic conspiracy, which I shall mention more particularly hereafter, to persuade her to cause it to be intimated to the French court, that the return of la Chétardie would be acceptable. Louis readily complied with the suggestion, and la Chétardie was sent back to St. Petersburg where he met with a flattering reception.

The disgrace of Bestucheff seemed an indispensable preliminary to negotiation, and at the same time a certain consequence of the mission. The chancellor, however, proved an overmatch for all his enemies. He detected and exposed their most secret intrigues, counterworked incessantly upon the mind of the empress, by means of his creatures, and got possession of the despatches of La Chétardie to his court, which proved to be of an import, no less hostile and offensive to the czarina than to her minister. The subtle diplomatist thus caught in his own net, was suddenly arrested by the adjutant general of the indignant czarina; ordered to quit his residence in two hours; escorted by a guard to the frontiers; there contumeliously stripped of the order of St. Andrew and of the portrait of her majesty with which he had been decorated in the season of his favour, and left to bewail Russian ingratitude, as he measured back his steps to France.

The empress, in the circular issued to the foreign ministers on the occasion, 'was persuaded that the *individual* had acted without orders, and that the king, his master, would reprobate his conduct.' Louis the 15th, not being inclined to come to an open rupture, took the hint, exiled la Chétardie to his country-estate as a mark of the royal displeasure, and saw no dishonour for himself in the proceedings of the Russian government, inasmuch as the marquis had not presented his credentials. The cabinet of Versailles deputed another less formidable representative to St. Petersburg, invested with powers to acknowledge, for the first time on the part of France, the imperial title, which the sovereigns of Russia had continued to wear since the assumption of it by Peter the Great. Elizabeth had previously intimated a wish, dictated by the sagacious policy of the old school, to be allowed to mediate between the powers arrayed against each other, in the great war of the Pragmatic Sanction. Louis addressed a letter to

her written with his own hand, in which he accepted the mediation, with professions of the most lively gratitude and admiration.

It is curious to compare the glowing friendship and lofty compliments of this letter,—the expressions of cordial attachment, and the pledge of steady union reciprocated on the presentation of the successor of la Chétardie, with the real dispositions of the parties as attested by the invariable tenor of their acts, and disclosed in the secret correspondence between the French monarch and his diplomatic agents.† The result of these transactions was the confirmation of Bestucheff in his unlimited credit with Elizabeth, and his supremacy in the cabinet; a circumstance material to be noted, because it furnishes the key to the politics of the ten succeeding years, and may, indeed, be said to have determined the complexion of the whole reign.

The domestic conspiracy to which I referred above, as having produced a temporary indisposition in the mind of Elizabeth towards the Austrian alliance, occurred in the third year of her reign, and is not unworthy of attention. It originated with a number of the relations and friends of those whom she had sent into Siberia on her accession, and its object was to effect the release of the exiles, by the restoration of the young Ivan to the throne. The immediate agents were personages of some weight and distinction at court, but their indiscretion soon betrayed them into the hands of informers, who by affecting to become accomplices, wrought a full disclosure. But the circumstance which gives to the plot a particular importance, is the active part which the marquis de Botta, the minister of Maria Theresa, at Berlin, and who had a little before, resided in the same capacity at St. Petersburg, was discovered to have taken in its formation and advancement, with the connivance, as he himself alleged, of his imperial mistress and of the king of Prussia. The purpose of the Austrian court is said to have been the exclusion of the duke of Holstein from the Russian succession. They trembled for their influence in Germany, at the prospect of a prince of the empire and a czar of Russia being united in the same person. The king of Prussia had every reason to exert himself for the relief of his brother-in-law the prince of Brunswick. Both these sovereigns disavowed, however, all that had been said and done by Botta in their name, and Bestucheff experienced no great difficulty in reconciling the two empresses. There is matter almost for amusement in the strong jealousy which Austria and France entertained of the power of Russia, and in their separate, occult machinations to prevent its growth, on the one hand, contrasted with the opportunities of extending it, which their inveterate rivalry and the desire of each to throw an additional weight into her own scale, caused them to provide no less eagerly than blindly. Whoever attends to the relative deportment of Russia, cannot fail to admire

† See *Politique de Tous Les Cabinets*.

the dexterity with which she improved, as well the hostile dispositions, as the selfish advances of both; the sagacity with which she distinguished, and the promptitude with which she employed, the true means of ultimate aggrandizement, notwithstanding the appearance of present prejudice, or inequality of benefit.

All the conspirators were punished with the knout, the excision of their tongues, and imprisonment in Siberia. Among the number were two of the most exalted women of the court; one of them, madame Lapouschin, celebrated for her beauty and accomplishments. It is asserted that she owed the severity of her fate, chiefly to the jealousy with which her charms had inspired Elizabeth. The mode of her punishment was certainly atrocious, and speaks fully as to the genius of the government under which it was inflicted.

Elizabeth lived in the continual dread of revolutions. The nomination of the young duke of Holstein as her successor in the early part of her reign, is said to have been but a precaution against the intrigues to which his character of grandson of Peter the Great might otherwise have given birth. This prince, afterwards the unfortunate Peter the III, was yet in his boyhood when called to the inheritance, and existed at Petersburg, to use the language of Coxe, rather as a prisoner of state, than as heir to the empire. An object of jealousy and distrust, he was neglected in his education, studiously debarred all opportunity of qualifying himself for government, and abandoned or restricted to the most frivolous pursuits and noxious association. Nothing can be imagined more disgusting or disgraceful than the history of the court cabals incessantly formed either for his support or his destruction. It would appear that nature had endowed him with considerable vivacity of spirit, and talents of no despicable order; a circumstance which probably contributed to place him in a still more invidious light. There are not wanting numerous examples to justify the remark of Tacitus:—*suapte naturâ potentiæ anxii* ———— *suspectus semper invisusque dominantibus quisquis proximus destinatur, adeo ut despliceant etiam civilia filiorum ingenia.*

When Peter had reached his sixteenth year, Elizabeth resolved to provide him with a wife, and did not overlook in making the choice, the prescriptive policy of rendering such occasions subservient to the formation of new ties with Germany. The princess Sophia Augusta, of Anhalt Jerbst, destined to fill the Russian throne with so much glory and power as Catharine II, was brought to the court of St. Petersburg, and married in 1745 to the grand duke, not however before a small pox, with which he was seized in the interval between his affiancement and the celebration of the nuptials, had cruelly disfigured his countenance, and altered the sentiments of the bride.

Bestucheff and his colleagues pursued without remission their plan of supporting Maria Theresa against the hostilities of France

and Prussia, as subsidiary to their views upon Germany and their northern neighbours. They concluded a new defensive alliance with the court of Vienna in 1746, and in the year following entered into a treaty of subsidy with England and Holland, by which they engaged to furnish a succour of thirty thousand troops, who were on their march to the Rhine, when the convention of Aix-la-Chapelle preparatory to the peace of that name, stopped them in Bohemia. The Russian ministry were, at the same time, indefatigable in the prosecution of the old scheme of subduing Poland, Sweden and Denmark, completely to their will, and preparing them for the yoke. Warsaw, Stockholm, and Copenhagen were respectively the scene of intrigues, of which corruption and violence carried to the highest pitch of enormity, formed the leading features. France was, at all these courts, the steady antagonist of Russia; but while she tried every means of seduction, she abstained from the expedient of intimidation, which the situation of the latter invited, and enabled her to employ with greater probability of success.

An oligarchical anarchy reigned in Sweden, and afforded an ample field for this iniquitous competition. The venality of the parties into which the court and diet were divided, almost kept pace with the profligacy of the foreign interlopers. It was natural for Russia, after securing the election of Adolphus Frederick as crown prince, to believe that her ascendancy was immoveably established; but the marriage of this prince with a sister of the king of Prussia, the ally of France,—the superior cunning and munificence of the French system of bribery,—the hereditary antipathy of the Swedes to the Russians, and the intemperate, hectoring violence of the Russian minister at Stockholm, produced a different result. The influence of France became completely paramount in the diet of 1747, and drew Sweden, the same year, into a defensive alliance with Prussia, levelled, as the French historians acknowledge, against Russia, and cemented by a French subsidy.

The court of St. Petersburg was more uniformly successful, although not less imperious, at Copenhagen. Denmark was bound down, not only by the fear of losing Sleswick, to which Russia had pretensions in favour of the duke of Holstein, but by the necessity of fortifying herself with external aid against the ambition of Prussia and Sweden. She renewed, in 1746, her old treaty of alliance with Russia, practised the most mortifying submissions, and fed the rapacity of the Russian courtiers with ruinous pensions and donatives. The ministers of Elizabeth are said to have made conventions, from time to time, with Denmark, merely for the purpose of extorting the gratifications which an ancient usage of their government, borrowed from the east, entitled them to receive on such occasions. Thus was maintained a sort of equilibrium in the Russian court, between the sums which corruption gathered from Denmark, and those which it dispensed to the *Caps* of Sweden.

The government of Russia, consigned to favourites and adventurers, was, at this period, and indeed throughout the whole of Elizabeth's reign, a tissue of the grossest excesses of peculation, and the most oppressive abuses of authority. The same disorders which I have described as prevalent under Peter the Great, now obtained equally in the administration of the national and provincial concerns, and were indulged the more generally and shamelessly, among the public functionaries of all ranks, in consequence of the total absence of control and the assurance of impunity. The crown was impoverished, and the treasury drained to enrich individuals; the navy languished; the public works fell to decay; the monopolies of salt, tobacco, and brandy, always the source of numerous ills, were aggravated in their pressure and in their consequences; the malversation extended also to the customs and to the mines.

The empire flourished, however, in its negotiations. Elizabeth was not insensible to the importance of good management in this quarter, and it was a matter in which she could not be deceived. She had, moreover, a taste for the magnificence and refinements of the southern courts. Considerable progress was therefore made at her own, in manners and appearance. At the same time the great cities of the empire reaped advantage from her fondness for building palaces and churches. The mildness of her disposition, and the graces of her address, shed a salutary influence where such an influence was eminently wanted. How far her extreme sensuality, and the excesses with which it was accompanied, were calculated to do mischief in the example, may be best determined when we come to treat of her successor, Catherine II.

In the early part of her reign, Elizabeth prohibited all capital punishments: but she abolished neither the secret chancery nor the torture. These engines of savage tyranny were employed with double activity by the unworthy delegates of her power. If immediate death could not be inflicted, they found in these, in the knout, and the other modes of punishment of which I have had too often occasion to speak, means of gratifying fully all the furious passions and depraved appetites of which human suffering is the aliment or the sport; and to which the members of a rude despotism must be always mutually obnoxious. It is affirmed, that the prisons of Russia were never more crowded, and that the number of wretches mutilated for Siberia, was at no time greater, than during the sway of Elizabeth. The wanton and cruel severities practised within this period, were in proportion to the crying abuses of every kind to which the empire was a prey.

Such was the state of things under a sovereign celebrated, not altogether without reason, for the virtues of the heart. She was, say the historians, at the same time, pacific, unambitious, and timid in her nature; she consented with the utmost reluctance to a recourse to arms, and shed tears over the victories gained by her

own commanders. Yet the government of Russia was never before distinguished by bolder enterprises of ambition and rapacity, by greater tyranny and arrogance towards the neighbouring powers; it had never waged more destructive wars; it had never been more dangerous or hostile to Europe.

I note these circumstances chiefly with a view to show how little reliance is to be placed, under a political constitution such as that of Russia, on the private character of the monarch, in respect to national policy and conduct. However excellent his dispositions, if he be of a feeble or indolent character, he can furnish no security, either to foreign nations or to his own subjects: If induced with suitable energy, he can rarely be other than ambitious, and then the former will be equally exposed; and, as must ever be the case in an absolute despotism with an extended empire, the latter can promise themselves little more from his vigilance, than a slight alleviation, or at least a partial cure of their misery. It is a truth, established by the experience of all great empires, that the people of them will never be well governed in their municipal concerns, but by functionaries of their own choice.

The character and resources of Frederick the Great, and the situation of his dominions, rendered him, of all the neighbours of Russia, the most truly formidable to her ambition. Bestucheff viewed his power with a jealous and covetous eye, and Elizabeth cherished a strong personal resentment against him, on account of some witticisms in which he had indulged at her expense. The sympathetic feelings of the three courts of Vienna, Dresden, and St. Petersburg, on the subject of Prussia, led them into an alliance ostensibly defensive, for which the ambitious dispositions of Frederick furnished the pretext. The Prussian monarch on his side availed himself of this concert, which he described, perhaps correctly, as levelled against his crown, to commence the execution of his own schemes of aggression, by surprising, towards the end of August, 1756, the city of Dresden, and making himself master of the Saxon territory, as a preface to the invasion of Bohemia.

Augustus III, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, compelled to fly from Dresden to Warsaw, claimed the stipulated aid from Elizabeth, and offered a free passage through Poland for the Russian troops, who might be sent to retaliate upon Frederick in his own kingdom, the mischief which he was committing in those of her allies. The court of St. Petersburg wanted but a fair opportunity of striking at the existence itself of the Prussian power, and of cantoning its forces in Poland. The invitation of Augustus was, therefore, accepted without hesitation, and a large army marched with all possible speed to assail the territories of Frederick.

About the same time commenced between France and England, the celebrated struggle so well known to us, under the name of the war of 56,—the causes of which it does not come within my pro-

vince to explain. The king of Prussia took part with England; a circumstance which induced a treaty of coalition, between France and Austria. This great and extraordinary revolution in the politics of these two powers, the subject of such warm and widespread controversy among the French writers, was followed by a change, scarcely less unexpected, in the system of Russia towards France. Elizabeth, invited by the Austrian and French cabinets to enter into their union against Prussia, acceded to it as a principal contracting party. We have thus, in 1757, Russia in strict alliance with France, under the reservation, however, of her friendly relations with Great Britain.

Human wisdom could not have devised a measure more eligible than this for the Russian government at such a juncture. It was a master stroke, *un coup d'état* of the first order. It had a sure tendency to promote their designs on Prussia, to paralyze the French party in Poland, to re-establish their influence in Sweden, and to weaken the connexion between Turkey and France.—Sweden had, in fact, been previously drawn, by the latter, into the war against Russia, and could now resist, in nothing, the united interests of the courts of St. Petersburg and Versailles. Although Louis had excepted Turkey from the *casus fœderis*, in his convention with Elizabeth, the Divan saw, with great disgust and umbrage, its favourite ally bound in so close a league with its habitual and inveterate enemies. The further consequences, as they develop themselves, will show that the French statesmen were right in considering the accession of Russia, to the alliance between their cabinet and Austria, as the worst of the evils resulting from this memorable revolution.

The Russian army sent against Prussia, under field marshal Apraxin, took Memel and gained an important victory over the Prussian force opposed to it, in the outset of the campaign. Apraxin, however, instead of pursuing his advantage and marching onward to the capital of the enemy, fell back upon Courland and Poland, and entered into premature winter quarters. He was indignantly recalled by Elizabeth, put under arrest, and arraigned for a breach of trust; but acquitted of such a degree of guilt as demanded capital punishment. Among various grounds of justification, he produced, it is said, a letter from Bestucheff, instructing him to adopt the course for which he was subjected to trial. The disgrace of the minister himself followed soon after, and is an event which merits elucidation.

Bestucheff had eagerly promoted the war against Prussia, but consented with reluctance to the alliance with France. His disinclination for this measure, arose from considerations of personal safety, as well as from his just and deeply rooted antipathies. The principal, and only material objection to the French connexion, was the scope which it would afford, at the court of St. Petersburg, for French intrigue, to which he well knew that he himself would be particularly obnoxious.

In seeking the alliance with Russia, Louis XV was obviously determined, by the hope of being able to acquire a fixed ascendancy



over her councils.—To this end, all the resources of the diplomatic art, into which this monarch had introduced a particularly odious refinement, were immediately brought into action. St. Petersburg was made one of the theatres of his well known double diplomacy, since unveiled in that most instructive work, the *Politique de tous les Cabinets*. Aware of the predilection which Elizabeth entertained for the French court, and of the weakness of her character, he opened a secret correspondence with her as a means of turning those circumstances to the best account, of securing her favour, and of opening her eyes to the faults and perhaps treachery of her ministers.

All the fears of Bestucheff, concerning the dangers to which his authority would be exposed from France, were realized. The correspondence which I have just mentioned was established without his privity, and conducted through the channel of the vice-chancellor Woronzow, his rival and antagonist in the cabinet, in conjunction with the chevalier *D'Eon*, a member of the French legation. This individual, whose singular history nearly engrossed the magazines and gazettes of the time, had carried to Paris the accession of Elizabeth to the triple alliance, and on his return to his post was instructed to concert without delay with his ambassador, and the *Austrian Minister*, the means of accomplishing the ruin of Bestucheff;—a point to which Louis still attached the highest importance.

A more propitious combination of circumstances, than that which attended the mission of la Chétardie, rendered the present attempt entirely successful. Among these, the most remarkable, is the schism which existed in the imperial household. The grand dutchess Catharine had been, from the first years of her marriage, industriously employed in forming an interest adverse to that of her husband, whose vices and extravagances favoured the aims of his treacherous consort. Bestucheff, who is accused by the historians of having early meditated and unremittingly urged, the disinherison of Peter, was enlisted on her side, and while he directed the political intrigue, served as the confidant of her criminal amours. The abused but froward object of these cabals, had imbibed a passionate admiration for the king of Prussia; he regarded the war waged against him as little worse than sacrilegious, and was carried so far by his infatuation, as to denounce vengeance against all those of the army or the cabinet who should contribute to its success. It is even said that he maintained a correspondence with Frederick, and betrayed to him such of the secrets of the Russian councils as he was able to penetrate.

About the period of Apraxin's successes over the Prussians, a serious malady under which Elizabeth had long languished, attained a height which threatened her speedy dissolution. The retrograde movement of this commander, under the orders of Bestu-

cheff, is ascribed by some writers, to the alarm with which they were both seized at the prospect of the immediate accession of Peter to the throne; and to the hope which they conceived of propitiating his resentment by this sacrifice to his prejudices in favour of Prussia. The resignation of Apraxin's successor, in the full tide of victory, which occurred not long afterwards is imputed to the same motives; but, on the supposition that Bestucheff was accessory to Apraxin's retreat—I am still inclined to reject this interpretation of his conduct, as well as the insinuation of the French historians, that he and two Russian generals were bribed by England to spare her ally. I would rather believe, as it is elsewhere asserted, that the chancellor wished to have the army of Apraxin as near at hand as possible, in the expected crisis of Elizabeth's demise, in order to employ it for the execution of his favourite plan of setting aside Peter, in favour of his infant son, and establishing a regency in the person of Catharine.

Whatever may be the truth of the case, as to the general conduct, dispositions, or plans of the chancellor, the enmity which Peter cherished against him, the affair of Apraxin, and his collusion with Catharine, were brought to bear with Elizabeth, by the French agents, in such a manner as to give entire success to their conspiracy. He was arrested when presiding in the council of state, tried before commissioners, pronounced guilty of high treason, and banished to a small village at some distance from Moscow. The sentence of condemnation loads him with the most opprobrious epithets: but the accusations preferred against him are exceedingly vague—such as the desire of making his own authority co-ordinate with that of the empress; of sowing hatred and dissension between her and the grand duke; of destroying the good understanding between the courts of Versailles and St. Petersburg, &c. They show at once the true source of his ruin. Most of the historians concur in taxing this minister with the most hateful vices. He is described as shamelessly venal, and unboundedly luxurious; arrogant and servile; ungrateful and treacherous. The picture is probably overcharged, as his system of politics exposed him to obloquy. We can collect however with certainty from the public history of his administration, that he cherished the most profligate schemes both of national and personal aggrandizement; and was as little scrupulous with respect to the means of carrying them into effect, as any of his predecessors in office.

Under the new minister, Woronzow, the war against Prussia was pursued with the utmost vigour and the most splendid success. The Russians gained a complete victory over the great Frederick in person, and made themselves masters of his capital, and nearly the whole of royal Prussia.—In this state of things, the court of St. Petersburg advanced a pretension as unexpected, as alarming, to its allies. It demanded nothing less than the formal cession to

Russia, of the kingdom of Prussia, whenever negotiations should take place for a general pacification. France, who dreaded the increase of the Russian power, and deprecated the extinction of Prussia, earnestly resisted the claim.

The appointment of Woronzow as the successor of Bestucheff, had led her to expect an unlimited devotion to her views on the part of the Russian cabinet. In this calculation, she was, however, egregiously mistaken. She could neither procure the adoption of her project of a peace with Prussia, nor even prevail upon Russia to renounce her friendly intercourse with England. In spite of all his former professions and direct pledges of attachment to Louis, Woronzow, an experienced and cautious statesman, would or could make no solid concessions; and the great masters of diplomacy, found themselves not only disappointed of the fruit of their labours, but shackled with the most prejudicial engagements. The foreign politics of Russia continued, as they had always done, to follow the direction marked out by Peter the great.

Independently of the military renown, and general consideration which she derived from the events of this war, it yielded as she had foreseen, another most important advantage eminently galling to France. Within the three years immediately preceding its commencement, the French minister at Warsaw, the count de Broglio, an intriguer of consummate address and indefatigable industry, had subjected the Polish government to his influence, and nearly matured a revolution which promised to liberate Poland for ever from the Russian yoke. The unexpected alliance of the courts of Versailles and St. Petersburg, arrested the consummation of his enterprise. The passage of nearly one hundred thousand Russian troops, through the territories of the republic, and the sojournment there of a considerable Russian army for the space of six years, furnished the ministers of Elizabeth with the opportunity of regaining and perpetuating their ascendancy.

The capture of Colberg and Schweidnitz by the allies, seemed to place Frederick entirely at their mercy. His situation had become nearly desperate, when an event happened, which extricated him at once from all his distresses. I allude to the demise of his implacable enemy, Elizabeth, who expired in January 1762, inculcating upon her ministers fidelity to their engagements with Austria and France. The grand duke, her nephew, mounted the throne, under the name of Peter the III, in the midst of abortive plots for his exclusion, and lost not a moment in terminating hostilities with the king of Prussia, whom he worshipped as the greatest of human beings. He separated his forces from the Austrian army, concluded a treaty of alliance with his hero, and sent him a reinforcement of twenty thousand men, to assist in expelling the Austrians from Silesia, to whom the arms of Russia had but a little time before, opened the way into that province. Thus did blind caprice render nugatory, after a seven years' war, the

most costly sacrifices and brilliant achievements, at the very moment when the object and reward of them all, could not have failed to be completely attained. Within the space of a few months, the general scheme of the foreign relations of Russia was totally subverted, in contempt of the most solemn treaties and pledges; and the exulting Frederick found at his disposal, for the purpose of exemplary retaliation on his enemies, the whole of that mighty force, by which he had been about to be crushed. The enthusiastic czar entered with alacrity into his projects of vengeance on Austria, prepared to second them with all the resources of his empire, and exacted no other equivalent than the post of lieutenant general in the Prussian service.

Europe was now threatened with something like a general revolution. It is said of Peter that he meditated an alliance between all the princes of the house of Holstein, against those of Bourbon; a confederacy of the northern powers, to counterbalance that of the southern; the conversion of Poland into an hereditary kingdom under prince Henry of Prussia, &c.—He marched an army into Holstein, with the intention of wresting the dutchy of Sleswick from Denmark, and raised much serious disquietude in Germany, respecting to the course he might pursue as a member of the diet. He was destined, however, to be jostled from the stage, while these designs of ambition existed as yet only in speculation. Six months had scarcely elapsed from the time he assumed the reins of government, when his more artful and intrepid wife, with the assistance of the guards whom he had offended, precipitated him from the throne into prison, there to be barbarously murdered a few days afterwards, by four of her ruffian accomplices.

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ART. VI.—*British Currency.* [The following extracts from a speech delivered in the British Parliament in April 1818, by Mr. Vansittart, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on his motion for the continuance of the Bank Restriction Act, until July 1819, contain facts and suggestions worthy of being recorded for the American public. The speech itself, which unfolds the general policy of the ministry with respect to the currency of England, is to be found in the 37th vol. of Hansard's Parliamentary Debates—a work excellent in its kind, and the plan of which we should be glad to see adopted in this country in relation to the debates of Congress.]

**T**HE Chancellor of the Exchequer rose to submit to the committee, the propositions of which he had given notice. The right hon. gentleman observed, that he had waited with great anxiety, and had postponed the discussion of the question to a period of the session as late as was consistent with the expectation of a full attendance of members, in the hope that some events might arise of a nature so decisive as to enable him either to declare to parliament that the Bank of England was so situated as

to be enabled, with propriety, at once to resume cash payments, or that circumstances had taken place which left no room for doubt as to the necessity of a farther continuance of the restriction. The result of all his inquiries, however, on the subject was, that, under all the circumstances of the case, he was not able to state a case of so distinct and positive a nature; while he yet felt that he could not, with a view to the public interests and to the safety and convenience of commerce, but submit to the committee a proposition for still extending, although for a very limited period, the act of restriction.

In order to render what he had to say as intelligible as possible, he begged the committee to revert to the state of things under which the restriction act had been originally passed, and under which it had subsequently and at various periods been renewed; which, at the last renewal of that act for two years, in 1816, took place with the understanding that the bank should employ that period in providing for the resumption of cash payments at its expiration. It would also be indispensable to advert to the course of exchange during a considerable portion of the period to which he had alluded. The committee would recollect that, prior to the retreat of the French army from Russia, at the close of the year 1812, the price of gold bullion was 5*l.* 12*s.* an ounce, and of silver dollars 6*s.* 6*d.* an ounce. At that time, therefore, any attempt to restore the metallic currency of the country would have been utterly unavailing, as the coin would have been collected and melted as fast as it issued from the coffers of the bank. But when the French army retired into Germany and was beaten there, and when a prospect arose of a successful termination of the war, gold fell to 5*l.* an ounce; and subsequently, when the allies got possession of Paris, to 4*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* and there was every indication of its speedily falling to so low a rate as to enable the bank to resume their payments in cash. The unfortunate events, however, which took place in the spring of 1815, and which were too notorious to render it necessary for him to particularise them, and which again involved Europe in the calamities of war, prevented this pleasing prospect from being realized. After the return of Bonaparte to France, in March, 1815, gold rose from 4*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* to 5*l.* 7*s.* an ounce. It was obvious that, as long as a state of hostility continued, any attempt at a resumption of cash payments would, for the reasons that had operated in preceding cases, prove wholly futile. From the period, however, at which hostilities ceased, it was but justice to the bank to state, that they had adopted every measure of precaution which might enable them to resume cash payments with safety. Their collection of specie had been very rapid and to a large amount; indeed, to an extent beyond what he should have supposed possible in so short a space of time. Another preparatory measure of the bank was an experiment which was first tried by them in January 1817.—He alluded to their notice that they were ready to make payments in cash of a certain description of outstanding

notes. The amount of the notes for which, under that notice, payment in cash might have been demanded was about one million sterling. The result of the experiment might be considered indicative of what would take place on a general resumption of cash payments. It was found that, so far were the public from being anxious to obtain payment of those notes which were thus rendered immediately payable in cash, that a very inconsiderable, if any demand whatever, was made for that purpose on the bank. No preference whatever of metallic currency to paper was shown by the holders of those notes. At that time gold bullion, which had been continually sinking during the preceding year, was reduced to 3*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* and silver to 4*s.* 10*d.* the ounce. It was therefore probable, that if at that time the bank had returned generally to cash payments, scarcely any would have been demanded. It was in the recollection of several hon. gentlemen who heard him, and who had had peculiar opportunities of being acquainted with those transactions, that the facts were precisely as he had stated them. He did not wish to enter into any detail on the subject, but he might mention one circumstance as peculiarly illustrative of the feeling of the country with respect to it. When the exchange of the old silver currency for the new took place, a large quantity of the new coin was sent down to the banks in Scotland for the purpose of being exchanged. After all the required exchanges were made, a sum of about 7,000*l.* remained in one of them (he believed the Royal Bank of Scotland), the directors of which stated, that it was desirable that this sum should be retained for the convenience of the country; and requested, as a favour, that they might be allowed to pay for it in gold rather than in bank notes. He could mention to the committee other incidents of a similar nature, but that which he had already related might perhaps be deemed a sufficient illustration of the opinion of the country.

In October last, the bank of England, having experienced no inconvenience from their former experiment, were induced to try another on a more extensive scale. A regular notice was issued, in pursuance of the directions of the act of the 37th of his present majesty, and of the several acts since passed for continuing and amending the same, that on and after October 1st, the bank would be ready to pay cash for their notes of every description, dated prior to January 1st 1817. But the result of that experiment varied considerably from that of the former. Payment in cash was demanded to a large amount; not for the purpose of internal circulation (for this he hardly apprehended was the opinion of any person,) but for the purpose of being remitted to foreign countries. To the causes which produced that situation of things he should presently advert. It appeared from a return made to the other house of parliament, that the bank issued under their last notice a sum not less than 2,600,000*l.* Of that large sum hardly any part remained in circulation in this country.

He wished it to be distinctly understood, that he did not propose to continue the restrictions in consequence of any circumstances in the internal state of the bank, which he believed was fully prepared to make good its payments; but on account of those external circumstances which would render such an operation extremely unpropitious and dangerous at the present moment. He hoped, however, that another measure which he should have the honour to propose, might have the effect of considerably alleviating the evil of the restriction—a measure which, he trusted, would place a great part of our paper currency on a more secure footing than ever. On the resumption of cash payments, it would be proper that our paper currency should return as nearly as possible to what it had been. For himself, he could assure the committee, that he was very desirous that the bank should resume its payments in cash; and the committee might rely upon it that, if they were anxious for the return of that state of things, the bank directors were as sincerely desirous of bringing it about. They were most willing to adopt every measure which might be thought necessary for the effecting of that object, and for confirming every regulation which parliament might wish to propose.

But he was now to direct the attention of the committee to the other part of the subject to which he had alluded, and which he should endeavour to explain as shortly as possible. He had to propose a plan, which, in the course of no long period of time, would give the public such a security for a considerable part of our paper circulation, as it never before possessed. It was his intention to propose, that the restriction act should be continued for another year, namely, to July, 1819, and that in one year from that period the operation of this new plan should commence.—There could be no doubt, that the most perfect and desirable currency for any country, was a mixed one of specie and paper. It might be advisable, that there should be a paper circulation to a large amount, but it was certainly advisable at the same time, that it should always be convertible into specie, so that the holders might have the most complete reliance, that whenever they pleased they could convert the paper into a metallic currency.

It was his intention to propose, that after the 5th of July, 1820, no private banker should issue notes in England or Ireland (for he would except Scotland, as the objection against the paper circulation of the private bankers of England and Ireland did not apply to Scotland) for any sum under five pounds without having made a sufficient deposit of government securities, consisting either of stock or of exchequer bills.—He proposed therefore, that it should be enacted, that every private banker should transfer into the names of the commissioners, for the reduction of the national debt, an amount of stock double that of the nominal value of the notes of that description issued by them, or deposit in the hands of the commissioners exchequer bills of equal value to that issue. The cause of the difference which he recommended in this respect

was, that from the frequent fluctuation in the price of stock, the nominal value of the notes in stock might turn out to be a very inadequate security. The interest arising on the stock transferred, or on the exchequer bills deposited, would of course be paid to the owners after the deduction of charges for management.—With respect to the notes to be issued on this credit, he meant to propose, that before they could be so issued they should be carried to the stamp-office, and stamped in a way that should denote they were so secured. Some farther collateral security against fraud or forgery, might perhaps be deemed expedient; but that would be a matter for future consideration.

This was the general outline of his plan, which, he hoped he had rendered sufficiently intelligible. The details would of course be matter of much deliberation.

He had thus briefly stated the measures he had to propose; the latter of which he should have thought desirable, even if he had not recommended the continuance of the restriction. Considerable preparation would be necessary before the plan relating to country bankers could be brought into operation. Inquiries must be made as to what species of stamp ought to be put upon their notes to afford the most effectual security against imposition. The public would thus have a double guard against forgery—that which the country bankers might adopt, superadded to all that a public office could do: which together would be as perfect a security as the nature of the case would admit of. As soon as these preparatory arrangements were made, every banker who was willing to issue small notes on the security of stock transferred, or exchequer bills deposited, might do so: and it would no doubt be the wish, as he was persuaded it would be the interest, of many bankers to do this before the period (July 1820) which he had mentioned. Many of the country bankers were holders of stock; and they might thus perhaps add two or three per cent to the interest of that stock. It might be said that it would be inconvenient to them to transfer double the amount of their issues; but they had the choice of depositing exchequer bills merely equal to those issues. He would not detain the committee any longer, but would conclude with moving,

‘That leave be given to bring in a bill for further continuing an act of the 44th year of his present majesty to continue the restrictions contained in several acts of his present majesty on payments of cash by the bank of England.’

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ART. VII.—*The Champ-d'Asile*, or the French establishment on the Trinity River. [Although the settlement attempted by the French officers in the province of Texas, attracted the notice of our newspapers, it did not receive the degree of public attention which its extraordinary character required. We have found in a number of the Parisian journal entitled ‘*Minerve Française*’—for September last, an account of the *Champ-d'Asile*, which dis-



closes more of its history and spirit, than any American publication on the subject, which we have seen. We offer, therefore, a translation of the Parisian article. It has intrinsic evidence of having been written by authority, or under the dictation, of those concerned. It professes to give *the truth of facts*; but those who recollect the tenor of the law of Congress, appropriating the tract of land in the Alabama, for the cultivation of the vine and olive, and who are acquainted with the understanding on the subject, between Congress and the grantees, will perceive that the *whole truth* of the facts is not given. After making every allowance for the necessitous condition of the French officers, we must still reprobate the original perversion of the bounty of our government. We may infer from the language of the Parisian article, that it never was intended by the French officers to correspond to the views of Congress, or settle at all in the territory of Alabama. The disparaging tone in which the American pretensions to the province of Texas are mentioned, the covert allusion to the utility of the Champ-d'Asile for the Spanish monarchy, as a barrier against those pretensions, and the offer of *fealty*, to the court of Madrid, implying a condemnation of our claims, all bespeak, not only a great degree of ingratitude, but a certain hostility towards the United States, and leave little room for regret at the destruction of the establishment. One of the purposes of the article in question, was to promote a subscription, set on foot in Paris, for the benefit of the *Champ-d'Asile*. It is stated in another number of the *Minerve*, for the same month, that a subscription-list was deposited *with all the principal bankers of Europe*, and that various sums had been subscribed. A writer in the Parisian journal, in recommending the establishment on the Trinity, to the liberality of the French nation, in a strain of great eloquence, appeals to the French government for sympathy and protection, on the score of the *national interests*, and hails a French colony in the province of Texas, as an instrument of future national ends.]

**T**HE foreign gazettes, and after them the French journals, have spoken of the plan of establishment formed by the French generals and officers who are now in America. All that has been published respecting it, consists either of incomplete details, or incorrect statements, or calumnious diatribes. The incomplete details are to be traced to the American newspapers; the incorrect statements to the English, and the calumnies to certain journals of Paris.—Persons well informed, have enabled us to give the truth of the facts.

An act of the legislature of the United States, granted to the French who had arrived in America since 1814, one hundred thousand acres of land, upon the Mobile and Tombigbye, to form a colony there. Each military man was to receive a section of land proportioned to his grade. But the greater part of the officers,

when they disembarked on those foreign shores, were without the means of procuring even articles of first necessity. After some months of sojourn in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, they found themselves involved, in consequence of the condition in which they arrived, in debts to their hosts, the more onerous, inasmuch as they possessed at the moment, no resources of any kind wherewith to satisfy them. Some American speculators came to their aid; they proposed to the French officers to discharge their debts, to furnish them even with some small sums of money, on condition that the latter would assign to them all their rights to the portions of land granted by Congress. The officers had no alternative; they submitted to the law of necessity; they accepted the proposals, and the bargain was struck. What was the consequence?—that the seven-eighths of the inhabitants or proprietors of the colony were all of a sudden Americans, instead of being exclusively Frenchmen, as was originally intended. This circumstance gave an entirely new character to the plan of establishment. The generals and superior officers, who had converted into money the allotment destined to agriculture, found themselves in this way isolated in the midst of a population whose language, habits, and customs had no affinity with theirs; they could not consent to live separated from their companions in misfortune. Had they alone composed the colony, these expatriated Frenchmen might have solaced their imaginations with the idea of a new France; but as soon as they were mixed or confounded with strangers, all illusion vanished. The mere hope of a new association, of a new community of misfortune, revived their courage, and sustained their spirit of perseverance.

The generals Lallemant, accompanied by some intelligent officers, proceeded to examine the neighbouring provinces. That of Texas, in the gulf of Mexico, comprised between the rivers Trinity and del Norte, appeared to them to hold out all the advantages which they sought, with a view to founding another colony. The soil of it was fertile; the climate fine and moderate. Some experiments were made, which succeeded perfectly; and it was at once resolved to form an establishment there.

General Lallemant the younger, had just married a niece and heiress of Stephen Girard, the richest merchant of the United States. (His fortune is estimated at forty millions of francs—eight millions of dollars.) This match furnished him with many facilities for placing himself, with his brother, at the head of a great enterprise. In consequence, they addressed to the court of Spain, by the channel of the Spanish ambassador, a note, in which they announced—

That their intention, as well as that of the French refugees in America, was to go and fix themselves in the province of Texas.

That, since official proclamations invited emigrants of all classes and countries, to settle in the provinces of Spanish America, his catholic majesty would doubtless see with pleasure, the formation

of a colony in a desert country, which wanted only industrious inhabitants to become one of the finest and most fertile on earth.

That the persons composing the colony, were all disposed to recognize the Spanish government, to do homage to it (*à lui faire homage*), to support all burdens, to pay taxes proportioned to their revenues; but that they solicited the privilege of governing themselves by their own laws; of being exempt from obedience to a Spanish governor; and of creating themselves their military system.

That if the court of Spain acquiesced in their demands, it might count upon their services and their fidelity.

That, in the contrary case, they would avail themselves of the right which nature gives to every man to fertilize uncultivated wilds, and to maintain himself in possession of them. That their pretensions in this respect rested on very different grounds from those of the Spaniards, at the time of the conquest; since the latter then came for the purpose of seizing by force upon a free country, while they (the French) had for object only the cultivating and fertilizing deserts.

That, in fine, they were determined, whatever might happen, to fix themselves in the province of Texas.

The generals Lallemant, received no answer to this note; they went on with their projects. They enlisted all the French, whom misfortune or necessity had brought to America, and they defrayed the expenses of the expedition. A schooner was first armed and equipped at Philadelphia; and it transported to Galveston, in the gulf of Mexico, three hundred men, who were soon followed by three hundred more, under the command of general Rigaud. General Lallemant the elder, who was already on the spot, received those who arrived, and guided them on their debarkation; whilst his brother, who remained at New-Orleans, purchased agricultural instruments, seeds, plants, and provisions of every kind, which he sent to Galveston. The next step taken was to parcel out the land: each officer received twenty acres square, and all that was necessary to construct his hut, and cultivate the field allotted to him. They set to work, and the colony began to take a determinate shape.

The French exiles, in settling on this distant and desert land, called the new colony by the name of *Champ d'Asile*, or *Field of Refuge*, for the end, no doubt, of removing the apprehensions of the scattered tribes in their neighbourhood, and in order to furnish a pledge of their pacific intentions. They published a sort of proclamation, of which we shall quote the principal parts.

*Champ-d'Asile, Province of Texas, May 11th, 1818.*

Re-united by a series of the same calamities, which have torn us from our homes, and scattered us suddenly in different countries, we have resolved to seek an asylum, where we may be able to recall our misfortunes, that we may draw from them useful lessons.

A vast country presents itself to us: a country abandoned by civilized men, where are only to be seen some points occupied or traversed by In-

dian tribes, who, contented with the chase, leave without cultivation, a territory as fertile as extended. In the adversity, of which we boast, far from its humbling our spirit, we exercise the first right granted to man, by the author of nature, in establishing ourselves on this land, to fertilize it by our labours, and to demand from it the products it never refuses to perseverance.

We attack no one; we have no hostile intentions. We ask peace and friendship with all who surround us, and will be grateful for the kindness which will be extended to us. We will respect the religion, the laws, the manners, and the usages of civilized nations. We will respect the independence, the customs, the mode of life of the Indian nations, whom we will not restrain either in the hunting, or in any other point of their existence.

We will maintain with all those, to whom it will be expedient, social relations and good neighbourhood, as well as commercial pursuits.

Our department will be peaceful, active, and laborious; we will be useful to the extent of our power; and will render good for good.

But if it be possible, that our situation be not respected, and that persecution may follow us to the deserts, where we have long sought a retreat, we ask it of all reasonable men, what defence would have been ever more legitimate than ours? It will be that of the most entire devotion. Our resolution is taken before hand. We have arms. The care of our preservation has imposed it on us, to furnish ourselves with them, as men in our situation always have done. The land, on which we have placed ourselves, will behold us prosper or bravely die. There we will live honourably and free, or will find our tomb; and just men will grant a testimony of esteem to our memory. But we have a right to look for a more happy result; and our first care ought to be, to merit the general assent, in tracing the simple regulations, which will be a guarantee of our dispositions.

We will name the place where our colony is situated, *Champ-d'Asile*.

This denomination, in recalling to us our reverses, will also recall the necessity of fixing our destiny; of setting up anew our household gods; in a word, of creating a new country.

The colony, essentially agricultural and commercial, will be military for its preservation.

It will be divided into cohorts:

Each cohort will have a chief, who will be required to keep a register of the persons who compose it, and to preserve it in order.

A general register, formed from that of the cohorts, will be kept by the director of the colony.

The cohorts will be collected in the same place, that they may be the better protected from insult, and that each one may live tranquilly under the protection of all.

A colonial code shall forthwith be made, to guarantee safety and property; to prevent and to repress wrongs; to secure the peace of just men, and to curb the evil intentions of the wicked.

The refugees admit into their community only Frenchmen, or persons who have served in the ranks of the French armies. It is only necessary to be of this description, and to proceed to New Orleans, to be added to their number. At New Orleans every

thing will be found provided that is necessary for reaching the place of destination—the Champ-d'Asile.

The province of Texas is of such fertility, that a grain of corn will, one year with another, yield one hundred and fifty fold. Sugar and cotton grow abundantly, and there is reason to expect the same thing as to coffee. The woods are filled with animals of every sort, particularly wild horses, who rival those of Arabia, in strength and agility. The country is magnificent, but desert. A tract of two hundred leagues in length, by one hundred and fifty in depth, is inhabited only by seven or eight thousand natives, or *Watchinangres*, that is to say, of mixed blood, all in a most wretched condition. The most numerous of the tribes of these vast regions, is that of the *Comanches*, a warlike and active people, constantly engaged in hostilities with the Spaniards, whom they detest, and to whose yoke it is nearly impossible to subject them.

The *Comanches* who have preserved some recollection of the French, by reason of the neighbourhood of Louisiana, have, on the other hand, learned to love and esteem those of the colony. They would even be much inclined to form an alliance with them. They are independent, and Spain cares little to subdue them, since she would derive no advantage from it, the soil being uncultivated, and hitherto altogether unproductive. Other business occupies the Spaniards elsewhere, and in good truth they have enough to do in South America, to leave undisturbed the inhabitants of North, of whatever description.—Who knows, moreover, if the Spanish government, although it has made no reply to the note of the members of the *Champ-d'Asile*,—who knows but that it views with secret satisfaction, the establishment formed there? The American government, in consequence of its convention of 1803, with France, for the purchase of Louisiana, seems to raise also some pretensions to a part of the province of Texas. It claims, says Rumour, possession of the banks of the Trinity for thirty leagues into the interior. By this means, it would advance just so much towards a chain of mountains, situated in the neighbouring provinces, and which contain rich mines of gold not yet worked.

Let this be as it may, the French refugees do not go, as did of yore, Cortes and Pizarro, to carry pillage and devastation, death and slavery, among a free and independent people. They make war upon no one; they have settled upon a soil untilled, and to which no value was attached. They dig the earth, only to fertilize it; they do not seek gold, but bread.

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ART. VIII.—*Rélation Circonstanciée, &c.; i.e. A Circumstantial Account of the Campaign of 1813 in Saxony*, by Baron D'ODELBEN, a General Officer in the French Army; translated from the Second Edition of the German, by M. *Aubert de Vitry*. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. 642. Paris. 1817.

**A**LTHOUGH this work has obtained a considerable circulation both in France and Germany, it would have been still more

an object of attention if it had appeared while *Bonaparte* was in possession of power; for it is interesting less as a general narrative than as a record of the circumstances that occurred around the person of the late emperor. The author's station in the French service gave him the means of observing daily the proceedings of his commander; and he repeatedly assures us that he inserted nothing in his account which he did not personally witness. As a writer, he has the ordinary good and bad qualities of his German countrymen; relating events and circumstances with considerable accuracy, but discovering very little turn for selection, and disregarding almost *in toto* the benefit of arrangement. His book may, however, be divided into three parts. I. Operations in 1813, previous to the Armistice. II. The Interval of the Armistice, viz. from the beginning of June to the middle of August. III. Operations from the middle of August to the final Retreat of the French in the end of October.

We shall make a point of following this order in our notice of the more interesting passages; endeavouring to confine ourselves to the novel part of the author's information, and avoiding to dwell on circumstances which are already familiar to the public.

The great deficiency of the French in this campaign was in cavalry, as they had lost in Russia not only their horses and horsemen, but a great proportion of their training officers. Large sums had been expended in the spring of 1813 in the purchase of horses and accoutrements, but a general awkwardness and inefficiency remained in this department of the service; proving once more the truth of the military axiom, that to repair the loss of cavalry is a much longer and more arduous task than to renovate infantry. Another drawback on the French arms was the habit of plunder and disorder, consequent on the unfeeling plan of moving large bodies of men without magazines. The soldiers had therefore strangely deviated from the exemplary discipline that marked the armies of *Pichegru* and *Moreau*; they had acquired a habit of taking, wasting, and even wantonly destroying; using for common fuel the doors, the tables, and other furniture of the inhabitants, without considering how many enemies they thus roused, or how greatly they abridged the means of their own support. Yet fortune for a time seemed to smile on her former favourites, and the opening of the campaign was advantageous to *Bonaparte*.

*Battle of Lutzen.* (2d May, 1813.)—We must be careful in drawing comparisons between this engagement and the well-known battle of Lutzen in 1632, when the intrepid leader of the Protestants terminated his career. The fighting took place on very different ground, and the numbers (40,000) in the earlier battle were not a third, perhaps not a fourth, of those who were engaged in 1813. *Bonaparte* certainly did not expect to be attacked, his intention being to advance to Leipsic and press forwards with collected force on the allies: but, while on march for this purpose in the morning of May 2, a sudden cannonade in the rear announced

an attack by some corps of the allied army. The French, however, continued their progress towards Leipsic, till a second and more violent cannonade, proceeding from the village of Goerschen in the rear, made *Bonaparte* conclude that the enemy was there in force, and that it was high time to move back his main body to the support of his rear. The latter, commanded by *Ney*, fought with great firmness; and *Bonaparte*, as he returned along the road, received repeated salutations of *Vive l'Empereur!* from the crowds of wounded who were carried off the field. The contest was obstinate; he felt that the time called for the exposure of his person, and he did not scruple to occupy an advanced station, remaining during a great part of the day close to the village of Kaia, which was the key of the French position. Marks of disquietude were apparent on his countenance; and, when a whole French brigade fled before his eyes, he turned round and directed a look towards *Berthier* and *Caulincourt* as if he would have said, 'Is the star of my fortune to be at last eclipsed?' Reinforcements, however, came up; he put himself at the head of each corps as it successively took its ground; and, on the arrival of a battalion of which the colonel had a short time before been suspended from the command for a slight fault, he rode to the front of the line, brought forwards the offending officer, and replaced him in the command of his men, by whom he was much liked, and who were immediately ordered to lead an attacking column. The firing continued till the evening, when the advance of the French reserve drove the allies finally from Kaia, and the coming up of a number of field-pieces gave them (the French) a late and dearly bought superiority. No pursuit took place; the allies preserved every important post; and, confident in their superior cavalry, they ventured to annoy their opponents even after night-fall. The slaughter had been great, the loss of the French amounting to 20,000 killed and wounded, and that of their antagonists being not much less. At night, *Bonaparte*, still clinging to the hope of support from Poland, called to him a Polish officer, and said aloud, 'Make your way to Cracow, and tell your countrymen that I have gained a battle.'

'The allies made their retreat on Dresden in the best order, and the French vanguard did not enter it till the 8th of May. *Bonaparte*, on receiving notice to that effect, called immediately to an officer in his suite to ride on to Dresden, and to bring to him the Deputies from the city. The latter lost no time in setting out, and at the distance of two miles from the town met his Imperial Majesty, who asked them in a shrill voice, (*un ton vif et rude*) "*Qui êtes vous?*" [Who are you?] and on being answered that they were members of the magistracy, he rejoined with equal abruptness, "*Avez vous du pain?*" [Have you bread?] after which, without considering their answer, he dictated an order "*de fournir du pain, de la viande, et du vin.*" [To furnish bread, meat and wine.] This done, he turned his horse towards the suburb of Pirna, and went along the rampart till he reached the Pilnitz road; where he dismounted and proceeded on foot, with only two attendants, to the spot at which the enemy's rear-guard had passed the Elbe on a bridge of boats. Advancing

to the bank of the river, he discerned the retreating corps, and was even exposed to some cannon-balls, which would have been showered in quick succession had his opponents possessed the means of recognizing him. Finding that the river was not to be crossed at this spot, he proceeded to another; where a bridge of rafts, lately used by the allies, had been drawn to the right bank, and was but partly consumed by fire. A few French soldiers, crossing in boats, extinguished the fire, and brought over the remaining rafts to the left bank; workmen were immediately employed to supply the deficient timbers; and, in the course of the next day, the means of passage were made good, in spite of the opposition of a detachment of the allies.'

*The Battle of Bautzen*, (21st May, 1813,) though not so sanguinary as that of Lutzen, was fought by larger masses; M. D'Odeleben going so far as to estimate the collective force on both sides at 300,000 men. It was less a general action than a conflict for particular positions; in which the French, by dint of sacrifices and superior numbers, succeeded so far as to occupy the disputed ground and compel the enemy to retreat. This retreat, however, covered by a superior cavalry, was performed in the best order, and without loss either in prisoners or guns. A few days afterward, an advanced corps of the French, pursuing their route too confidently, were surprised by the Prussians at Haynaut near Buntzlau, and suffered considerable loss. This occurrence was followed by an armistice, concluded in the beginning of June; which, while it wore a pacific aspect to the public, was in truth nothing on either side but an expedient to bring forwards fresh troops, Bonaparte relying on his new levies, and the allies on the co-operation of Austria. This pause in military movements enables M. D'Odeleben to suspend the course of his narrative, and to enter on a delineation of

*Bonaparte's Habits in the Field.*—It is no wonder that the abbé de Pradt should complain of the incessant fatigue consequent on the service of his *quondam* master; adjutants, generals, and marshals, being all obliged to hurry from one spot to another in blind subserviency to his orders. Soult, recalled in the spring from Spain, had made every arrangement for passing the summer in Germany, and had brought his family to Dresden: but, two days afterward, came the intelligence of the battle of Vittoria, which produced an order to the marshal to depart during the *next night*, with all the officers of his staff. Caulincourt and Berthier, from the habit of attendance on Bonaparte at all hours, and in all situations, seemed to have become insensible to fatigue.—In the course of his campaigns, Napoleon was often very indifferently lodged, sometimes in a tent, and at others in an old castle or large farm house: but the principal object was not to find a lodging-room, so much as a *Cabinet de travail* for himself and secretaries. When encamped, a tent adjacent to his own was fitted up for this purpose, having in the middle a large table with a map of the theatre of operations: on this map were placed a number of moveable pins, which marked the position of the different corps of the



French army, and of those of the enemy as far as they were known; the different nations being discriminated by difference of colour. During the night, the map continued spread out on the table, with a compass and a number of candles. It was usual to place in the corners of the *cabinet de travail* tables for the secretaries, to one or another of whom the emperor was accustomed to dictate, while walking up and down the apartment in his morning-dress or in uniform. He dictated to one only at a time, but his words flowed with a rapidity which obliged his secretaries to use short-hand, and, when we add that his orders were in general brief, and directed only to a few general points, (leaving it to Berthier and others to give them the necessary extension,) we need not wonder that the conceptions of one mind supplied labour for a number of persons. His secretaries were sufficiently dextrous in the performance of their respective tasks, without being distinguished for originality of mind. His geographical assistant, or, to use the high-sounding French phrase, *le directeur du bureau topographique*, [the director of the topographical department,] was a colonel Bachelier d'Albe, an officer of considerable erudition and indefatigable application. The station was flattering: but it prevented him from being master of a moment's time when in the field, night and day being alike devoted to his duty: Bonaparte, when in expectation of important intelligence, was extremely restless, and often rose so early as two in the morning. His order then was, '*Appellez d'Albe; que tout le monde s'éveille;*'—[call d'Albe; let every body be roused;] after which he proceeded to business, and continued engaged two hours or more, according to the exigency of the occasion. At times he was thus employed during the whole night, and instead of rest took the warm bath in the morning. Even in the hurry of a campaign, it was his rule to have diplomatic secretaries by his side; his fertile brain passing alternately from tactics to politics, and issuing instruction at one time for his ministers, at another for his marshals. His travelling carriage was so constructed as to admit of continuing in it the labours of the cabinet, being lighted from behind by a large lamp, while in the inside were drawers for despatches and reports. Opposite to his seat was a list of the towns through which he was about to pass; on the outside were four lamps; and the vehicle rolled rapidly on, drawn by six horses, and guided by two postillions. The carriage was, however, exchanged for a seat on horse-back whenever he arrived near the scene of operations, or had an object in acquiring a knowledge of the country. When the imperial suite rode out, Caulincourt was generally seen carrying a map fastened to his person, and ready to be unrolled when summoned by his master. The Russian campaign had caused, among other losses, a dreadful diminution of the maps and plans of the French *Etat-major*: but still, with regard to Saxony, they were at no loss for clear and circumstantial surveys.

‘In the evening, or, at an early hour in the morning, when Bonaparte found it necessary to remain in the open air, his attendants were accustomed to kindle a large fire; after which they retired to a short distance, and formed a circle, while their master either meditated his plans in solitary perambulation or conversed with a single officer. The imperial household may be said to have been divided into three parts; the secretaries and *aides-de-camp* dining at one table, the officers of rank (*Grands Officiers*) at another, and their subordinates at a third. Bonaparte generally dined with Berthier or Murat only; the repast was frugal and expeditious; little diversified by conversation, but not unfrequently animated by the arrival of officers with despatches, who were admitted without delay, and their papers read aloud while dinner proceeded.’

The Mameluke, Roustan, was not, as it has been pretended, the depository of Napoleon’s confidence, otherwise than as a personal attendant: but his open look had from the beginning given an assurance of his fidelity, and induced the emperor to make him his defender, particularly at night, for he generally slept near the entrance of his master’s bed-room. Bonaparte was, at least in the campaign of 1813, by no means cautious in exposing his person, being frequently with the vanguard in situations where the firmness of the enemy’s artillerists, in continuing their fire to the last, caused the fall of his attendants. It was thus on the day after the battle of Bautzen that Duroc was killed behind him, and that it became necessary (vol. i. p. 177.) to restrict the number of his suite, in order that they might not attract observation. When it was important to watch a movement, or to ascertain a point under the fire of the enemy, Bonaparte was accustomed to send away his horses, and to walk forwards accompanied by a page and one officer; after which he drew out his glass, placed it on the shoulder of his attendant, and made his survey of the ground and of the opposing force.

It has long been remarked that the French officers seem to have forgotten the characteristic politeness of their country, and to have changed into republican rudeness the courteous deportment of their predecessors: but to this deterioration Berthier formed a striking exception, since he never allowed himself to use a rude expression even in moments of urgent service. He and Murat were admitted to more familiar intercourse with their imperial master than the other officers. Bonaparte’s temper was very unequal: at one time calm, at another much otherwise. One day in the beginning of September (1813), when fortune had begun to forsake him, and his troops had given way before the Prussians, he burst out into reproaches of general Sebastiani’s division; alleging its inferiority to that of Latour-Maubourg, and saying aloud, ‘*Vous commandez de la canaille, et non pas des soldats.*’ [You command a mob, and not soldiers.] Sebastiani rejoined in a firm tone, ‘*Sire, je ne commande pas de canaille.*’ [Sire, I do not command a mob.] Macdonald, under whom the engagement had been fought, supported Sebastiani, and urged that the difficulties were such that the troops in question could not perform more. Caulin-

court then deemed it proper to order to a distance the officers in attendance, justly apprehending that these remarks were but a prelude to farther ebullitions.—This heat of temper was not unfrequently productive of inconvenience in the execution of Bonaparte's military measures.

‘He had himself planned all the additional fortifications of Dresden, had visited every position on foot or on horseback, and had made his way to almost inaccessible spots. I must add, however, that his orders were not always maturely weighed, and that they not unfrequently indicated the haste of a restless mind. A bridge of boats was formed above Pilmnitz, without considering that the neighbouring mountains would give an enemy the means of commanding it; and I remember to have seen a redoubt at Dippodiswald, near Dresden, which it was necessary to demolish, and to construct another at the distance of several hundred paces.’

M. D'Odeleben follows up these remarks by adding that Bonaparte's resentment was by no means inveterate, and that it was not unusual to hear those who attended him say, ‘*Croyez moi, il n'est pas méchant.*’ [Believe me, he is not malicious.] Colonel Bacler d'Albe, though exposed to perpetual sallies, retained a great veneration for him, and was very far from losing either patience with his temper, or confidence in his fortune, during the trying campaign of 1813. ‘The enemy,’ he said, ‘are numerous, but they will not act with concert; they will lay themselves open on some side or the other, and the emperor will then strike a decisive blow.’ The French, however quick in observing a particular feature in a character, are not well adapted to detect those qualities which it requires reflection to unravel; and Bonaparte had no scruple in practising the most gross artifices, such as that of going to mass every Sunday during his stay at Dresden, with as much gravity as if he had been a faithful son of the church. He was accustomed to visit a field of battle with great attention after the contest was over, no doubt with the view of calculating the force and penetrating the intentions of the enemy; but he embraced this opportunity of affecting great humanity to the wounded, and would make his officers dismount to succour those who yet showed signs of life.

No one knew better the method of kindling the enthusiasm of his troops, particularly when on the eve of some important engagement. The delivery of new colours to a regiment was with him a favourite occasion for such addresses; when the rule was to form the regiment into three sides of a square, leaving the fourth side open for the imperial suite. All the officers of the regiment were collected before Bonaparte; who, while the marshals and others in his train, were remarkable for their splendour of dress, appeared generally in a plain green uniform. The colours were then unfurled and the drums beat, till Berthier, or the first in rank of the marshals present, took the colours in his hand, and placed them before the officers of the regiment; when Bonaparte ha-

rangued the whole in a solemn tone: 'Soldiers, I intrust to you the French eagle; let it serve you as a rallying point; swear never to abandon it but in death; swear never to suffer an affront to the French name.' The officers now lifted their swords, and all the soldiers cried in an enthusiastic voice, '*Nous le jurons.*' The eagle was then handed to the ensigns, and the regiment marched off the field.

'During the dreadful bombardment of Dresden by the allies, 26th August (1813), when a number of the garrison had fallen, seven privates of the imperial guard sprang on the parapet at the call of their captain, and walked along its top with the greatest composure, amid a shower of balls. Their object was to restore the confidence of the battalions, and I regret to add that three of these intrepid warriors were the victims of their courage. How many thousands of the same gallant body have been since doomed to fall! This guard was almost the only corps in the French army that was distinguished for precision in exercise; the others, however dextrous in general movements, being inferior to German troops in the detail of evolutions.

No general was ever more accurate than Bonaparte in computation, or shone more in combining the movements of large bodies of men. The want of disposable cavalry, and the incursions to right and left, of the Cossacks, prevented him during the campaign of 1813, from obtaining accurate or extensive information: but this was in a great measure supplied by his incessant activity, and admirable justice of *coup d'œil*. M. D'Odeleben was near him towards the end of May, during a day in which his army, occupying an extensive line near Liegnitz, was obliged to advance with great caution. He observed Bonaparte riding from height to height, marking every village and position, and issuing from time to time his orders in a few words, but with such clearness that his adjutants never had occasion to wait for an explanation. The troops kept advancing in every part of the line, and the spectator, on withdrawing his eye but for a moment, was sure to perceive some change in the moving scene when he renewed his observation:—an eminence had been occupied, a battery had been erected, or a fresh column had come in sight.

*Battle of Leipzig. (18th October.)*—M. D'Odeleben was present at this dreadful conflict, the heat of which was most felt at the village of Probsteyde, where Murat, Victor, and Augereau were stationed. Bonaparte, being early apprised that the allies were advancing in this direction in powerful bodies, reinforced his troops, and proceeded to the neighbourhood of the spot, placing himself on an eminence beside a wind-mill. Macdonald and Lauriston, with their respective troops, were added to the French on this side, and the fighting became general; the smoke from the cannon obscured the atmosphere for a while, but afterwards disappeared, and the whole scene was laid open to view. The French, notwithstanding all their fatigues and privations, fought with sur-

prising firmness, particularly when under the eye of Bonaparte. Poniatowsky had been raised two days before to the rank of marshal, and justified that high honour by defending a most important station with a body of Polish infantry, which was soon reduced to 5,000, and eventually to 2,700 men. The old guard manœuvred in the rear, and supplied incessant reinforcements to replenish the blanks in the line. Probsteyde was repeatedly carried by the allies, and as often retaken by their opponents: but this was not decisive: the allied artillery was numerous and well served; it occupied the adjacent eminences, and spread havoc throughout the French ranks. While all this was going on, a messenger from general Reynier brought at noon the unwelcome notice that a part of the Saxon artillery and cavalry had passed over to the allies; and at three o'clock came the still more alarming information of the desertion of the infantry. The intelligence was kept secret: Bonaparte ordered his horse, commanded a detachment of the old guard to replace the Saxons, and proceeded to the left, where he learned from Ney and Reynier the decisive superiority which the enemy were about to acquire. He now returned towards Probsteyde, rejoined Murat, and found means to make his artillery keep up their fire during the remainder of the afternoon. Night now came on, and closed with the loss of a considerable part of the French position near Stetteritz. Bonaparte continued near the wind-mill; a camp-fire being lighted on the spot: retreat was now unavoidable; Berthier received an order to that effect, and dictated the outline of the plan to his adjutants, who wrote by the light of the fire. Napoleon threw himself on a litter, reposed during a quarter of an hour, then re-opened his eyes, and cast a look of surprise on the surrounding officers, as if to say, 'Am I awake? or is it a dream?' He soon, however, recollected himself, and directed an officer to repair to the king of Saxony with information of the close of the engagement, and to express his regret that he could not visit him personally that night. He remained on the spot till eight in the evening, when he removed to one of the suburbs of Leipsic, and afterward to the interior of the town; where he sat up during the chief part of the night, engaged partly with Berthier and partly with Maret.

Meanwhile the measures for retreat were carrying into effect as far as they were practicable with so vast a number of men and carriages, the whole of which were obliged to take one road, the others being occupied by the allies. All had to pass through Leipsic, entering the town on every side, and crowding forwards to the Ranstadt gate. On the next morning, Bonaparte sent to offer the king of Saxony the option of either accompanying him or remaining; and the latter alternative being adopted, he was left at liberty to make the best terms that he could with the allies.

'The troops continued to defile through the town; at half past eight o'clock, a cannonade from the allies was heard near one of the suburbs;

at nine, Bonaparte proceeded on horseback to take leave of his royal ally; and, after having remained with him a quarter of an hour, he remounted his horse, and rode through the streets of Leipsic, which he found encumbered in all directions. The allies were now near the town; the balls were falling fast in the streets; the French rear-guard, commanded by Poniatowsky and Lauriston, resisted obstinately, having orders to defend the suburbs house by house: but it was impossible to prolong the contest so as to afford time for the passage of the long train of vehicles, or of the crowds of suttlers, artillerymen, and women. The road was in some places so narrow that two persons could scarcely make their way at the side of a carriage. A temporary bridge over the Elster had broken down and redoubled the confusion. Bonaparte crossed at the stone-bridge, and, having proceeded for some time along the road, he stopt and directed his officers to point out to the fugitives the means of joining their respective corps; it was now eleven o'clock, and soon afterward the stone-bridge was suddenly blown up. The account of this explosion given in the French *bulletin* has been generally considered as false, but I have been credibly assured that it took place nearly in the manner there mentioned; that is, by order of a serjeant of the engineers, who, in the absence of his commanding officer, hearing a confused noise from the Swedes, who formed the nearest part of the allies, thought that he had not a moment to lose, and sprang the mine: Be this as it may, a heavy loss on the part of the French could hardly have been avoided, since the allies would have crossed the river above and below the bridge, and intercepted the retreating columns. More than 25,000 French were taken or otherwise lost in this fatal morning; among the latter was the brave Poniatowsky, who threw himself into the stream, and was carried down with the current, his horse being unable to ascend the opposite bank.'

On the next day, as early as three in the morning, the French continued their retreat; the cavalry taking the lead, and the defence of the flanks and rear being intrusted to posts of infantry. The soldiers marched on, harassed and discontented; their leader pensive and troubled. In this state they traversed Kaia and Lutzen, the scene of their former success; and, as they advanced, a cannonade was frequently heard on their flanks, from detached bodies of the allies, who followed in parallel roads, and brought their field-pieces across the intervening tract of country, whenever the nature of the ground was favourable for such partial attacks. The chief disorder of the French took place on the 21st at the passage of the Unstrutt, the bridge over which had been previously burned by an allied detachment: at last, it was repaired, and other provisions were made for transporting the artillery and cavalry: but scarcely had Bonaparte passed when a body of hostile *tirailleurs* occupied a rising ground, and fired on those of the French who were still crossing, with considerable effect. The loss in the retreat would have been on the whole much greater, had not Erfurt afforded the French a fortified station for collecting their men, and renewing their march in better order. They had however no time to lose in it, and on the 25th of October, Bonaparte, with the rear-guard, marched out of the town to meet the Bavarians at

Hanau, and fight the last of their battles on German ground.—Here ended the memorable campaign of 1813, and here also ends the relation of M. D'ODELEBEN, who makes no report of the operations at Hamburgh, or of any event that did not pass under his eye. The greater part of the second volume is filled by a narrative from a different pen, intitled 'Relation by an Eye-witness of the Events which took place at Dresden in 1813.' This narrative, which our readers must not confound with the 'Relation of the Events near Leipsic,' begins with the transactions of April 1813, and is of course prior in point of date, to the outset of the present account: but we see no necessity for dwelling on it, because the writer, however accurate with regard to matters which came under his personal observation, had little opportunity for studying general movements, or appreciating on a large scale the plans of the respective commanders.

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ART. IX.—*Notoria; or Miscellaneous Articles of Philosophy, Literature, and Politics.*

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GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

*From Marshall's History of Kentucky.*—In the beginning of our Revolutionary War, the British government occupied not only the military posts of Detroit, Niagara, &c. on the northern lakes; but they also possessed St. Vincents, Kaskaskias, and other places, on the Wabash, and Mississippi. From these posts the Indians received supplies of arms, and ammunition; by which aid, they were enabled to keep up the war.

A recognition of those facts, connected with other occurrences of the war, turned the attention of Virginia, to her western frontier.

In the year 1777, the idea became familiar to the government, that the greater number of these inimical posts, might be taken by a few state regiments—and that in addition to the brilliancy, and renown of the enterprise, it would be securing to Virginia, the effect of her charter; within the limits of which, the greater part, if not the whole of these posts, were known to be situated.

The idea of making conquests, so important to the future security of the western frontiers of Virginia, derived considerable vivacity from the animated representations of George Rogers Clark, who had been on the Ohio in the preceding year; and whose active and enterprising mind, stimulated by

an ardent desire for military fame, had prompted him to institute inquiries into the state of those objects, about which he had received very extensive information; especially as to the more westwardly posts. This intelligence, which tended strongly to corroborate the public sentiment in favour of the premeditated enterprise, was freely circulated through Virginia.

In the end of 1777, or beginning of 1778, a regiment of state troops was voted for the service of the western frontier; the command of which was given to Mr. Clark, with the title of colonel. Between two and three hundred men were raised; and with these Col. Clark took his departure from the atlantic, to the western part of the state; secretly intending an expedition against the settlements and posts on the Mississippi. He descended the Monongahela, and Ohio, to the Falls of the latter river, where he halted a short time, to refresh his men; and where he was joined by some volunteers from Kentucky. At this place he left thirteen families, who had descended the Ohio with him, and whose object was a permanent settlement in the country.

As well the state of the war, as the nature of the expedition in which he was engaged, forbid his delay; while his own sanguine anticipations of success, hurried him on to the destined object. From the Falls, he proceeded

with his regiment in boats, to a point on the Ohio about sixty miles from the mouth of that river; here he landed his men, and hid his boats. The rout from this place lay in a course somewhat to the north of west, through a low uncultivated country, covered with ponds. Col. Clark, was not unacquainted with its geography, and at the head of his regiment he took up his line of march on foot, with his rifle in his hand, and his provision on his back. After wading the ponds, which they could not conveniently avoid, and sustaining two days' march after their provisions were exhausted, they arrived by night, before the town of Kaskaskias. Here the colonel formed his regiment, and was pleased to find, after a short consultation, that his men were in due spirits, and perfectly accorded with his opinion, that the town was to be taken at all events. About two hundred and fifty houses composed the town of Kaskaskias; which was sufficiently fortified, to have resisted with effect, a much more formidable enemy, had the garrison been apprised of its approach. But the distance from any known foe having forbidden all idea of danger among the inhabitants; of course superseded all precaution against surprise.

And so secretly had Col. Clark made his approaches, that his attack on the place, gave the first intelligence of his arrival. Not a scattering hunter had espied his march—not a roving Indian had seen his trail. The evil genius of the place, had abandoned the watchman to sleep.—Nor were either Town or Fort alarmed, until they were both in the power of the assailants. Who observing, and enforcing, the utmost silence in the execution of the enterprise, permitted not a creature to escape, as the messenger of alarm to the neighbouring towns, which one after another fell into the hands of colonel Clark, in the same course of easy, and unresisted conquest.

The papers found in the possession of the governor, ROCHELLEAVE, had the expedition wanted justification, contained it in the utmost extent. By written instructions, from Detroit, Michilimackinack, and other places, he was directed to invite the Indians to commit depredations on the American

citizens—and even to promise them rewards for scalps.

Colonel Clark required of the inhabitants that they should take the oath of allegiance to the United States; and the fort at Kaskaskias became his head quarters. Where his humane and friendly treatment to the inhabitants, afforded them the consolation of security to their persons, and property, under the new order of things.

With an account of his success, Col. Clark sent the late governor of Kaskaskias, to Richmond, in Virginia. And immediately prepared for the reduction of the other settlements on the Mississippi. A small detachment from his regiment being mounted upon the horses of the country, was pushed forward to surprise and take the villages, as high up as Pancore, which was done, without loss or injury. The inhabitants, learning the fate of Kaskaskias, from the guides who accompanied the invaders, readily transferred their allegiance from the British government to that of the United States. While the Indians struck with fear, and astonishment, on seeing a victorious enemy in the country, without knowing how they came there, fled to the woods, or to their distant towns for safety; or else repaired to St. Vincents, as the next strong post in the possession of the British, for protection.

Post Vincents is on the Wabash; at this place was governor Hamilton, commandant of Detroit, (with some regular troops and about six hundred Indians) who now began to project an expedition against Kaskaskias, for the reduction of that place. Of this Col. Clark was informed by the return of his spies; and immediately determined if possible to circumvent him.

Hamilton considering himself entirely secure in the superiority of his force, had contemplated a leisurely execution of his projected expedition, by first retaking Kaskaskias, and then sweeping the Ohio to Pittsburg; after which he intended to desolate particularly the frontiers of Virginia. Other arrangements having being made between the British, and more northwardly Indians, for destroying the remote inhabitants of New-York and Pennsylvania. But of colonel Clark, it has been said by a judicious historian, 'that he anticipated



and defeated the designs of Hamilton, by one of those bold and decisive measures, which, whether formed on a great or small scale, with many thousands, or only a few hundred, for its execution, equally mark the military and enterprising genius of the man, who plans and executes them successfully.' Clark was too far removed from the inhabited part of Virginia to hope for support from thence; he could not rely on the fidelity of his new citizens; and knew himself to be too weak to maintain Kaskaskias, and the Illinois against the regular force of Hamilton, aided by the whole body of Indians from the lakes to the Mississippi, by whom he was to be attacked, as soon as the opening of the next year would permit. Yet he made every preparation to maintain his post, determining to defend it to the last extremity.

While thus employed, he received undoubted information, from a Spanish merchant, that Hamilton, reposing himself in security at St. Vincents, had, to keep his Indians employed, detached them to block up the Ohio, and harass the neighbouring frontiers of Kentucky; reserving a garrison of about 30 regular soldiers at his post, with three pieces of cannon, and some swivels.

The mind of colonel Clark at once discerned the relative circumstances, between governor Hamilton, and himself, with all the advantages to be made of them; and as instantaneously determined to convert them to his own use, and emolument: and by one bold enterprise to free himself from danger. With this view he detached a small galley, which he had fitted out, for defensive purposes, mounting two four pounders, and four swivels, manned with a company of soldiers, and having on board stores for his troops, with orders, after reaching the Ohio, to ascend that river, and forcing her way up the Wabash, to take her station a few miles below St. Vincents; with strict orders to let nothing pass her. Having made these, and other arrangements, he set out in the depth of winter with one hundred and thirty men, being the whole he could collect, to march across the country from Kaskaskias to St. Vincents. On this march, through the rough woods, and over high waters, sixteen days were employed. Five days were the party

crossing the swamps, and drowned lands of the Wabash, in the neighbourhood of the fort, they were to attack: and for five miles, were they forced to wade through water up to the breast. There was it is true, a path from one place to the other; but to have followed this, would have been to expose his troops to observation, when he well knew the infinite importance of secrecy. And he was capable of sacrificing every consideration of personal accommodation, to the success of his enterprise. After subduing the difficulties which lay in his way, hitherto deemed invincible, he appeared in the van of his determined followers, before the town of St. Vincents, which he completely surprised, and which upon summons to repair to his standard, readily agreed to change its master. Hamilton, defended the fort for a while, and then surrendered himself and garrison, prisoners of war. He, together with some of his principal agents, who had been particularly active in urging the Indians to commit depredations on the frontier inhabitants, the executive of Virginia ordered to be confined in jail: which was done for a few months.

These expeditions were highly important, and beneficial in their consequences. They broke entirely the plan which threatened to pour destruction, on the whole country, west of the Allegany Mountains—they detached from the British interest, many of those numerous tribes of Indians, south of the great lakes—their influence on Kentucky, was immediate, extensive, and salutary—and in all probability, they contributed essentially, to fix the limits of the United States, ultimately by the Mississippi; as those of Virginia, were extended there immediately after.

The legislature of Virginia claiming the country thus conquered by Col. Clark, comprehended it within the new county which they erected by the name of *Illinois*. A regiment of infantry, and one troop of cavalry, were voted for its protection; the command of which was given to Col. Clark; whose former regiment was dissolved, by the expiration of its term of service; and who well merited this new expression of public confidence by the entire success of his late enterprises—by his known courage—by his uncommon hardihood—by his military talents—

and by his singular capacity for Indian warfare.

The families who came to the Falls of Ohio with Col. Clark in 1778, were the first settlers at that place. Considering their exposed situation on the extremity of Kentucky, detached seventy miles from the other settlements, and in the vicinity of several hostile tribes of Indians, and British posts, it was deemed expedient to erect their first cabins on the principal island in the Falls, and there they made corn in that year.

Greatly were these adventurers interested in the success of Col. Clark's expedition. Nor was it long before they heard of the fall of Kaskaskias. Pleasing as was this intelligence, it did not afford to them the wanted security.

There was yet post St. Vincents, more immediately in their neighbourhood; and replenished with Indians. The capture of this place was to them the mandate of liberation from their insular situation, and an invitation to remove to the Kentucky shore. Hence the origin of the settlement at the site of Louisville.

A stand being once made at the Falls, and the garrison freed from the contracted and inconvenient limits of the island, soon accumulated strength from the accession of numbers, and importance from its becoming the residence of Col. Clark, with his regiment.

The year 1779 early felt in various ways, the effect of Col. Clark's expedition, and success: a general confidence prevailed in the country, which extended itself abroad; and while it brought more emigrants into Kentucky, it encouraged an extension of the settlements. About the first of April a block-house was built where Lexington now stands, and a new settlement began there under the auspices of Robert Patterson, who may be considered an early, and meritorious adventurer, much engaged in the defence of the country—and who was afterwards promoted to the rank of colonel. Several persons raised corn at the place that year, and in the autumn, John Morrison, afterwards a major, removed his family from Harrodsburgh, and mistress Morrison was the first white woman at Lexington: so named to commemorate the battle at

Lexington, the first which took place in the war of the Revolution.

In this year, colonel Clark, descended the Ohio, with a part of his regiment, and after entering the Mississippi, at the first high land on the eastern bank, landed the troops, and built Fort Jefferson.

In a military view, this position was well chosen; and had it been well fortified, and furnished with cannon, would have commanded the river. Without a doubt, at some future day, it will be a place of great importance in the western country.

It is within the limits of Kentucky, and never should be alienated. A suitable garrison at that place, should it ever be necessary, would hold in check, both the upper and lower Mississippi.

In 1781, colonel Clark received a general's commission, and had the chief command in Kentucky. A row galley was constructed under his direction, which was to ply up and down the Ohio, as a moving battery for the north-western frontier, and which is supposed to have had a very good effect, in frightening the Indians, for none dared to attack it; nor were they so free as theretofore in crossing the river: indeed, there is a tradition, that its passage up the Ohio, once as far as the mouth of Licking, had the effect to stop an expedition, which a formidable party of Indians had commenced against Kentucky.

*Ancient Freedom of Spain.*—The fourth Chapter of Mr. Hallam's celebrated 'View of Europe in the Middle Ages,' is entitled, 'The History of Spain to the Conquest of Grenada.' During the middle ages, some of the kingdoms, into which Spain was divided, enjoyed a higher degree of liberty than any part of Europe. Even villenage, or the exclusion of the peasant from civil rights, which was so long continued in this country, seems never to have been established in what Mr. Hallam calls 'the Hispano-Gothic kingdoms.' — 'Since nothing,' he observes, 'makes us forget the arbitrary distinctions of rank so much as participation in any common calamity, every man who had escaped the great shipwreck of liberty and religion in the mountains of Asturias was invested with a personal digni-

ty which gave him value in his own eyes and those of his country. It is probably this sentiment transmitted to posterity, and gradually fixing the national character, that has produced the elevation of manner, remarked by travellers in the Castilian peasant.

Chartered towns are of an earlier date in Spain than in either France or England. The first instance of this kind was in 1020, in the reign of Alfonso V., when in the Cortes at Leon, he invested that city with regular corporate privileges. In every town, Mr. Hallam remarks, the monarch had a governor to receive the usual tributes, and to superintend the police as well as the fortified places within his district: but the administration of justice was restricted to the inhabitants and their elected judges. 'Even the executive power of the royal officer was regarded with jealousy; he was forbidden to use violence towards any one without legal process; and by the *fuero* (or charter) of Logrono, if he attempted to enter forcibly into a private house he might be killed with impunity.' In the kingdom of Castile, the monarch could not demand any money, service, or loan, without the previous consent of the Cortes; and, even Charles I., though the Cortes sometimes refused to comply with his demands of money, never ventured to levy it without their consent. In 'The Recopilacion, or Code of Castilian Law, published by Philip II.,' was included a positive declaration against the arbitrary imposition of taxes; and, though this declaration was often violated by that oppressive tyrant, the Cortes never failed, during his reign, to remonstrate against the violation; and the law itself remained unrepealed till the present age.

While the representatives of the people of Castile possessed the sole right of taxation, they at the same time exercised another privilege which is equally necessary to the preservation of public liberty; that of superintending the expenditure. 'The Cortes,' says Mr. Hallam, 'in the best times at least, were careful to grant no money until they were assured that what had been already levied on their constituents had been properly employed. They refused a subsidy in 1390, because they had already given so much, and "not knowing how so great a sum had been

expended, it would be a great dishonour and mischief to promise any more.'" — When a tax was granted, it was appropriated to a particular purpose, and could not be applied to any other; and, though we have witnessed in our times that, even in a British parliament, numerous attempts to introduce a greater economy into the expenditure of the civil list have been rendered abortive by the influence of the crown, yet, in the thirteenth century, we find the Castilian Cortes boldly remonstrating against any profuse expenditure in the household of the sovereign.

'They told Alfonso X., in 1258, in the homely style of that age, that they thought it fitting that the king and his wife should eat at the rate of a hundred and fifty maravedis a day, and no more; and that the king should order his attendants to eat more moderately than they did. They remonstrated more forcibly against the prodigality of John II. Even in 1559, they spoke with an undaunted Castilian spirit to Philip II. "Sir, the expenses of your royal establishment and household are much increased; and we conceive it would much redound to the good of these kingdoms, that your majesty should direct them to be lowered, both as a relief to your wants, and that all the great men and other subjects of your Majesty may take example therefrom to restrain the great disorder and excess they commit in that respect."'

The powers enjoyed by our own parliament were not altogether so ample as those which were exercised by the Cortes of Castile till the time of Charles I.; in whose reign, and in that of his successors, the liberties of the people were gradually merged in the power of the crown. Besides the general oath in which the Spanish kings, at their coronation, swore to observe the existing laws, they also took an oath to obey the laws which the Cortes might enact. In 1469, we find the Cortes of Ocana remonstrating 'with Henry IV. for allying himself with England rather than France;' and giving 'as the first reason of complaint that, according to the laws of your kingdom, when the kings have any thing of great importance in hand, they ought not to undertake it without advice and knowledge of the chief towns and cities of your kingdom.'

A higher spirit of liberty appears to have prevailed in Aragon than in Castile; and the former kingdom, at the same time, presents a more perfect and probably a more antient form of representative government. It was the liberty of Aragon that made some compensation to the natives for the sterility of the soil; and Mr. Hallam has quoted a passage from the acts of the Cortes of that kingdom in 1451, in which they declare, with a spirit worthy of the best ages of Greece or Rome, 'We have always heard of old time, and it is found by experience, that seeing the great barrenness of this land, and the poverty of the realm, if it were not for the liberties thereof, the folk would go hence to live and abide in other realms and lands more fruitful.' In conformity with a sentiment of this kind, the Aragonese had devised a more efficacious safeguard for their liberties than any which has been adopted by other nations in modern times. 'This brave people 'established a positive right of maintaining their liberties by arms.'

'It was contained in the Privilege of Union granted by Alfonso III., in 1287, after a violent conflict with his subjects; but which was afterwards so completely abolished and even eradicated from the records of the kingdom that its precise words have never been recovered. According to Zurita, it consisted of two articles: first that, in case of the king's proceeding forcibly against any member of the Union without previous sentence of the justiciary, the rest should be absolved from their allegiance; secondly, that he should hold Cortes in Saragosa. During the two subsequent reigns of James II. and Alfonso IV. little pretence seems to have been given for the exercise of this right. But dissensions breaking out under Peter IV. in 1347, rather on account of his attempt to settle the crown upon his daughter than of any specific public grievances, the nobles had recourse to the Union; that last voice, says Blancas, of an almost expiring state, full of weight and dignity to chastise the presumption of kings. They assembled at Saragosa, and used a remarkable seal for all their public instruments, an engraving from which may be seen in the historian I have just quoted. It represents the king sitting upon his throne with the confederates

kneeling in a suppliant attitude around, to denote their loyalty and unwillingness to offend. But in the back-ground tents and lines of spears are discovered as a hint of their resolution and ability to defend themselves. The legend is *Sigillum Unionis Aragonum*. This respectful demeanour, towards a sovereign against whom they were waging war, reminds us of the language held out by our Long Parliament, before the presbyterian party was overthrown. And although it has been lightly censured as inconsistent and hypocritical; this tone is the safest that men can adopt, who, deeming themselves under the necessity of withstanding the reigning monarch, are anxious to avoid a change of dynasty or subversion of their constitution.

The Aragonese, who were assembled in arms against their monarch, were defeated in 1348; but, though the royal power thus triumphed over the privilege of resistance which the constitution of Aragon had established, and though the king cut in pieces with his sword the original instrument in which it had been ratified, yet the constitutional liberty of the kingdom was improved, and new powers were given to a great magistrate, called the Justiciary; in whose jurisdiction the people possessed a more efficacious preservative against oppression, than any which had hitherto been established in the freest states. After the year 1348, this high officer could not be removed according to the royal pleasure; and he was amenable for his conduct only to the Cortes, or to a court of inquiry of which they had the nomination. The Cortes of Aragon were not inferior to those of Castile, in that continual vigilance and jealousy of the sovereign, without which public liberty can never be long preserved against the encroachments of royal power.

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*Deer swallowing Live Serpents*—  
From Col. Keatinge's Travels through France and Spain.—'Mr. Dowling, who passed many years of his life in and about St. Ildefonso, in the course of adverting to the progress of his manufactory, had frequently been eye-witness to a very surprising occurrence here—deer swallowing live serpents. He describes the act as follows:—The deer, after discovering, examines the

serpent for some time; he then places both his fore feet successively on it, standing somewhat straddling, so as to keep the reptile distended to its utmost length. He has probably in the first instance secured the head. The deer then puts his mouth down to the middle of the snake, thereby taking it in; and then raising his head and neck to a horizontal level with his body, and protruding his chin so as to make his head align with his neck, he appears to suck the snake down double, moving the jaws for the purpose but not chewing; the head and tail of the reptile, writhing, being the last parts of it seen. This strange appetite and extraordinary process Mr. Dowling had seen numerous instances of. It brings to mind the "*Cervi pasti serpente medulla*" (a necromantical ingredient) of the poet.'

*Transylvania.*—From the 4th vol. of Dr. Clarke's Travels.—'After leaving Boitza, the country again became open; and we descended from the mountains into the fertile territories of Transylvania. Here every thing wore a new aspect;—immense plains of waving corn; jolly, smiling peasants; stout cattle; numerous villages; nothing, in short, that seemed like the country we had quitted. At four hours' distance from Rothenthurn, we arrived at Hermanstadt, the capital of the province, a large and opulent town, full of inhabitants, situate in a campaign country. Hermanstadt contains fifteen thousand inhabitants.—The sight of handsome female faces at the windows was so new to us, that we seemed to be suddenly transported into another world.—

'April 30.—We went early to visit baron Bruckenthal, after settling some dispute at the custom-house, and were employed the whole morning in the examination of his collection of pictures: perhaps the largest in the possession of any private individual in Europe. It contains many works by all the best masters; and they are indisputably originals. A part of his collection related to England. We saw a View of London by old Griffier, representing a fair by the side of the Thames; all the persons present being painted as wearing horns. This picture would be considered very valuable in England; because it affords a view of London, de-

tailed with the utmost minuteness, as it existed towards the termination of the seventeenth century, when there were many windmills in the midst of the city, and fields now covered with squares and streets.—After examining the collection of pictures, we went to the dinner-table, where we had an opportunity of witnessing the old German ceremonies and manners; the governor being present, and much company.—The dresses of the gentlemen were rather singular: they appeared in short-cut coats, or jackets, with bag-wigs and swords. The ladies too, affecting all the air and hauteur of a high German court, yet held their forks perpendicularly, grasping the handles as if they were holding walking canes, in a manner that would be thought singularly uncouth and barbarous in our country: but it is curious enough that whole nations are characterized by a peculiarity in the usage of the fork at table. D'Archenholtz, in his "*Tableau D'Angleterre*," says, that "an Englishman may be known anywhere, if he be observed at table; because he places his fork upon the left side of his plate." To this we might add, that a Frenchman may also be recognised at table, in using the fork alone, without the knife: a German, by planting it perpendicularly into his plate; and a Russian, by using it as a tooth-pick.'

*English Missionaries in India.*—Mons. Langles, in his work on the literary labours of the English missionaries in India, observes that there are more than twenty establishments of English missionaries in the East Indies, extending from Sirdhana, north of Delhi, to Amboyna, in the Indian ocean, a distance of more than four thousand miles! and from his accounts of them we gather the following historical notices.

The establishment at Serampore and Calcutta was founded in 1799, and composed of Dr. W. Carey, who superintends the college; Mr. Marshman, the Press; and Messrs. Ward, Lawson, Lustace, Carey, Yates, and seven other brethren.

The establishment at Dinagapore was founded in 1800, and teaches forty-three children on the Lancasterian plan, by Ignace Fernaudes.

At Cotenah, in Burdwan, the mission was formed in 1804, by M. Chamberlain.

At Rangoon, in 1807. A church was built at that station in 1801, by some of the poor converts.

At Gomahy, near the ruins of Gour, in 1808.

At Digab, near Patna, the establishment was founded by Mr. Moore, in 1809.

A respectable Armenian, M. Peter, founded the Evangelical mission at Balasore in 1810.

At Agra, in 1811, and at Nagpore the same year. From 1812 to 1815 the missions at Bombay, Patna, Chittagong, and Colombo, were founded.

At Sirdhana, Pandoun, and Java, establishments were formed in 1813.

At Agra, Amboyna, and Allahabad, in 1814.

The number of persons employed in these missions at the end of the year 1813 was forty-four, twelve of whom were Europeans and thirty-two natives. But according to a statement published in the Asiatic Journal for May 1817, there were at that period ninety-eight European and twenty-three native Protestant missionaries in India, of different denominations.

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*Vaccination in India.*—The English Board of the National Vaccine Establishment have lately received from Seringapatam, a curious and important Memoir on Vaccination in that part of India, by the Rev. J. A. Dubois, Missionary in the Mysore, author of a description of the character, &c. of the people of India, and long a most ardent and zealous promoter of the Vaccine. The following is an abstract of this communication:—

Mr. Dubois states, that vaccination was introduced into Hindostan in the year 1802, and was warmly encouraged by the British government.

The natives, however, displayed a violent aversion to it from several causes.

The first proceeded from a hatred to all innovations.

2dly. A rumour arose that this was a design of the English to affix an indelible mark on certain persons: and that all males so impressed were, when they grew up to be forced into the

military service; and the females to be concubines.

3dly. The Hindoos had always considered the small-pox as a dispensation from a goddess named Mahry Umma: or rather that the disease was an incarnation of this deity into the person infected. They endeavoured to propitiate this goddess with offerings and sacrifices; but should the patient die, the relatives dared not weep, lest the goddess should overwhelm them with greater calamities.

From these causes vaccination was at first only submitted to by Christians.

Dr. Alexander Anderson, superintendent surgeon of the Mysore country, thought proper, with the approbation of the Supreme Council at Madras, to engage the Rev. Mr. Dubois to exert his influence to overcome the prejudices of the natives. He accordingly drew up several addresses in the Indian languages, and he set out on a tour to disseminate the vaccine; several Indian Christians were selected, and instructed to aid him in his labours.

At first much confusion arose; and some failures occurred by other practitioners who had mistaken a spurious disease for the true vaccine. But this opposition gradually declined, in consequence of the complete success which attended the regular vaccine; and the natives became persuaded that the goddess Mahry had chosen this mild mode of manifesting herself to her votaries, and might be meritoriously worshipped under this new shape.

Mr. Dubois solemnly declares, that he and his assistants have vaccinated nearly a lac, or one hundred thousand persons: and that he has not heard of one case proving fatal, nor a single well authenticated instance, among this large number, of the small pox occurring after the regular vaccine.

He mentions, that the vesicles are apt to be broken by the coarse blanket dress which is frequently worn, and the friction often produces an ulcer. These cases were re-vaccinated; but he observes a singularity, that this second operation rarely takes effect if performed sooner than two or three months after the first.

A circumstance of a very agreeable nature is also noticed, that the Vaccine frequently puts a stop to the intermit-

rent fever which is prevalent in that country. Mr. Dubois asserts, that he knew instances of its curing quartan fevers, which had continued four or five years.

He compliments highly the government in India, for the measures adopted to extend vaccination: he mentions that native vaccinators are appointed in every district, under the superintendence of English medical gentlemen, with liberal salaries: from which he indulges the reasonable expectation, that at no very remote period, the small-pox shall be entirely exterminated in that country; where, in former times, before the introduction of this wonderful preservative, whole districts have been occasionally almost depopulated by the ravages of the small-pox.

This communication of Mr. Dubois is accompanied by accurate tables, setting forth the several castes and numbers in each province who have undergone vaccination at his hands, making an aggregate of 98,734 persons.

*Report of the committee of the British House of Commons on the Petition of the American general Boyd. July 5th, 1818.*

Mr. Boyd, a native and citizen of the United States of America, and now a general officer in their service, had in early life emigrated to India, and as a soldier of fortune made his way to some of the native courts. In the year 1797, he was proprietor and commander of a partisan corps, consisting of infantry, horse, and artillery, amounting to 2,000 well appointed effectives, in the service of his highness the Nizam.

On the 9th of August, at midnight, Mr. Kirkpatrick, the British resident at the court of the Nizam, was awakened out of his sleep by the sudden arrival, from major Hyndman, an officer commanding a part of the British force subsidized by that prince, of a messenger with the alarming intelligence that monsieur Raymond, a Frenchman commanding a large corps officered by his countrymen in the service of the Nizam, had made a sudden movement with his whole force, with the intention, as was supposed, of attacking the greatly inferior British force, under major Hyndman, in his neighbourhood. In these critical circumstances, Mr. Kirkpatrick, after a short deliberation, ap-

plied to general Boyd, requesting that he would assist the English in the unequal struggle, and immediately move to their neighbourhood, urging, to use his own words, 'that he might thereby eventually entitle himself, and his whole party, to strong claims on the thanks of the British government.'

General Boyd lost not a moment in assuring the British resident that he would instantly put his corps under arms, and be ready on the first summons to support the British with his whole force. It appears from the evidence of Mr. Robins, an officer who served under him, that his corps was actually put in motion, and advanced some way towards the cantonment of Mons. Raymond, when gen. Boyd received another letter from Mr. Kirkpatrick, dated early in the morning of the 10th of August, stating that he had just learned that the report conveyed in his former letter was totally unfounded; and in consequence gen. Boyd returned to his encampment. It is stated by gen. Boyd that his movement had the effect of disconcerting monsieur Raymond, and frustrating his object. On this point the records of the East India Company give no information; but the evidence of Mr. Robins, the witness already mentioned, states that the officers serving under general Boyd had an expectation of liberal reward from the British government for the part they had acted; and Mr. Kirkpatrick, writing deliberately after the affair was over, expresses himself in the following terms:—'The readiness which you evinced to afford the assistance of your party, calls for my warmest thanks; and I shall not fail to make a proper report of it to the Supreme Government.'

According to the representation which gen. Boyd addressed to the court of Directors, in 1806, the decisive manifestations he had given of his attachment to the British interest operated most unfavourably on his own. Mons. Raymond, indignant against gen. Boyd, represented in such strong terms his attachment to the English, and on this ground intrigued against him with such success, that notwithstanding his utmost efforts, and though the general was assisted by the British resident, after various proceedings of an ambiguous character, he and his corps were at length dismissed from the service of the

Nizam; and thus gen. Boyd lost a situation from which, as he states, he was deriving an income of 6,000 rupees per month, or about £9,000 per annum. His highness the Peishwah, in whose employ he had before been, then invited general Boyd to resume his former situation, and the offer was accepted; but he was prevented from joining that prince by the circumvention of Scindiah, another Mahratta chief. The American stranger, disgusted with the politics and intrigues of India, soon after left that country and returned to his native land.

General Boyd hearing, in 1806, that many officers who had been in the service of the various native powers of India, had been amply rewarded for giving up situations of emolument, rather than act in hostility towards the British interests, was prompted to prefer his claim to remuneration, on the double ground of the service he had rendered, and the situation he had lost. The mode of remuneration was suggested by himself, as one that would be of essential service to him, namely, that of his being permitted to ship at Calcutta 300 tons of saltpetre for America, as being likely, by a small sacrifice by the one party, to produce a very liberal remuneration to the other; guarding against the possibility of its coming into the hands of the enemy, by agreeing to contract with the United States to import the whole for their use. Saltpetre was an article, the ordinary exportation of which from India was prohibited; and by the sale of this cargo in the United States, gen. Boyd might fairly hope to realize from £30,000 to £35,000 sterling. To this proposition the Directors of the East-India Company assented, provided the plan should be sanctioned by the British government. His majesty's ministers, when made acquainted with the case, acceded to the proposal, and manifested their approbation of it by granting general Boyd a license, which extended not merely to permit his transportation to America of so large a quantity of military stores, but even to protect his cargo from capture, in the event of a war breaking out between this country and America. General Boyd's property was thus secured against the attacks of any of our ships of war, even supposing that national hostilities had intervened; yet in a time

of profound peace between the two countries, the ship *Martha*, in which the saltpetre was laden, having touched at the Cape of Good Hope, to land some English passengers, was violently detained by one of his majesty's ships of war, and was condemned by the Vice Admiralty court in that settlement. On an appeal to the proper court in this country, a decree in favour of gen. Boyd was obtained, and the restoration of the saltpetre was ordered; but before the decree reversing the original sentence had reached the cape, the saltpetre had been precipitately sold for a sum comparatively so trifling, as to do little more, according to gen. Boyd's account, than to compensate the charges incurred at the cape. These transactions took place about the years 1807 and 1808.

It does not appear that for a considerable time afterwards he brought forward in this country any claim to be indemnified for the spoliation of his property at the cape; but for several years subsequent to the period here mentioned, the critical state of affairs between this country and the United States rendered the times unfavourable to the further prosecution of his claim, and afterwards the unhappy war between this country and America broke out. In that war gen. Boyd not only maintained the character of a good officer, but displayed kindness and generosity to the British prisoners who fell into his hands. As soon as peace was restored, gen. Boyd came to this country to prosecute his claim, and presented to the house the petition which was referred to the Committee.

The examination of the accounts relating to this transaction was rendered difficult and intricate, not only by the length of time that had elapsed, and by gen. Boyd's not being conversant with accounts, but still more by the subsequent failure of the mercantile house which had conducted the commercial parts of this transaction in London. That house had advanced the funds for the purchase and transportation of the saltpetre; it had effected an insurance on the saltpetre; and when it was seized and condemned at the cape, had, on the refusal of the underwriters to make good a loss so incurred, sued them in the court of king's bench, and obtained a judgment for the amount of the whole



sum insured. This litigation was terminated about the year 1811, whilst gen. Boyd was in America.

From gen. Boyd's statements it appears, that on consulting with some American lawyers of character touching the nature of his claims on this country, for the spoliation of his property, they gave it as their opinion that *these claims, ought to be preferred, irrespectively of the insurance that had been effected, and charging the whole sum which the saltpetre would have produced if carried safely to America, after deducting the prime cost, freight and other charges of the adventure;* on this principle, his original statement of his claim, prepared for the committee, was constructed.

To America, indeed, the saltpetre was actually carried by the purchasers of it at the cape; and sold for the price assumed in gen. Boyd's statement, amounts to\* . . . . . 150,912  
He deducts from this sum, for cost, freight, and charges, as abstracted from the books of his London agents . . . . 10,947

Leaving. . . . . 40,015  
Besides, which, he deducted for the sale produce of the saltpetre at the cape, under the decree of the Vice-Admiralty court. . . . . 3,609

But he charged interest on the account . . . . . 14,400

The amount of what his compensation from the East-India Company would have produced to him, if he had carried it to America, stood at . . . . . 50,806

In this account there was a material error against gen. Boyd: for the sum of 13,609 deducted as the produce of the saltpetre at the cape, had been before deducted from the account of costs and charges, which stood, after such deduction, at the balance as above of 10,947. But in examining the said account of costs and charges, the committee were for the first time apprised that the saltpetre had been insured to the amount

of 116,800 of which about 114,000 had been recovered from the underwriters by the suit above mentioned. In answer to the inquiry why this had not been stated in the first representation of his case, gen. Boyd gave the explanation above, namely, that he had omitted the introduction of the insurance upon the opinion of the American lawyers, who had advised him; but the Committee is clearly of opinion, that the insurance, and the sum recovered, ought to have been stated, inasmuch as the actual situation in which gen. Boyd stood as a claimant for remuneration, must be different on the two suppositions of the insurance having or not having been made; but it is to be observed, that in stating the account in his own way, that is, by deducting from the *estimated amount* of the proceeds of the saltpetre in America, the prime cost and charges, instead of the amount insured, he made the amount of his claim about 13000 more than it would have been if the insurance had been deducted, instead of the prime cost and charges; and by his mistake in twice deducting the sum of 13,609 for sales at the cape, he reduced the amount of his claim below what it would have been, if he had deducted, instead of the prime cost and charges, the full amount of the insurance recovered from the underwriters.

On the whole, the insurance seems to have reimbursed gen. Boyd for the prime cost and charges of the saltpetre, and for the actual expenses incurred in the prosecution of his claim, and thereby to have placed him in the situation of not having sustained any direct pecuniary loss.

But if gen. Boyd has not to complain of any positive loss, yet the Committee is persuaded that the house will bear in mind the loss he sustained of the sum for which the saltpetre would have sold in America, and on the acquisition of which he had reckoned. The Committee in order to ascertain the probable amount of this sum, referred to the prices current in America, and thence learned both the ordinary value of saltpetre in that country, and its particular value in the year in which gen. Boyd's cargo would have arrived there, but for its detention: and it appeared that the 300 tons of saltpetre would have sold for full 150,000. But besides his being

\* Does this mean that it was actually sold for 50,962*l*. The mode of expression is very ambiguous to lawyers.

deprived of so large a sum, which gen. Boyd had anticipated as his own, the Committee cannot be insensible to gen. Boyd's long course of protracted and disappointed hope, of uncompensated trouble and anxiety, his loss of time, to the fatigues and perils of repeated voyages across the Atlantic, and all these superadded to the actual loss sustained in India, as he himself states, from the sudden blasting of his expectations, founded on his military connexion with one of the greatest and most respectable of the native powers.

On a review of the entire case, the Committee find that gen. Boyd having, in early life, rendered, at his own personal risk, an important service to this country, when, from the political circumstances of the period, it was of more than ordinary value; having, in consequence of this very act of *spirited generosity*, sustained the loss of a situation which promised him a large return of fortune and perhaps of credit; having had the value of his services recognised both by the Directors of the East-India Company and the ministers of the crown; and having received a liberal remuneration, he was suddenly deprived of it by the unwarrantable proceedings of the *commander of a British ship of war*. The Committee is persuaded that the house will not be insensible to gen. Boyd's protracted course of anxiety and disappointment. The circumstance of his being a foreigner will, the Committee doubt not recommend the case to the consideration of the house. The length of time that has elapsed, as augmenting the sum of gen. Boyd's hardships, will undoubtedly be rather favourable than injurious to his cause. It will also be a recommendation to gen. Boyd's case, that his personal character stands high in his native country. Finally, the Committee, though by no means intending to recommend a remuneration of gen. Boyd, grounded on the principle of realizing the profits which he might have ultimately derived from his commercial adventure, yet feel themselves justified in recommending the case of gen. Boyd to the fair consideration of the house.

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*Phenomena of Hunger, explained by Dr. Park, of London.*—In the stomach, the first stage of action is obviously that which begins at a certain period

after taking food. That digestion does not commence immediately after eating, has long been admitted by physiological writers; a conclusion founded, no doubt, upon observation and dissection; and it may be received as a fact, although no sufficient cause has ever been assigned to account for this remarkable circumstance. The time generally supposed to elapse before digestion commences is half an hour, or more.

Whenever the organ resumes its action, be the interval more or less, since it is now in the state of greatest repletion, a slight extent of contraction will be sufficient to expel a portion of its contents; and the effort being inconsiderable, accords well with the incipient stage of mobility, or that of feeble and inefficient activity.

As the process of digestion advances, the extent of contraction required must be constantly increasing; and the more active exertion now called for, to keep up the process of depletion, indicates the approach of the second stage, which is that of vigorous or energetic action.

When the depletion is nearly effected, the reduced bulk of the organ bespeaks the increasing extent of contraction, and denotes the approach of the third stage of action. As this stage is characterised by the tendency to inordinate efforts, and the liability to uneasy sensation, the feeling which is now excited, or the sense of hunger, well accords with the last stage, being that of excessive and painful contraction.

This sensation subsides upon taking food, as the organ then relaxes and suspends its efforts with satiety, or that state of repletion, which is opposite to the state of greatest contraction or hunger.

After the stomach has been filled, transmission of its contents does not recommence for half an hour or more; and this fact, for which no adequate cause has hitherto been assigned, denotes the state of quiescence or rest following the continuance of exertion.

Thus the different periods of digestion appear to accord with the successive stages of action, followed by a state of rest. But each of these requires to be more particularly examined.

It was stated that from the period at which digestion commences, the mobility of the organ gradually increases: the strongest indication of which appears in this circumstance, that its action keeps continually increasing, while the stimulus that excites it is constantly diminishing.

The contents of the stomach are, on all hands allowed to be the stimulus that excites this organ to action: and these are continually diminishing as digestion goes on, while contraction keeps as uniformly increasing. An augmentation of mobility is thus clearly indicated, and seems the only cause adequate to account for the progressive increase of contraction under such circumstances.

In what way the contents of the stomach act as a stimulus, it is immaterial to the present question to determine; but is important on other accounts. Mechanical distension was formerly shown to be the only cause capable of producing uniform and healthy action in involuntary organs, and distension is evidently the stimulus to the stomach. It is not, however, the permanent distension arising from the mere bulk of its contents; for distension, like every other impression, gradually loses its influence when permanently applied: but it is the distension alternately applied and withdrawn at every ascent and descent of the diaphragm in respiration.

From this it may be learned why exercise, at a certain period after eating, promotes digestion; but if violent, and used too soon after taking food, has an opposite tendency.

Violent exertion before the organ has rested sufficiently to recover its healthy powers of action, and while it is in a state of perfect repletion, must excite over-distension. But it was shown to be a general law, that, over-distension of internal organs excites contraction of their mouths; while contraction of the organs is attended with relaxation of their mouths. This over-distension would therefore cause the pylorus, or lower orifice of the stomach, to become obstinately constricted, and prevent depletion of the organ, if exercise be violent and prematurely resorted to; but if deferred till absorption, which takes place during the state of quiescence, has somewhat less-

ened the contents; and when, from the stomach beginning to contract, the pylorus relaxes; then digestion is no longer impeded but promoted by exercise.

In this way may be explained, the experiment of the late sir Buick Harwood upon two dogs. Having fed them well, he suffered one to sleep for an hour, and violently exercised the other. He then killed them both, and found the stomach of the dog that had slept nearly empty, and that of the other quite full. From this he inferred, somewhat too generally, that sleep after eating, promotes digestion, and is therefore wholesome.

Hunger, which is regarded as the third stage, or that of painful contraction, subsides upon taking food; because grateful impressions, according to a general law formerly pointed out, dispose to relaxation; and the stomach accordingly relaxes for the admission of the food, and the uneasy sensation ceases.

But without food being taken, hunger is often known to subside; because, involuntary organs, after a certain period of action, spontaneously relax; and thus when the effort is suspended, the uneasy sensation attending, subsides along with it. A farther reason may also be alleged for the cessation of hunger after the organ is emptied; which is, the total abstraction of the stimulus that excites it to action. For whether the contents act by mechanical distension, or by some specific impression, both will be withdrawn by perfect depletion.

This suspension of hunger in an empty stomach, however, is shortly followed by its renewal; the cause of which may be learned from the symptoms that attend. It is proverbial to say, 'that long fasting creates wind upon the stomach;' and the eructations which arise, show that air is either evolved in, or gains admission into this organ, when its action has been a short time suspended. The distension, thus renewed, becomes a fresh stimulus, and calling forth fresh efforts from the organ, which has now obtained partial rest, again excites hunger. And moreover, the impression of air is not grateful, like that of food, but displeasing, and calculated to excite resistance.

The returns of hunger are quicker or slower in different individuals; and in this respect, also, the phenomena accord with the laws of muscular action. Where the mobility is greater, and the tone and vigour of fibre less, as in females and children, the stages of action will be more rapidly passed through, and the period of painful contraction will more speedily return. Hence young people require to eat oftener than adults, and delicate persons cannot bear long fasting.

Various means are known to accelerate or retard the approach of hunger. For instance, the stomach having a nervous connection with the sensorium, is partially subject to mental influence; and hunger, like fatigue, may therefore be brought on sooner by any thing that strongly directs the attention to it; or may be postponed by causes that otherwise engage the mind, and divert the attention from it.

Among the means that retard the approach of hunger, tying a belt tight round the waist is said to have that effect. The descent of the diaphragm is thus impeded, and the effort of inspiration is thrown upon the intercostal muscles. Consequently, the distension of the stomach is no longer applied and withdrawn alternately; but the organ is subjected to permanent pressure, which rather tends to allay than excite inordinate action: just as grasping the legs or feet alleviates spasms; a mode of relief instinctively resorted to in such cases.

Opium possesses the power of assuaging hunger; and the well known property of allaying inordinate action belonging to this drug, sufficiently explains its mode of operation. The Turks employ an ingenious resource to prevent the cravings of hunger, when obliged by their religion to fast for a whole day. They take three pills of opium at once; one covered with two folds of paper, a second with one fold, and a third naked. By this contrivance they are made to dissolve in succession, when received into the stomach, and retard the approach of hunger so much the longer.

Thus the phenomena of digestion all accord with the conclusion, that a state of painful contraction in the stomach, analagous to that of fatigue in the limbs, occasions the sense of hunger.

#### ON THE DISEASE OF THE GRAVEL.

*From Dr. Magendie's physiological remarks on its symptoms.*—In the present state of our knowledge, two principal causes present themselves, as likely to favour the formation of gravel, viz. 1st, an increase in the quantity of uric acid in proportion to the entire quantity of urine; and, 2dly, a diminution, from whatever cause, in the temperature of this latter fluid.

Among the first causes which augment the proportion of uric acid, and often produce the gravel, we may reckon, high living, and the use of animal food; or in other words, the diet of the rich. The following case, which came within the observation of Mr. Magendie, well deserves to be recorded.

‘M. \* \* \*, a merchant of one of the Hanseatic towns, possessed, in 1814, of a considerable fortune, lived in an appropriate style, and kept a very good table, of which he himself made no very sparing use: he was at the same time troubled with the gravel. Some political measure unexpectedly took place, which caused him the loss of his whole fortune, and obliged him to take refuge in England, where he passed nearly a year in a state bordering upon extreme distress, which obliged him to submit to numberless privations; but his gravel disappeared. By degrees he succeeded in the re-establishment of his affairs; he resumed his old habits of life, and the gravel very shortly began to return. A second reverse occasioned him the loss of all he had acquired: he returned to France almost without the means of subsistence; his diet being in proportion to his pecuniary means, again the gravel vanished. At length, his industry restored him to comfortable circumstances; he once more indulged in the pleasures of the table, and again had to pay the tax of his old complaint.’

It would be difficult to find an experiment better made, or a more convincing proof of the direct influence which a too-nutritious regimen, or one composed of highly azotic substances, exercises on the formation of the gravel; but this is not the only cause. M. Magendie points out want of exercise, sedentary employment, indulgence in bed, &c.; the use of generous wines and strong liquors; the bad habit of

too long retension of the urine; excessive perspiration. All other things equal, those who drink little, will be more exposed to these attacks than those who drink largely of weak liquors. One more circumstance—the temperature of the urine, is particularly favourable to the development of this disease in old age.

M. Magendie announces that in youth this temperature is higher by some degrees than at a certain age; so that the urine of the aged, having a less dissolving power, will more easily allow of the precipitation of the uric acid.

*Nautical Instrument.*—Mr. Hunter, of Edinburgh, has invented an instrument of great importance in navigation. From two altitudes of the sun, and the interval of time between the observations, he can determine within five minutes after the second observation, the latitude of the place, the hour from noon, and the variation of the compass. According to the common form of calculation for double altitudes, the latitude by account is supposed to be known, which in the use of this instrument is not necessary. Mr. J. Cross, of Glasgow Observatory, attests that he has tried it in several instances, and always found its results very near the truth. If a vessel were driven from her course by storms or currents; if the reckoning was altogether lost, and the mariner could not get a meridian observation; with this instrument, and a chronometer, he could in a few minutes after the second observation, ascertain his position on the ocean with accuracy.

*New Inflammable Gas.*—Dr Thomson has discovered a new compound inflammable gas, and has called it, from the nature of its constitution, hydroguretted carbonic oxide. Its specific gravity is .913, that of common air being 1. It is not absorbed nor altered by water. It burns with a deep blue flame, and detonates when mixed with oxygen and fired. It is a compound of oxygen, hydrogen, and carbon; and Dr. Thomson considers it as being three volumes of carbonic oxide, and one volume of hydrogen, condensed by combination into three volumes.

See *Annals of Philosophy*, August, 1818.

#### WALTZING.

*From Mrs. Opie's New Tales.*—‘I am glad to find you do not waltz, miss Musgrave—nor you, miss Delaney.’

‘Do not mistake me, however,’ said he; ‘I do not mean to say that I consider all young ladies who waltz, as devoid of modesty, delicacy, or proper feeling; but I feel that I should wish my sister, or my mistress, or my wife, to have a sort of untaught aversion to the familiarity which waltzing induces. I would have her prize too highly, from self-respect, the sort of favour which a woman confers on a man with whom she waltzes, to be willing to bestow it on any one of her acquaintance. I would wish her to preserve her person unprotected by any clasping arm, but that of privileged affection. For indeed, dear miss Musgrave, if I saw even a woman whom I loved, borne along the circling waltz, as I see these young ladies now borne, I should be tempted to address her partner in the words of a noble poet—‘What you touch you may take.’

#### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Observations in the catalogue of the Leipsic fair of 1818.—(From the *Parisian Journal General de la Litterature Etrangere*.)

The catalogue of the Easter fair of Leipsic is, as usual, very voluminous, and would convey an exalted idea of German literature, if it were estimated by its bulk, and by the titles of the books announced.

The number of the works detailed, in Latin and German, is 2,230; to these are to be added 104 novels; 60 dramatic pieces; 246 books in foreign languages; 45 atlases and geographical maps; 416 pieces of music; a total of 3,101.—

But from the 2,230 Latin and German works, we must deduct a considerable number merely reprinted or to which new titles only have been given. We may leave out of the account, also, a larger number of translations from the French, the English, the Italian, &c. which do not of course belong to German literature. The number of works really new and properly Ger-

man, is thus reduced to about from 1500 to 1800.

The German critics themselves express great surprise at the immense heap of dissertations, sermons, pamphlets, &c. produced on the occasion of the feast of the Reformation, and upon Luther; and of which the major part contains absolutely nothing that is new. Every village curate seems to have thought it a duty to print a sermon, (good or bad) on this occasion. It should be mentioned that no small number of these writings were published at the instigation of the booksellers, and a part composed by them.

Several of the authors are of extraordinary fecundity; as for example *Drasche*, who has given eight sermons; *Hoch*, as many works on *Jurisprudence*; *Wilmsen* nine works for youth; *Julius de Foss* eight novels, &c.

Nevertheless, this catalogue is not wanting in works which do honour to literature; and in this class are to be ranked the many treatises of philology and classical literature, published by *Schwe*, *Bothe*, *Schneider*, *Beck*, &c.—the *Zootomia of Curus*; the laws of polarization, and the scientific physiology of *Waller*; the *Treatise on the Maladies of the Heart*, by *Kreyssig*; many historical works of *Voight* and others. Among the works in foreign languages are Visconti's *Iconography*, and a considerable number in the Danish tongue, for the most part translations.

The catalogue announces 352 works as *in the press*, of which some are very interesting in respect to ancient literature.

In the department of music, the best works produced, belong to composers of Vienna and Bohemia, such as *Beethoven*, *Kozeluch*, *Neukomm*, *de Call*, the chevalier *Seuffried*, and other disciples of the school of *Haydn*. Northern Germany has never been distinguished in this line.

Six hundred guineas are said to be paid to writers for every number of the *Quarterly Review*; the whole expenses are estimated at ten thousand pounds sterling per annum; ten thousand copies of each number are sold; the article

on Evelyn's *Memoirs* in the 37th number is understood to be from the pen of *Southey*; that on the 4th canto of *Childe Harold* from *Walter Scott*; that on Bellamy's translation of the *Scriptures* from *Dr. Barrow*, &c.

Birbeck's letters from Illinois are, like the *notes*, about to reach a third edition in London. A lively interest seems to pervade all England with respect to America, and the rage for emigrating to this country, has suffered little abatement.

Lalla Rookh is now in its eighth edition, as also the 'Fudge Family.'

Lord Byron continues at Venice, where he has resided for two years past.

The emperor of Austria has established in the Universities of Pavia and Padua particular chairs for the *Veterinary Art*. The Professors are to enjoy an annual stipend of 1000 florins.

The Academy of Fine Arts of Vienna distributed in the spring of 1818, a great number of honorary degrees to members and prizes to pupils. The arch-dukes Charles, Anthony, Reynier, John and Louis; the dukes Maximilian, Don Francisco de Paula, and Albert de Saxe-Teschén were present at the ceremony. The foreigners elected as honorary members were—the princess of Brazil, the duke Maximilian d'Este, the Spanish duke *don Francisco*, the count *de Caraman*, the French ambassador, and the marquis of Marialva, the ambassador of Portugal.

Prince Metternich presided on the occasion, and in his opening discourse announced that the empress wished to be put on the list of protecting members of the Academy.

A Parisian Journal states that the Cossacs of the Don have sent statues of the twelve Apostles, cast in massive silver, of the size of life, to the church of our Lady of Casan at St. Petersburg.

The university of Moscow has been re-established in great splendor and upon broader foundations as to instruction. Several Russian noblemen have followed the example of the emperor and empress-mother, in contributing large sums of money to this institution.







THE  
ANALECTIC MAGAZINE.

FEBRUARY, 1819.

ART. I.—*Delaplaine's Repository* of the Lives and Portraits of distinguished Americans. Vol 2. part 1. Philadelphia, 1818.

IT was our misfortune to be obliged, in the conscientious discharge of the duties of criticism, to pass a candid, though reluctant censure upon the two several parts of the first volume of Mr. Delaplaine's *Repository*; and we entered upon the examination of the half-volume now before us, in the same earnest hope of finding the skill of its execution equal to the magnificence of the plan, and with the same determination to express our opinion unreservedly, and without favour or prejudice, upon the faults as well as the excellencies that might meet our view. The office of a critic calls for the most rigid impartiality, and the most open avowal of disapprobation when incurred, as well as of praise when merited; but there is nothing in the duty, nor we hope in the habit of criticism, to render the task of censure less irksome, nor the opportunity of commendation less grateful. It is therefore with unfeigned gratification that we find ourselves, on the present occasion, entitled, by an attentive perusal, to bestow an almost unqualified eulogium.

There is a redeeming virtue in the boldness of Mr. Delaplaine's plan,—the generous confidence in the public taste and liberality, on which he relies for the recompense of very heavy expenses and immense labour—the adventurous anticipation of that period when public patronage may be expected to foster such an undertaking—and the patriotism of adding to the literature of our country, a book of national biography,—more than sufficient to expiate a thousand imperfections in the performance. The attempt deserves encouragement, for there is unquestionably nothing in which our literature is more defective. 'In this respect' (to use the language of Mr. Verplanck) 'we have not been faithful to our own honour. The short period of our existence as a people, has been fruitful in models of public virtue. Other lands may boast of having given birth to men of rarer genius, and of more splendid achievement. But how often has that genius been the base flatterer, or the willing instrument of oppression; how often has it been low and selfish in its ambition; how often black with crime.

But the history of our illustrious men is a story of liberty, virtue, and glory. Such, however, has been our culpable negligence of their fame, that little other memorial is to be found of most of them than what has been incorporated in the public records of their times. All that is instructive in their private biography, all that is individual in their characters, is rapidly fading from memory; and there is danger, lest to the next generation, the names of Green, and Marston, and Wayne—of Otis, Laurens, Rutledge, and Pendleton—of Dickenson, Sherman, Ellsworth, and Hamilton, will be mere names of history, calling up no associations, inculcating no example, kindling no emotion.—Their memories will, indeed, be bright and ever during, but they will shine as from afar, like the stars of other systems, whose cheering warmth and useful light are lost in the distance.\*

This is surely no extravagant estimate of the importance of biography, for though it has generally been considered in point of dignity and difficulty, inferior to philosophical and historical composition, because more confined in its scope; the story of the life of a particular eminent man, being but part of the history of the nation; yet in some respects it has superior advantages.

To celebrate the memory of great and worthy men, is rendering to them the best thanks posterity can bestow. To live in history is the object of many a noble aspiration, and has been the incentive to many a glorious deed. To inscribe his name upon the annals of his country, is the ambition which excites the ardour of the orator, steels the breast of the soldier, and infuses into the patriot's heart a generous disdain of sordid views and selfish interests. But how much more is he distinguished that lives for posterity in well written biography! The hero of history is one among a crowd, like an individual figure in the picture of a battle; the likeness indeed is there, and the searching eye may discover it; but it is imperfectly seen, half hidden by the surrounding group; whilst biography presents a full length portrait, occupying the whole canvass, and exhibited singly and entire to the gaze of the spectator. Servius Tullius, and Leonidas, are known to us as names, marking eras in history, but with the *men*, the *personages*, we are not at all acquainted. Numa and Lycurgus, on the contrary, really immortalized by Plutarch, appear to be among our familiar acquaintances; we seem to know their very persons, and the example of their lives is fresh on our imaginations. Who would not rather survive to posterity in the ample detail and vivid colouring of biography, than in the cold outline and faint shading which history can but afford to give?

Besides holding forth the worthiest tribute to exalted merit, and a means of the most complete perpetuity of fame, biography is not less instructive than history, to those who are not its subjects. History has been called 'philosophy teaching by examples,' and

\* Anniversary discourse, delivered before the New York Historical Society, December 7, 1818.

Cicero terms it 'the life of memory, and the school of life.' But it is too general to instruct us in the ethics of individual life; and only when it deviates into biography, in portraying the actions of some extraordinary man, does it afford those practical models of conduct, or exhibit the consequences of ill regulated ambition, the consideration of which teaches philosophy by examples, and is truly the 'school of life.' The mind is bewildered in drawing its conclusions from the confused multiplicity of facts which history presents, but when the understanding is intent and fixed upon a single thing, it comprehends easily, and imbibes the whole moral lesson without difficulty, and almost without effort. 'As the sun-beams united in a burning glass to a point, have greater force than when they are darted from a plain superficies, so the virtues and actions of one man drawn together in a single story, strike upon our minds a stronger and more lively impression than the scattered relations of many men and many actions; and by the same means that they give us pleasure, they afford us profit too.'

But this part of the Repository needs no indulgence; it possesses meritorious claims upon public favour and attention. The selection of *lives* is exceedingly happy. A condensed view of the character and adventures of Franklin was much wanted. The curiosity of the whole nation, and indeed of Great Britain also, has been recently excited, we had almost said *awaked*, to the subject of that extraordinary man; and it is a curiosity which 'grows with what it feeds on;' for every investigation of his conduct causes new admiration for his wonderful genius and preeminent virtue. In the succinct, yet full biography of Franklin, the writer has done justice to his theme; we know not how to express a higher encomium.

Francis Hopkinson, Robert Morris, Samuel Adams, Henry Laurens, and George Clinton, are the other worthies commemorated. We think the choice judicious, because they have all ceased to live; their lives are complete; an impartial judgment may be passed upon their characters, and nothing in their history need be concealed through fear of wounding sensibility or reviving buried animosities. Very different is it with respect to still living men; if they have mingled in active life, they scarce can have avoided making enemies, whose inimical feelings are ever liable to be aroused until the death of their object has soothed them to forgetfulness. The biographer is therefore tempted to swerve from strict fidelity, for the sake of preserving peace between irritable spirits that hide their hate, but have not conquered it.

These names are proper subjects of commemoration, however, for stronger reasons. They were all very distinguished, and deservedly celebrated among the most valuable of our citizens, and yet all that was individual in their characters is but little known to the world. Their lives are models of public usefulness and virtue; but the instruction to be derived from them was in danger of being lost. They would be worthy subjects of much ampler

more extended biography; but what is here done, is well done. The life of Francis Hopkinson, particularly, is written with a degree of sprightliness and animation, as admirable as it is suited to a delineation of his accomplished and lively mind.

Yet the question remains, whether anonymous biography ever can be very useful. Whether any work can be a safe material for future historians, which is not stamped with indubitable authenticity by the impress of the author's name. On this subject we formerly expressed an opinion which we have found no reason to alter.

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ART. II.—*Memoirs, illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, Esq. F. R. S. Author of the 'Sylva,' &c. &c. Comprising his Diary, from the Year 1641 to 1705-6, and a Selection of his Familiar Letters. To which is subjoined, the private Correspondence between King Charles I. and his Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas, whilst his Majesty was in Scotland, 1641, and at other times during the Civil War; also between Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Richard Browne, Ambassador to the Court of France, in the time of Charles I. and the Usurpation. The whole in two vols. Edited by William Bray, Esq. Fellow and Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries of London.*

[Abstracted from the Quarterly Review.]

**T**HIS article attributed to the pen of Mr. Southey possesses uncommon interest; it is of great length and presents a complete outline of the life and character of the celebrated Evelyn, with many curious sketches of the manners and history of the period, during which he lived. He was born at Wotton, in the county of Surrey, in the year 1620, and inherited early in life a considerable fortune. After completing his collegiate education he travelled on the continent rather it appears, to avoid the troubles then rising in England, than for the purpose of pleasure or improvement. He landed at Flushing, proceeded to Dort, and taking wagon from thence to Rotterdam, was 'hurried there in less than an hour, though it be ten miles distant, so furiously did these foremen drive.' The Dutch are not so celebrated for the celerity of their motions in these days. On the way to the Hague he observed 'divers leprous poor creatures dwelling in solitary huts on the brink of the water, and permitted to ask the charity of passengers, which is conveyed to them in a floating box that they cast out.' Perhaps this is the latest notice of lepers in Europe being thus thrust apart from the rest of mankind, and Holland is likely to be the country in which the disease would continue longest. He remained about three months in the Netherlands and then returned to England. Among the remarkable things which he had noticed in his journal during this journey, is the case of a woman who had been married five and twenty times; and was then prohibited from marrying again, 'yet it could not be proved that

she had ever made any of her husbands away, though the suspicion had brought her divers times to trouble.' He was particularly pleased with Antwerp, and with nothing more than 'those delicious shades and walls of stately trees which render the fortified works of the town one of the sweetest places in Europe.'

On his return to England he studied a little, but 'danced and fooled more.' But this was no age for vanities. The civil war broke out, and Evelyn went with his horse and arms to join the king at Brentford, but he was not permitted to remain there, (this is the phrase he uses,) because the retreat of the royal army, which immediately took place, would have left him and his brothers exposed to ruin without any advantage to his Majesty. He retired to his brother's house at Wotton, and began to improve the gardens; when the Covenant was pressed he absented himself, but finding it 'impossible to evade the doing very unhandsome things,' he obtained the king's license to travel, and set out for a longer journey, accompanied by his old fellow collegian Thicknesse.—Evelyn was much amused with the treasures at St. Denis, which contained at that time some of the most remarkable relics, true and false, any where in existence: among the latter were a likeness of the queen of Sheba, Solomon's drinking cup, Judas's brass lantern, and Virgil's stone mirror; among the former Charlemagne's set of chessmen, 'full of Arabic characters.' There were also 'the effegies of the late French kings in wax, like those in Westminster, covered with their robes, with a world of other rarities.

At Genoa he and his companions 'bought umbrellas against the heats,' a precaution so novel for an Englishman at that time as to be noticed among the *memorabilia* of their journey. It is little more than half a century since they have been in general use 'against the rain' in this country, and persons are yet living who remember the indignant ridicule which their first appearance excited in the populace.—Among the preposterous fashions of the Venetian women, Evelyn remarks that they wore very long crisped hair of several streaks and colours, which they made so by a wash, dishevelling it on the brims of a broad hat that had no crown, but in its place a hole through which they put their heads, and they were seen at the windows drying their party-coloured tresses in the sun. This seems to have been peculiar to Venice. Lassels, speaking of the Italians in general, says the women wash their heads 'weekly in a wash made for the nonce, and dry them again in the sun to make their hair yellow, a colour much in vogue there among the ladies.' It was the age of coloured beards in England. The princesses and beauties of chivalrous romances have usually golden or flaxen hair, and for this reason, that when those romances were written all highborn persons were of unmixed Teutonic blood. The predilection which the southern poets of the seventeenth century show for the same colours must be explained by this fashion of staining the hair.—Having been two years in Italy he prepared to return home; but falling sick with

the small-pox at Geneva he remained there until his recovery, after which, having reached Paris, rejoiced that he was gotten so near home, and meaning to rest there before he went farther, he past the only time in his 'whole life that was spent most idly,' but soon recovered his better resolutions and learnt the German and Spanish tongues, now and then, he says, 'refreshing my dancing and such exercises as I had long omitted, and which are not in much reputation amongst the sober Italians.' He frequented a course of chemistry, and M. Mercure began to teach him on the lute, 'though to small perfection;' and having become intimate in the family of Sir Richard Browne, the British resident at the court of France, and sat his affection on a daughter of the family, he married her in the fourteenth year of her age, he being seven and twenty.—She lived with him, happy in his love and friendship, fifty-eight years and nine months, and was then left a widow; and when in her will she desired to be buried by his side, she speaks thus of her excellent husband: 'his care of my education was such as might become a father, a lover, a friend and husband for instruction, tenderness, affection and fidelity to the last moment of his life, which obligation I mention with a gratitude to his memory ever dear to me; and I must not omit to own the sense I have of my parents care and goodness in placing me in such worthy hands.'

About three months after his marriage he was called into England to settle his affairs, leaving his wife with her parents. This was in the autumn of 1647, and on his arrival he saw the king at Hampton Court, and gave him an account of several things which he had in charge. Charles was then in the hands of his enemies. Evelyn remained in England till the conclusion of that tragedy, and after unkingship, as he calls it, had been proclaimed, he obtained a passport from Bradshaw for France.—He seems to have waited in France for the result of the last great effort of the Royalists; for a few weeks after the battle of Worcester he resolved to leave that country finally and return to England.

The estate of Sayes Court, when it became his property, was wholly unadorned, consisting of one entire field of an hundred acres in pasture, with a rude orchard and a holly hedge. He began immediately to set out an oval garden.—'This was the beginning of all the succeeding gardens, walks, groves, enclosures, and plantations there;' and he planted an orchard, 'new moon, wind west.' 'An Eden of Evelyn's invention, indeed, would have differed widely from Milton's; his scheme of a Royal Garden comprehended—knots, traile-work, parterres, compartments, borders, banks and embossments, labyrinths, dedals, cabinets, cradles, close-walks, galleries, pavilions, porticos, lanterns and other relieves of topiary and hortulan architecture; fountains, jettos, cascades, piscines, rocks, grotts, cryptæ, mounts, precipices and ventiducts;—gazon-theatres, artificial echos, automate and hydraulic music. No wonder he should think that 'it would still require the revo-

lution of many ages, with deep and long experience, for any man to emerge a perfect and accomplished artist gardener?"

Poor as our art of gardening was before the troubles began, it was necessarily neglected during their continuance, and when Evelyn began his horticultural pursuits there were no models for imitation in his own country, and other countries afforded him none but what were bad in themselves, or inappropriate to the English climate. He speaks with great delight of a large walk in some gardens of the grand duke of Florence, 'at the sides whereof several slender streams of water gush out of pipes concealed underneath, that interchangeably fall into each other's channels, making a lofty and perfect arch, so that a man on horseback may ride under it and not receive one drop of wet.' This he thought one of the most surprising magnificences he had ever seen. Sir Henry Wotton has also noticed this 'continual bower and hemisphere of water as an invention for refreshment, surely far excelling all the Alexandrian delicacies, and pneumatics of Hiero.'

But if Evelyn was misled in ornamental gardening by the taste of his age, there was nothing to mislead him in that useful branch of the art which supplies the table with its purest luxuries, and which in his time received considerable improvement. Some curious facts in the history of horticulture are found in his *Acetaria*. It was scarcely an hundred years, he tells us, since cabbages were introduced from Holland into this country, one of the Sir Anthony Ashleys, of Wiburg St. Giles, in Dorsetshire, being the first person who planted them in England,—the family then has deserved well of its country, notwithstanding it produced so great a — as Shaftsbury. It had not been very long since artichokes were cultivated in Italy, after which they were for some time so rare in England as to be sold for crowns a piece. We have not learnt from the French to eat this noble thistle, as Evelyn calls it, as a sallad; nor from the Italians to stew it till its tough leaves become edible. The cucumber within his memory had been accounted 'little better than poison;' the melon was hardly known till Sir George Gardiner, coming from Spain, brought it into estimation; when its ordinary price was five or six shillings. Much has been added to the catalogue of esculents since Evelyn's time, but some things on the other hand have fallen into disuse. The bud of the sunflower before it expands was then dressed like an artichoke and eaten as a dainty; the root of the minor pimpinella, or small Burnet saxifrage, dried and pulverized, was preferred by some persons to any kind of pepper, and the pounded seeds of the *nasturtium* were thought preferable to mustard. Evelyn praises the milky or dappled thistle, either as a sallad, or boiled, or baked in pies like the artichoke; it was then sold in our herb-markets, but probably for a supposed virtue in consequence of its name *Carduus Mariae*, or our Lady's milky thistle, which made it be esteemed a proper diet for nurses. The bur also he calls delicate and wholesome, when young. The young leaves of the ash were

a favourite pickle,—but of all his dainties that which a reader of the present age would be least willing to partake, would be ‘the small young acorns which we find in the stock-dove’s craws,’ and which are ‘a delicious fare, as well as those incomparable sallads of young herbs taken out of the maws of partridges at a certain season of the year, which gives them a preparation far exceeding all the art of cookery.’ They were certainly valiant eaters in those days, and one who admired such sallads might have sat down with Hearne to a Northern Indian’s feast.

One who knew Mrs. Evelyn well describes her as ‘the best daughter and wife, the most tender mother, a desirable neighbour and friend, in all parts of her life.’ Her portrait is prefixed to the second volume of these Memoirs, from a pencil-drawing by Nanteuil, taken shortly after her marriage, at the age of fifteen; the countenance is rather handsome than beautiful; but it has an expression of intellect and good nature which is always more attractive than mere beauty, and which retains its charm when beauty has passed away. Early maturity was not in her case followed by early decay: she lived with her husband in a state of happiness no otherwise disturbed than by those afflictions which, coming immediately from the hand of the All-wise and All-merciful disposer of all things, loosen our affections from earth when they are perhaps in danger of striking root there too deeply.—The first and heaviest affliction was the loss of a child—one of those rare and beautiful creatures who seem almost always to be marked for early death, as if they were fitter for heaven than earth, and therefore are removed before the world can sully them. The father thus records his death.

‘1658, 27 Jan. After six fits of an ague died my son *Richard* five years and three days old onely, but at that tender age a prodigy for wit and understanding; for beauty of body a very angel; for endowment of mind of incredible and rare hopes. To give only a little taste of some of them, and thereby glory to God: at 2 years and a halfe old he could perfectly reade any of <sup>ye</sup> *English, Latin, French* or *Gottic* letters, pronouncing the 3 first languages exactly. He had before the 5th yeare, or in that yeare, not onely skill to reade most written hands, but to decline all the nouns, conjugate the verbs regular, and most of <sup>ye</sup> irregular: learn’t out *Puerilis*, got by heart almost <sup>ye</sup> entire vocabularie of *Latine* and *French* primitives and words, could make congruous syntax, turne *English* into *Latin*, and *vice versa*, construe and prove what he read, and did the government and use of relatives, verbs, substances, elipses, and many figures and tropes, and made a considerable progress in *Comenius’s Janua*; began himselfe to write legibly, and had a strong passion for *Greeke*. The number of verses he could recite was prodigious, and what he remember’d of the parts of playes, which he would also act; and when seeing a *Plautus* in one’s hand, he ask’d what booke it was, and being told it was comedy, and too difficult for him, he wept for sorrow. Strange was his apt and ingenious application of fables and morals, for he had read *Aesop*; he had a wonderful disposition to mathematics, having by heart divers propositions of *Euclid*



that were read to him in play, and he would make lines and demonstrate them. As to his piety, astonishing were his applications of Scripture upon occasion, and his sense of God; he had learn'd all his Catechisme early, and understood <sup>ye</sup> historical part of <sup>ye</sup> Bible and New Testament to a wonder, how *Christ* came to redeeme mankind, and how, comprehending these necessarys himselfe, his godfathers were discharg'd of their promise. These and the like illuminations far exceeding his age and experience, considering the prettinesse of his addresse and behaviour, cannot but leave impressions in me at the memory of him. When one told him how many dayes a Quaker had fasted, he replied that was no wonder, for *Christ* had said man should not live by bread alone, but by <sup>ye</sup> Word of God. He would of himselfe select <sup>ye</sup> most pathetic psalms, and chapters out of *Job*, to reade to his mayde during his sicknesse, telling her when she pitied him that all God's children must suffer affliction. He declaim'd against <sup>ye</sup> vanities of <sup>ye</sup> world before he had scene any. Often he would desire those who came to see him to pray by him, and a yeare before he fell sick, to kneel and pray with him alone in some corner. How thankfully would he receive admonition! how soone be reconcil'd! how indifferent, yet continually cherefull! He would give grave advice to his brother *John*, beare with his impertinencies, and say he was but a child. If he heard of or saw any new thing he was unquiet til he was told how it was made; he brought to us all such difficulties as he found in books to be expounded. He had learn'd by heart divers sentences in *Latin* and *Greeke*, which on occasion he would produce even to wonder. He was all life, all prettinesse, far from morose, sullen, or childish in any thing he said or did. The last time he had been at church (w<sup>ch</sup> was at *Greenwich*), I ask'd him, according to custome, what he remembered of <sup>ye</sup> sermon; two good things, father, said he, *bonum gratiæ* and *bonum gloriæ*, with a just account of what <sup>ye</sup> preacher said. The day before he died he call'd to me, and in a more serious manner than usual told me that for all I loved him so dearly I should give my house, land, and all my fine things, to his brother *Jack*, he should have none of them; and next morning, when he found himself ill, and that I persuaded him to keepe his hands in bed, he demanded whether he might pray to God with his hands un-joyn'd: and a little after, whilst in great agonie, whether he should not offend God by using his holy name so often calling forease. What shall I say of his frequent pathological ejaculations utter'd of himselfe; Sweete *Jesus* save me, deliver me, pardon my sinns, let thine angels receive me! So early knowledge, so much piety and perfection! But thus God having dress'd up a Saint fit for himselfe, would not longer permit him with us, unworthy of <sup>ye</sup> future fruites of this incomparable hopefull blossome. Such a child I never saw! for such a child I blesse God in whose bosome he is! May I and mine become as this little child which now follows the child *Jesus* that Lamb of God in a white robe whithersoever He goes; Even so, Lord *Jesus*, *fiat voluntas tua!* Thou gavest him to us, Thou hast taken him from us, blessed be <sup>ye</sup> name of <sup>ye</sup> Lord! that I had any thing acceptable to Thee was from thy grace alone, since from me he had nothing but sin, but that Thou hast pardon'd! blessed be my God for ever, amen!—vol. i. pp. 229—301.

The letter in which Mr. Evelyn communicated this event to his father-in-law is not less affecting:

To Sir Richard Browne.

Sr

By the reverse of this Medall, you will perceive how much reason I had to be affraid of my Felicity, and how greatly it did import me to do all that I could to prevent what I have apprehended, what I deserved, and what now I feele. God has taken from us that deare Childe, y<sup>r</sup> Grandson, your Godson, and with him all the joy and satisfaction that could be derived from the greatest hopes. A losse, so much the more to be deplored, as our contentments were extraordinary and the indications of his future perfections as faire & legible as, yet, I ever saw, or read off in one so very young: You have, Sir, heard so much of this, that I may say it with the lesse crime & suspicion. And indeede his whole life was from the beginning so greate a miracle, that it were hard to exceede in the description of it, and which I should here yet attempt, by sum'ing up all the prodigies of it, and what a child at 5 yeares old (for he was little more) is capable off, had I not given you so many minute and particular accounts of it, by several expresses, when I then mentioned those things with the greatest joy, which now I write with as much sorrow and amasement. But so it is, that it has pleased God to dispose of him, and that Blossome (Fruit, rather I may say) is fallen; a six days Quotidian having deprived us of him; an accident that has made so greate a breach in all my contentments, as I do never hope to see repaired: because we are not in this life to be fed with wonders: and that I know you will hardly be able to support the affliction & the losse, who beare so greate a part in every thing that concerns me. But thus we must be reduced when God sees good, and I submitt; since I had, therefore, this blessing for a punishment, & that I might feele the effects of my great unworthynesse. But I have begged of God that I might pay the fine heare, and if to such belonged the kingdom of heaven, I have one depositum there. *Dominus dedit Dominus abstulit*: blessed be his name: since without that consideration it were impossible to support it: for the stroke is so severe, that I find nothing in all Philosophy capable to allay the impression of it, beyond that of cutting the channell and dividing with our friends, who really sigh on our behalfe, and mingle with our greater sorrows in accents of piety and compassion, which is all that can yet any ways alleviate the sadnesse of Deare Sir, Y<sup>r</sup> &c.

*Says-Court*, 14 Feb: 1657-8.—vol. ii. p. 175.

The next entry in his journal, and at no longer an interval than nineteen days, records the death of another and younger son, 'the afflicting hand of God being upon us.' It was fortunate for Evelyn that public affairs were at this time in a critical state, and must in some measure have abstracted him from the sense of his afflictions. Cromwell was then paying the penalty of his usurpation. 'A dangerous treacherous time,' says Evelyn. 'I went to visit my Lady Peterborough, whose son, Lord Mordant, prisoner in the Tower, was now on his trial, and acquitted but by one voice, but that holy martyr Dr. Hewet was condemned to die, without law, jury, or justice, by a mock Council of State as they call it!' Great intercession was made for Hewet's life; Cromwell's favourite daughter, Mrs. Claypole, was earnest in entreating him that his

blood might not be shed; but Cromwell was inexorable. Her anxiety while it was yet possible to prevent the execution, her grief for Hewet's widow, who was left in a state of pregnancy, and her horror at this last crime of a father, of whose crimes, dearly as she loved him, she was deeply sensible, brought on fever and madness, and she expired, crying out against him in her last ravings for Hewet's blood. It is believed that this circumstance hurried Cromwell to the grave, as it certainly embittered his last miserable days. He survived her little more than three weeks, and died within three months after Hewet's execution. Evelyn saw his superb funeral: his waxen effigy, lying in royal robes upon a velvet bed of state, with a crown, sceptre and globe, like a king, was placed upon a hearse, and a pall of velvet and fine linen borne over it by his own lords. In less than two years this very effigy with a rope round its neck was hung from the bars of a window at Whitehall!

After the restoration Evelyn was received at court with that affability by which Charles was so happily gifted, that it was more difficulty for him to lose the affections of his subjects, than it has been for other princes to gain them. The king called him his old acquaintance, and nominated him one of the council of the Royal Society, of which he had been just elected a fellow. He would have given him the Order of the Bath, but Evelyn declined it, and he promised to make his wife lady of the jewels to the future queen, 'a very honourable charge,' it is observed in the Diary, 'but which he never performed.' It was not long before he was chosen one of the commissioners for reforming the buildings, ways, streets and encumbrances, and regulating the hackney coaches in the city of London. And in 1664, when war was declared against the Dutch, he was appointed one of the commissioners for taking care of the sick and wounded, and the prisoners. The duty which fell upon him proved to be as perilous as it was painful. The Dutch, then at the height of their power, carried on the war with that spirit which became a great and brave people, who were unjustly attacked, and the prisoners and wounded men were brought in faster than the commissioners could provide for them; miserable objects, says Evelyn, God knows! money and means of every kind were wanting, 'when a moderate expense would have saved thousands.' In the midst of this distress the plague broke out, and soon raged with such violence that four and five thousand persons died weekly in London, where Evelyn had just obtained the Savoy for the sick and wounded. His letters strongly express his feelings at this dreadful time, and show also how much more he felt for others than for himself. 'One fortnight,' he says, 'has made me feel the utmost of miseries that can befall a person in my station and with my affections. To have 25,000 prisoners and 1500 sick and wounded men to take care of, without one penny of money, and above £2000 indebted.' And in another letter, 'it were to betray his Majesty's gracious intentions, and even his

honour, to extenuate here. Sir Wm. D'Oily and myself have near 10,000 upon our care, while there seems to be no care of us, who having lost all our servants, officers and most necessary assistants, have nothing more left us to expose but our persons, which are every moment at the mercy of a raging pestilence (by our daily conversation) and an unreasonable multitude, if such they may be called, who having adventured their lives for the public, perish for their reward, and die like dogs in the street unregarded.' 'Our prisoners beg at us as a mercy to knock them on the head, for we have no bread to relieve the dying creatures. I beseech your honour, let us not be reputed barbarians, or if at last we must be so, let me not be the executor of so much inhumanity when the price of one good subject's life is rightly considered of more value than the wealth of the Indies.'—The mortality had now increased, and nearly 10,000 died weekly, yet his duty frequently obliged him to go through the whole city, 'a dismal passage,' he says, 'and dangerous to see so many coffins exposed in the streets, the streets thin of people, the shops shut up, and all in mournful silence, as not knowing whose turn might be next.'

The fire in London, which occurred at this time, has never been so finely described as in Mr. Evelyn's journal.—The account of so tremendous an event, written at the time and upon the spot, will be read with great interest.

'1666. 2 Sept. This fatal night about ten began that deplorable fire near *Fish Streete* in *London*.

'3. The fire continuing, after dinner I took coach with my wife and sonn and went to the *Bank side* in *Southwark*, where we beheld that dismal spectacle, the whole *Citty* in dreadful flames near <sup>re</sup> water side; all the houses from the *Bridge*, all *Thames Street*, and upwards towards *Cheapeside* downe to the *Three Cranes* were now consum'd.

'The fire having continu'd all this night (if I may call that night which was light as day for 10 miles round about, after a dreadful manner) when conspiring with a fierce Eastern wind in a very drie season; I went on foote to the same place, and saw the whole South part of <sup>re</sup> *Citty* burning from *Cheapeside* to <sup>re</sup> *Thames*, and all along *Cornehill* (for it kindl'd back against <sup>re</sup> wind as well as forward) *Tower Streete*, *Fenchurch Streete*, *Gracious Streete*, and so along to *Bainard's Castle*, and was now taking hold of *St. Paule's Church*, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonish'd, that from the beginning, I know not by what despondency or fate, they hardly stirr'd to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seene but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods, such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the Churches, Publiq Halls, Exchange, Hospitals, Monuments, and ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house and streete to streete, at greate distances one from <sup>re</sup> other, for <sup>re</sup> heate with a long set of faire and warme weather had even ignited the air and prepar'd the materials to conceive the fire, which devour'd after an incredible manner, houses, fur-

niture, and every thing. Here we saw the *Thames* cover'd with goods floating, all the barges and boates laden with what some had time and courage to save, as, on <sup>ye</sup> other, <sup>ye</sup> carts, &c. carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were strew'd with moveables of all sorts, and tents erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as hapiy the world had not seene the like since the foundation of it, nor be outdone till the universal conflagration. All the skie was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, the light seene above 40 miles round about for many nights. God grant my eyes may never behold the like, now seeing above 10,000 houses all in one flame; the noise and cracking and taunder of the impetuous flames, <sup>ye</sup> shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of Towers, Houses and Churches was like an hideous storme, and the aire all about so hot and inflam'd that at last one was not able to approach it, so that they were fore'd to stand still and let <sup>ye</sup> flames burn on, w<sup>ch</sup> they did for neere two miles in length and one in bredth. The clouds of smoke were dismall and reach'd upon computation neer 50 miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoone burning, a resemblance of *Sodom*, or the last day. *London* was, but is no more!

' 4. The burning still rages, and it was now gotten as far as the *Inner Temple*, all *Fleete Streete*, the *Old Bailey*, *Ludgate Hill*, *Warwick Lane*, *Newgate*, *Paul's Chain*, *Watling Streete*, now flaming, and most of it reduc'd to ashes; the stones of *Pauls* flew like granados, <sup>ye</sup> mealt-ing lead running downe the streetes in a streame, and the very pavements glowing with fiery rednesse, so as no horse nor man was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopp'd all the passages, so that no help could be applied. The Eastern wind still more impetuously drove the flames forward. Nothing but <sup>ye</sup> Almighty power of God was able to stop them, for vaine was <sup>ye</sup> help of man.

' 5. It crossed towards *Whitchall*; Oh the confusion there was then at that Court! It pleased his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to command me among <sup>ye</sup> rest to looke after the quenching of *Fetter Lane* end, to preserve if possible that part of *Holborn*, whilst the rest of <sup>ye</sup> gentlemen tooke their several posts (for now they began to bestir themselves, and not till now, who hitherto had stood as men intoxicated, with their hands across) and began to consider that nothing was likely to put a stop but the blowing up of so many houses as might make a wider gap than any had yet been made by the ordinary method of pulling them down with engines; this some stout seamen propos'd early enough to have sav'd near <sup>ye</sup> whole Citty, but this some tenacious and avaritious men, aldermen, &c. would not permit, because their houses must have been of the first. It was therefore now commanded to be practic'd, and my concern being particularly for the Hospital of *St. Bartholomew* neere *Smithfield*, where I had many wounded and sick men, made me the more diligent to promote it, nor was my care for the *Savoy* lesse. It now pleas'd God by abating the wind, and by the industrie of <sup>ye</sup> people, infusing a new spirit into them, that the fury of it began sensibly to abate about noone, so as it came no farther than <sup>ye</sup> *Temple* Westward, nor than <sup>ye</sup> entrance of *Smithfield* North. But continu'd all this day and night so impetuous towards *Cripplegate* and the *Tower* as made us all despaire; it also broke out againe in the *Temple*, but the courage of the multitude persisting, and many houses being blown up, such gaps and desolations

were soone made, as with the former three days consumption, the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest as formerly. There was yet no standing neere the burning and glowing ruines by neere a furlongs space.

‘The coale and wood wharves and magazines of oyle, rosin, &c. did infinite mischief, so as the invective which a little before I had dedicated to his Mat<sup>y</sup> and publish’d, giving warning what might probably be the issue of suffering those shops to be in the City, was look’d on as a prophecy.

‘The poore inhabitants were dispers’d about *St George’s Fields*, and *Moorefields*, as far as *Highgate*, and severall miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable hutts and hovells, many without a rag or any necessary utensils, bed or board, who from delicatenesse, riches and easy accomodations in stately and well furnish’d houses, were now reduc’d to extreamest misery and poverty.

‘In this calamitous condition I return’d with a sad heart to my house, blessing and adoring the mercy of God to me and mine, who in the midst of all this ruine was like *Lot*, in my little *Zoar*, safe and sound.’

Charles II. treated him always with affability and kindness, knowing and respecting his worth and his unsullied virtue. Evelyn was much affected by his death. Writing on the day when James was proclaimed, he says, ‘I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day se’nnight I was witness of, the king sitting and toyig with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleaveland, and Mazarine, &c. a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table; a bank of at least £2000 in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after all was in the dust!’

In the year 1694 he left Sayes Court, after having resided there more than forty years, to pass the remainder of his days at Wotton, where he was born, in his brother’s house; his brother having also lost his sons, had settled the family-estate upon him. The fate of Sayes Court, which he had beautified according to his own taste with so much cost and care, is worthy of notice; first it was let to no less remarkable a personage than admiral Benbow, then only a captain, and Evelyn had, he says, the mortification of seeing every day much of his former labours and expense there impairing for want of a more polite tenant. The next inhabitant was a much greater personage and a worse tenant, it was the czar Peter; while in his occupation the house is described, by a servant of Mr. Evelyn, as full of people, and right filthy. It was hired for him and furnished by the King; but the damage which he and his retinue did to the house itself and the gardens, during a residence of only three weeks, was estimated by the King’s surveyor and his gardener at £150. The gardens indeed were ruined. It is said that

one of Peter's favourite recreations was to demolish the hedges by riding through them in a wheelbarrow. When he had resided about five years at Wotton his brother died, in the eighty-third year of his age, of perfect memory and understanding. Mr. Evelyn had a grandson, the only male of his family now remaining, a fine hopeful youth, and he was seized with a small-pox at Oxford; the alarm which this intelligence occasioned may well be conceived, fatal as the disease had proved to their blood; but happily the youth recovered, and Evelyn's few remaining years were not embittered by any fresh affliction.

' 1702. 31 Oct. Arriv'd now to the 82d year of my age, having read over all that pass'd since this day twelvemonth in these notes, I render solemn thanks to the Lord, imploring the pardon of my past sins, and the assistance of His grace; making new resolutions, and imploring that He will continue His assistance, and prepare me for my blessed Saviour's coming, that I may obtain a comfortable departure, after so long a term as has ben hitherto indulg'd me. I find by many infirmities this yeare (especially nephritic pains) that I much decline; and yet of His infinite mercy retain my intellects and senses in greate measure above most of my age. I have this yeare repair'd much of the mansion-house and several tenant's houses, and paid some of my debts and engagements. My wife, children and family in health, for all w<sup>ch</sup> I most sincerely beseech Almighty God to accept of these my acknowledgm<sup>ts</sup>, and that if it be His holy will to continue me yet longer, it may be to the praise of His infinite grace, and salvation of my soul. Amen.'—vol. ii. pp. 77, 78.

On his next birth-day he acknowledges the great mercies of God in preserving him, and in some measure making his infirmities tolerable. Soon after, when service was performed in his own house on a Sunday, because the cold and wet weather had prevented him from attending church in the morning; the minister preached upon the uncertainty of life 'with pertinent inferences to prepare us for death and a future state. I gave him thanks, says Mr. Evelyn, and told him I took it kindly as my funeral sermon.' He lived, however, to see two birth-days more, and then, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, fell asleep in the Lord.

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ART. III.—*Proceedings and Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia*; presented December 8, 1818. Richmond, 1818.

[In the following paper, our readers will find a characteristic trait of the simplicity of our national manners, and a remarkable instance of practical republicanism. Two ex-presidents, men that have stood on the pinnacle of greatness, and ranked among the potentates of the earth, are seen, in their willing retirement from the responsibilities of power, acting as members of a board of commissioners, charged with the task of preparing means and system for the education of youth. The report is said to be from the pen of Mr. Jefferson, and contains many novel sug-

gestions worthy the attention of our seminaries of learning already established.]

Proceedings of the Board.

**T**HE Commissioners for the 'University of Virginia' having been required by law to meet at the tavern in Rockfish Gap, on the Blue Ridge, on the first day of August, 1818, the following members attended, (to wit;) Creed Taylor, Peter Randolph, William Brockenbrough, Archibald Rutherford, Archibald Stuart, James Breckenridge, Henry E. Watkins, James Madison, Armistead T. Mason, Hugh Holmes, Philip C. Pendleton, Spencer Roane, John McTaylor, John G. Jackson, Thomas Wilson, Philip Slaughter, William H. Cabell, Nathaniel H. Claiborne, Thomas Jefferson, William A. G. Dade, and William Jones, and their appointments being duly proven, they formed a Board, and proceeded to the discharge of the duties prescribed to them by the Act of the Legislature, entitled, 'An Act appropriating a part of the revenue of the Literary Fund, and for other purposes.'

Thomas Jefferson, Esq. was unanimously elected President of the Board, and Thomas W. Maury appointed Secretary, who appeared and took his seat as such.

The Board proceeded to the first duty enjoined on them, (to wit;) to enquire and report a proper site for the University, whereupon the towns of Lexington and Staunton, and the Central College, were severally proposed; and after some time spent in debate thereon, on motion of Mr. Rutherford; it was

*Resolved*, That the consideration be postponed for the present.

On motion by Mr. Dade, (who stated it to be his object to ascertain the sense of the Board on the question, whether the Board would visit the several places proposed for the site of the University, at the same moment that he himself was opposed to the adoption of such resolution,) that when this Board adjourns, it shall be to Lexington, in the county of Rockbridge; it was unanimously decided in the negative.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a select committee of six members be appointed by ballot to consider and report on all the duties assigned to this Board, except that relating to the site of the University, and a committee was appointed of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Roane, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Dade, and Mr. Breckenridge.

On a motion by Mr. Stuart, that when the Board adjourns, it shall be to the town of Staunton, in the county of Augusta, it was decided in the negative.

On Motion, *Resolved*, That when this Board adjourns, it will adjourn till 9 o'clock, on Monday morning.

And the Board was accordingly adjourned till 9 o'clock on Monday morning.

*Monday, August 3d, 1818.*—The Board having met according to adjournment,



On the motion of Mr. Roane, *Resolved*, That the Board will now proceed to declare its opinion which of the three places proposed, to wit; Lexington, Staunton, or the Central College, is most convenient and proper for the site of the University of Virginia, and on a call of the votes nominally, Mr. Breckenridge, Mr. Pendleton, and Mr. J. McTaylor, voted for Lexington; Mr. Stuart and Mr. Wilson for Staunton; and Mr. Creed Taylor, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Brockenbrough, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Watkins, Mr. Madison, Mr. Mason, Mr. Holmes, Mr. Roane, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Slaughter, Mr. Cabell, Mr. Claiborne, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Dade, and Mr. Jones voted for the Central College. So it was resolved that the Central College is a convenient and proper place for the site of the University of Virginia.

*Resolved*, That this declaration of the opinion of the Board be referred to the committee appointed on Saturday, with instructions that they include it with the other matters referred to them, and report thereon; and that they retire forthwith to prepare and make their report.

Whereupon the Committee withdrew, and after some time returned to their seats, and delivered in their report, which having been considered, and sundry amendments made thereto, was, upon the question put, passed by the unanimous vote of the board.

*Resolved*, That the secretary prepare without delay, two fair copies of the said report, to be signed each by every member present, and, to be forwarded by the president, one of them to the speaker of the Senate, and the other to the speaker of the House of Delegates.

And the board adjourned to to-morrow morning, 9 o'clock.

*Tuesday, August 4th, 1818.*—The board met according to adjournment.

The secretary according to order, produced two fair copies of the report of the committee, as amended and agreed to by the board, which were then signed by the attending members.

On motion of Mr. Roane, seconded by Mr. Breckenridge, *Resolved unanimously*, 'That the thanks of this board be given to Thomas Jefferson, Esq. for the great ability, impartiality, and dignity, with which he has presided over its deliberations.'

The question being then put,

*Resolved*, That this board is now dissolved.

(Signed) TH: JEFFERSON.

Attest, TH: W. MAURY, *Secretary*.

**REPORT.**—The commissioners for the University of Virginia, having met, as by law required, at the tavern in Rockfish Gap on the Blue Ridge, on the first day of August of this present year 1818, and having formed a board, proceeded on that day to the discharge of the duties assigned to them by the Act of the legislature intituled an 'Act appropriating part of the revenue of the Literary Fund, and for other purposes,' and having continued their proceedings by adjournment from day to day, to Tuesday

the fourth day of August, have agreed to a report on the several matters with which they were charged, which report they now respectfully address and submit to the legislature of the state.

The first duty enjoined on them was to inquire and report a site in some convenient and proper part of the state, for an university, to be called the 'University of Virginia.

In this inquiry they supposed that the governing considerations should be the healthiness of the site, the fertility of the neighbouring country, and its centrality to the white population of the whole State: for, though the Act authorised and required them to receive any voluntary contributions, whether conditional or absolute, which might be offered through them to the president and directors of the Literary Fund, for the benefit of the University, yet they did not consider this as establishing an auction, or as pledging the location to the highest bidder.

Three places were proposed; to wit, Lexington in the county of Rockbridge, Staunton in the county of Augusta, and the Central College, in the county of Albemarle: each of these was unexceptionable as to healthiness and fertility. It was the degree of centrality to the white population of the State which alone then constituted the important point of comparison between these places: and the board, after full inquiry, and impartial and mature consideration, are of opinion that the central point of the white population of the State is nearer to the Central College, than to either Lexington, or Staunton, by great and important differences; and all other circumstances of the place in general being favourable to it as a position for an University, they do report the Central College in Albemarle, to be a convenient and proper part of the State, for the University of Virginia.

2. The board having thus agreed on a proper site for the University to be reported to the legislature, proceeded to the second of the duties assigned to them, that of proposing a plan for its buildings; and they are of opinion that it should consist of distinct houses or pavilions, arranged at proper distances on each side of a lawn of a proper breadth, and of indefinite extent in one direction at least, in each of which should be a lecturing room, with from two to four apartments for the accommodation of a Professor and his family; that these pavilions should be united by a range of Dormitories, sufficient each for the accommodation of two Students only, this provision being deemed advantageous to morals, to order, and to uninterrupted study; and that a passage of some kind under cover from the weather should give a communication along the whole range. It is supposed that such pavilions on an average of the larger and smaller, will cost each about 5,000 dollars, each dormitory about 350 dollars, and hotels of a single room for a refectory, and two rooms for the tenant necessary for dieting the Students will cost about 3,500 dollars each. The number of these pavilions will depend on the number of professors, and that of the dormitories and hotels on the number of students to be

lodged and dieted. The advantages of this plan are, greater security against fire and infection: tranquillity and comfort to the professors and their families thus insulated; retirement to the students, and the admission of enlargement to any degree to which the institution may extend in future times. It is supposed probable that a building of somewhat more size in the middle of the grounds may be called for in time, in which may be rooms for religious worship under such impartial regulations as the visitors shall prescribe, for public examinations, for a library, for the schools of music, drawing, and other associated purposes.

3. 4. In proceeding to the third and fourth duties prescribed by the legislature of reporting 'the branches of learning, which should be taught in the university, and the number and description of the professorships they will require,' the commissioners were first to consider at what point it was understood that university education should commence? Certainly not with the Alphabet, for reasons of expediency and impracticability, as well as from the obvious sense of the legislature, who, in the same act make other provision for the primary instruction of poor children, expecting doubtless that, in other cases, it would be provided by the parent, or become perhaps a subject of future, and further attention for the legislature. The objects of this primary education determine its character and limits.—These objects would be,

To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business.

To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts in writing.

To improve by reading, his morals and faculties.

To understand his duties to his neighbours, and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either.

To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciaries of those he delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candour and judgment.

And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed.

To instruct the mass of our citizens in these their rights, interests and duties, as men and citizens, being then the objects of education in the primary schools, whether private or public, in them should be taught reading, writing and numerical arithmetic, the elements of mensuration (useful in so many callings,) and the outlines of geography and history; and this brings us to the point at which are to commence the higher branches of education, of which the legislature require the development: those, for example, which are to form the statesmen, legislators and judges, on whom public prosperity, and individual happiness are so much to depend:

To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation,

which banishing all arbitrary and unnecessary restraint on individual action shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another:

To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and by well informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry:

To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instil into them the precepts of virtue and order:

To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts and administer to the health, the subsistence and comforts of human life:

And generally to form them to habits of reflection, and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves.

These are the objects of that higher grade of education, the benefits and blessings of which the legislature now propose to provide for the good and ornament of their country, the gratification and happiness of their fellow citizens, of the parent especially and his progeny on which all his affections are concentrated.

In entering on this field, the commissioners are aware that they have to encounter much difference of opinion as to the extent, which it is expedient that this institution should occupy. Some good men, and even of respectable information, consider the learned sciences as useless acquirements; some think that they do not better the condition of man; and others, that education, like private and individual concerns, should be left to private and individual effort; not reflecting that an establishment, embracing all the sciences which may be useful and even necessary in the various vocations of life, with the buildings and apparatus belonging to each, are far beyond the reach of individual means, and must either derive existence from public patronage or not exist at all. This would leave us then without those callings which depend on education, or send us to other countries, to seek the instruction they require. But the commissioners are happy in considering the statute under which they are assembled as proof, that the legislature is far from the abandonment of objects so interesting; they are sensible that the advantages of well directed education, moral, political and economical, are truly above all estimate. Education generates habits of application, of order and the love of virtue; and controls, by the force of habit, any innate obliquities in our moral organization. We should be far too from the discouraging persuasion, that man is fixed, by the law of his nature, at a given point; that his improvement is a chimæra, and the hope delusive of rendering ourselves wiser, happier or better than our forefathers were.—As well might it be urged, that the wild and uncultivated tree, hitherto yielding sour and bitter fruit only, can never be made to yield better: Yet we know that the grafting art implants a new tree on the savage stock, producing what is most estimable both in kind and degree. Education, in like manner, engrafts a new man on the

native stock, and improves what in his nature was vicious and perverse, into qualities of virtue and social worth; and it cannot be, but that each generation, succeeding to the knowledge acquired by all those who preceded it, adding to it their own acquisitions and discoveries, and handing the mass down for successive and constant accumulation, must advance the knowledge and well-being of mankind, not *infinitely*, as some have said, but *indefinitely*, and to a term which no one can fix or foresee. Indeed, we need look back only half a century, to times which many now living remember well, and see the wonderful advances in the sciences and arts which have been made within that period. Some of these have rendered the elements themselves subservient to the purposes of man, have harnessed them to the yoke of his labours, and effected the great blessings of moderating his own, of accomplishing what was beyond his feeble force, and of extending the comforts of life to a much enlarged circle, to those who had before known its necessities only.—That these are not the vain dreams of sanguine hope, we have before our eyes real and living examples. What, but education, has advanced us beyond the condition of our indigenuous neighbours? and what chains them to their present state of barbarism and wretchedness, but a bigotted veneration for the supposed superlative wisdom of their fathers, and the preposterous idea that they are to look backward for better things and not forward, longing, as it should seem, to return to the days of eating acorns and roots, rather than indulge in the degeneracies of civilization? And how much more encouraging to the achievements of science and improvement, is this, than the desponding view that the condition of man cannot be ameliorated, that what has been, must ever be, and that to secure ourselves where we are, we must tread, with awful reverence, in the footsteps of our fathers. This doctrine is the genuine fruit of the alliance between church and state, the tenants of which, finding themselves but too well in their present position, oppose all advances which might unmask their usurpations, and monopolies of honours, wealth and power, and fear every change, as endangering the comforts they now hold. Nor must we omit to mention, among the benefits of education, the incalculable advantage of training up able counsellors to administer the affairs of our country in all its departments, legislative, executive and judiciary, and to bear their proper share in the councils of our national government; nothing more than education, advancing the prosperity, the power and happiness of a nation.

Encouraged therefore by the sentiments of the legislature, manifested in this statute, we present the following tabular statement of the branches of learning which we think should be taught in the university, forming them into groupes, each of which are within the power of a single professor:

- |                              |           |
|------------------------------|-----------|
| I. <i>Languages Ancient,</i> | { Latin,  |
|                              | { Greek,  |
|                              | { Hebrew. |

II. <i>Languages Modern.</i>	{ French, Spanish, Italian, German, Anglo-Saxon.
III. <i>Mathematics Pure.</i>	{ Algebra, Fluxions, Geometry, Elementary,* " Transcendental, Architecture, Military. " Naval.
IV. <i>Physico-Mathematics.</i>	{ Mechanics, Statics, Dynamics, Pneumatics, Acoustics, Optics, Astronomy, Geography.
V.	{ Physics or Natural Philosophy. Chemistry. Mineralogy.
VI.	{ Botany, Zoology.
VII.	{ Anatomy, Medicine.
VIII.	{ Government, Political Economy, Law of Nature and Nations, History, (being interwoven with Politics and Law.)
IX.	{ Law Municipal.
X.	{ Ideology, General Grammar, Ethics, Rhetoric, Belles Lettres and the Fine Arts.

\* Some of the terms used in this table, being subject to a difference of acceptation, it is proper to define the meaning and comprehension intended to be given them here:

Geometry Elementary, is that of straight lines and of the circle.

Transcendental, is that of all other curves; it includes of course *Projectiles*, a leading branch of the military art.

Military Architecture, includes fortification, another branch of that art.

Statics, respect matter generally, in a state of rest, and include Hydrostatics, or the laws of fluids particularly, at rest or in equilibrio.

Dynamics, used as a general term, include Dynamics Proper, or the laws of solids in motion, and Hydrodynamics, or Hydraulics, those of fluids in motion.

Pneumatics, teach the theory of air, its weight, motion, condensation, rarefaction, &c.

Some articles in this distribution of sciences will need observation.

A professor is proposed for ancient languages, the Latin, Greek and Hebrew particularly, but these languages being the foundation common to all the sciences, it is difficult to foresee what may be the extent of this school—at the same time no greater obstruction to industrious study could be proposed than the presence, the intrusions, and the noisy turbulence of a multitude of small boys; and if they are to be placed here for the rudiments of the languages, they may be so numerous, that its character and value as an university, will be merged in those of a grammar school. It is therefore greatly to be wished, that preliminary schools, either on private or public establishment, could be distributed in districts through the state, as preparatory to the entrance of students into the university. The tender age at which this part of education commences, generally about the tenth year, would weigh heavily with parents in sending their sons to a school so distant as the central establishment would be from most of them. Districts of such extent as that every parent should be within a day's journey of his son at school, would be desirable in cases of sickness, and convenient for supplying their ordinary wants, and might be made to lessen sensibly the expense of this part of their education. And where a sparse population would not, within such a compass, furnish subjects sufficient to maintain a school, a competent enlargement of district must, of necessity, there be submitted to. At these district schools or colleges, boys should be rendered able to read the easier authors, Latin and Greek. This would be useful and sufficient for many not intended for an university education. At these too might be taught English grammar, the higher branches of numerical arithmetic, the geometry of straight lines and of the circle, the elements of navigation, and geography to a sufficient degree, and thus afford to greater numbers the means of being qualified for the various vocations of life, needing more instruction than merely menial or prædial labour; and the same advantages to youths whose education may have been neglected until too late to lay a foundation in the learned languages. These institutions, intermediate between the primary schools and university, might then be the passage of entrance for youths into the university, where their classical learning might be critically completed, by a study of the authors of highest degree. And it is at this stage only that they

Acoustics, or Phonics, the theory of sound.

Optics, the laws of light and vision.

Physics, or Physiology, in a general sense, mean the doctrine of the physical objects of our senses.

Chemistry, is meant, with its other usual branches, to comprehend the theory of agriculture.

Mineralogy, in addition to its peculiar subjects, is here understood to embrace what is read in Geology.

Ideology, is the doctrine of thought.

General Grammar, explains the construction of language.

should be received at the university.—Giving then a portion of their time to a finished knowledge of the Latin and Greek, the rest might be appropriated to the modern languages, or to the commencement of the course of science, for which they should be destined. This would generally be about the 15th year of their age, when they might go with more safety and contentment to that distance from their parents. Until this preparatory provision shall be made, either the university will be overwhelmed with the grammar school, or a separate establishment under one or more ushers for its lower classes, will be advisable, at a mile or two distance from the general one; where too may be exercised the stricter government necessary for young boys, but unsuitable for youths arrived at years of discretion.

The considerations which have governed the specification of languages to be taught by the professor of modern languages, were, that the French is the language of general intercourse among nations, and as a depository of human science, is unsurpassed by any other language, living or dead: that the Spanish is highly interesting to us, as the language spoken by so great a portion of the inhabitants of our continent, with whom we shall probably have great intercourse ere long; and is that also in which is written the greater part of the early history of America: The Italian abounds with works of very superior order, valuable for their matter, and still more distinguished as models of the finest taste in style and composition: and the German now stands in a line with that of the most learned nations in richness of erudition, and advance in the sciences. It is too of common descent with the language of our own country, a branch of the same original Gothic stock, and furnishes valuable illustrations for us. But in this point of view, the Anglo-Saxon is of peculiar value. We have placed it among the modern languages, because it is in fact that which we speak, in the earliest form in which we have knowledge of it. It has been undergoing, with time, those gradual changes which all languages, ancient and modern, have experienced; and even now, needs only to be printed in the modern character and orthography, to be intelligible, in a considerable degree, to an English reader. It has this value too above the Greek and Latin, that while it gives the radix of the mass of our language, they explain its innovations only. Obvious proofs of this have been presented to the modern reader, in the disquisitions of Horne Tooke; and Fortescue Aland has well explained the great instruction which may be derived from it towards a full understanding of our ancient common law, on which as a stock, our whole system of law is engrafted. It will form the first link in the chain of an historical review of our language, through all its successive changes, to the present day; will constitute the foundation of that critical instruction in it, which ought to be found in a seminary of general learning; and thus reward amply the few weeks of attention which would alone be re-



quisite for its attainment. A language already fraught with all the eminent science of our parent country, the future vehicle of whatever we may ourselves achieve, and destined to occupy so much space on the globe, claims distinguished attention in American education.

Medicine, where fully taught, is usually subdivided into several professorships; but this cannot well be without the accessory of an hospital, where the student can have the benefit of attending clinical lectures, and of assisting at operations of surgery. With this accessory, the seat of our University is not yet prepared, either by its population, or by the numbers of poor, who would leave their own houses, and accept of the charities of an hospital. For the present, therefore, we propose but a single professor for both medicine and anatomy. By him the elements of medical science may be taught, with a history and explanations of all its successive theories from Hippocrates to the present day; and anatomy may be fully treated. Vegetable pharmacy will make a part of the botanical course, and mineral and chemical pharmacy, of those of mineralogy and chemistry. This degree of medical information is such as the mass of scientific students would wish to possess, as enabling them, in their course through life, to estimate with satisfaction the extent and limits of the aid to human life and health, which they may understandingly expect from that art, and it constitutes such a foundation for those intended for the profession, that the finishing course of practice at the bed-sides of the sick, and at the operations of surgery in a hospital, can neither be long nor expensive. To seek this finishing elsewhere, must therefore be submitted to for a while.

In conformity with the principles of our constitution, which places all sects of religion on an equal footing, with the jealousies of the different sects in guarding that equality from encroachment and surprise, and with the sentiments of the legislature in favour of freedom of religion manifested on former occasions, we have proposed no professor of divinity; and the rather, as the proofs of the being of a God, the creator, preserver, and supreme ruler of the universe, the author of all the relations of morality, and of the laws and obligations these infer, will be within the province of the professor of ethics, to which adding the developments of these moral obligations, of those in which all sects agree, with a knowledge of the languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, a basis will be formed common to all sects. Proceeding thus far without offence to the constitution, we have thought it proper at this point, to leave every sect to provide as they think fittest, the means of further instruction in their own peculiar tenets.

We are further of opinion, that after declaring by law that certain sciences shall be taught in the University, fixing the number of professors they require, which we think should at present be ten, limiting (except as to the professors who shall be first engaged in each branch,) a maximum for their salaries, (which should

be a certain but moderate subsistence, to be made up by liberal tuition fees, as an excitement to assiduity,) it will be best to leave to the discretion of the visitors, the grouping these sciences together, according to the accidental qualifications of the professors, and the introduction also of other branches of science, when enabled by private donations or by public provision, and called for by the increase of population, or other change of circumstances; to establish beginnings, in short, to be developed by time, as those who come after us shall find expedient. They will be more advanced than we are, in science and in useful arts, and will know best what will suit the circumstances of their day.

We have proposed no formal provision for the gymnastics of the school, although a proper object of attention for every institution of youth. These exercises with ancient nations, constituted the principal part of the education of their youth. Their arms and mode of warfare rendered them severe in the extreme. Ours, on the same correct principle, should be adapted to our arms and warfare; and the manual exercise, military manœuvres, and tactics generally, should be the frequent exercises of the students, in their hours of recreation. It is at that age of aptness, docility, and emulation of the practices of manhood, that such things are soonest learnt, and longest remembered. The use of tools too, in the manual arts, is worthy of encouragement, by facilitating to such as choose it, an admission into the neighbouring work-shops.—To these should be added the arts which embellish life; dancing, music, and drawing; the last more especially, as an important part of military education. These innocent arts furnish amusement and happiness to those who, having time on their hands, might less inoffensively employ it;—needing, at the same time, no regular incorporation with the institution, they may be left to accessory teachers, who will be paid by the individuals employing them; the University only providing proper apartments for their exercise.

The 5th duty prescribed to the commissioners is, to propose such general provisions as may be properly enacted by the Legislature, for the better organizing and governing the University.

In the education of youth, provision is to be made for: 1, tuition—2, diet—3, lodging—4, government, and 5, honorary excitements. The 1st of these constitutes the proper functions of the professors. 2. The dieting of the students should be left to private boarding houses of their own choice, and at their own expense; to be regulated by the visitors from time to time, the house only being provided by the University, within its own precincts, and thereby of course, subjected to the general regimen, moral or sumptuary, which they shall prescribe. 3. They should be lodged in dormitories, making a part of the general system of buildings. 4. The best mode of government for youth, in large collections, is certainly a desideratum not yet attained with us. It may well be questioned whether *fear*, after a certain age, is the motive to which we should have ordinary recourse. The human character

is susceptible of other incitements to correct conduct, more worthy of employ, and of better effect. Pride of character, laudable ambition and moral dispositions are innate correctives of the indiscretions of that lively age: and when strengthened by habitual appeal and exercise, have a happier effect on future character, than the degrading motive of *fear*. Hardening them to disgrace, to corporal punishments, and servile humiliations, cannot be the best process for producing erect character. The affectionate deportment between father and son, offers, in truth, the best example for that of tutor and pupil; and the experience and practice of\* other countries in this respect, may be worthy of inquiry and consideration with us. It will be then for the wisdom and discretion of the visitors to devise and perfect a proper system of government, which, if it be founded in reason and comity, will be more likely to nourish, in the minds of our youth, the combined spirit of order and self-respect, so congenial with our political institutions, and so important to be woven into the American character. 5. What qualifications shall be required to entitle to entrance into the University; the arrangement of the days and hours of lecturing for the different schools, so as to facilitate to the students the circle of attendance on them; the establishment of periodical and public examinations; the premiums to be given for distinguished merit; whether honorary degrees shall be conferred? and by what appellations? whether the title to these shall depend on the time the candidate has been at the University, or, where nature has given a greater share of understanding, attention and application, whether he shall not be allowed the advantages resulting from these endowments; with other minor items of government, we are of opinion, should be entrusted to the visitors; and the statute under which we act, having provided for the appointment of these, we think they should moreover be charged with

The erection, preservation, and repair of the buildings, the care of the grounds and appurtenances, and of the interests of the University generally;

That they should have power to appoint a Bursar, employ a Proctor, and all other necessary agents;

To appoint and remove professors, two-thirds of the whole number of Visitors voting for the removal;

To prescribe their duties and the course of education, in conformity with the law;

To establish rules for the government and discipline of the students, not contrary to the laws of the land;

To regulate the tuition fees and the rent of the dormitories they occupy;

\* A police exercised by the students themselves, under proper direction, has been tried with success in some countries, and the rather as forming them for initiation into the duties and practices of civil life.

To prescribe and control the duties and proceedings of all officers, servants, and others, with respect to the buildings, lands, appurtenances, and other property and interests of the University;

To draw from the Literary Fund such monies as are by law charged on it for this institution;

And in general to direct and do all matters and things which, not being inconsistent with the laws of the land, to them shall seem most expedient for promoting the purposes of the said institution; which several functions they should be free to exercise in the form of bye-laws, rules, resolutions, orders, instructions, or otherwise, as they should deem proper, &c.

#### ART. IV.—*On the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews.*

**T**HE powerful combination of intellect, exerted in conducting these celebrated journals; the sway and influence which their decisions have usurped over the opinions of men, (as well as the mysterious manner in which these opinions are revealed,) render them objects of universal curiosity.—Notwithstanding their duration, they continue to be supported with unrelaxed ability, and their circulation is augmenting rapidly on both sides of the Atlantic.

In 1812, 12,000 numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*, and 6,000 of the *Quarterly Review* were printed;—in 1818, the former was augmented to 19,000, and the latter to 12,000 numbers. When their republication in the United States commenced, 1000 numbers of each journal were printed; they have since greatly increased.

The *Edinburgh Review* is translated into German, and selections from it, into the French language, are published by professor Pictét, at Geneva.

It may not be wholly uninteresting, (especially to American readers,) to offer some slight notices of the principal authors, as well as of the plan and progress of these distinguished journals.

We shall begin our remarks with the *Edinburgh Review*. The little we have to say in relation to this work, and its anonymous conductors, originates in no officious zeal to betray trusts; in fact, none have been confided to us.

The authors of the leading articles, are well known to the literary circles of Great Britain; they are identified with the most eminent writers of the age, and we can discern no possible objection to attempting to gratify public curiosity, by the expression of our humble, but grateful testimony to their exalted merits.

It has been observed, that we stand somewhat in the light of posterity, toward the living authors of Europe.—The remark, we believe to be so far just, that whatever we do say, is to them as inaudible, as if it were really said by posterity.

We trust, however, that the period is fast approaching, when the United States will no longer be regarded as the *terra incognita* of the republic of letters.

The title of the *Edinburgh Review*, was revived from a similar journal published in 1755, which never extended beyond a single number, although supported by the powerful alliance of Hume, Smith, and Ferguson.—The article on Johnson's Dictionary was written by Adam Smith, and may be cited as a specimen of sound and enlightened criticism; the other articles in the number are not eminently distinguished.

The publication of the *Edinburgh Review* was commenced in October, 1802, by Archibald Constable and Company, under the auspices of a small association of young gentlemen, chiefly natives of Scotland.

The first number was voluntarily presented to the publishers, as an experiment upon the public taste; its success encouraged the authors to continue the work, under a condition of receiving from the publishers, a stipulated gratification for their labours.

The first volume consists of articles, said to be contributed by Jeffrey, Brougham, Horner, Dr. Thomas Brown, the Rev. Sydney Smith, Hamilton and others.

A brief advertisement, announced the plan of the *Review* to be limited to the selection of such works, as either had obtained, or deserved a certain portion of celebrity. Its principles of criticism were proclaimed in the title page of the work. 'Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur.' It may be doubted whether the members of this self-created tribunal of criticism, (then unknown to fame,) had any distinct perception of its duration; of the reformation they were about to achieve, or the new class of literature which they have since created. Like other great reformers, the *Edinburgh Reviewers* began their labours at an era of degeneracy and corruption. The established reviews of Great Britain, had been degraded to mere vehicles of praise or censure, under the control and influence of interested publishers. The effect of the first number was felt as a death blow to the whole fraternity of mercenary critics and booksellers; they beheld, with dismay, the downfall of their system, and endeavoured by many angry, but ineffectual efforts, to wound and subdue this critical giant of the north.

The tone of the editor's mind necessarily pervaded and regulated the principal articles which appeared in the *Review*. It was bold, uncompromising, and intolerant; fraught deeply with various science; yet still more remarkable for prompt arrangement of the knowledge he possessed; distinguished by the clear summary and perspicuous statement of argument or theory, but unequalled for the ready and acute felicity of brilliant illustration.—With these high gifts, was combined a fluent eloquence upon almost any given topic, the corruscations of a lively wit, and the power of pungent sarcasm and unmerciful irony. The possessor of such talents, could hardly be ignorant of the superiority which they afforded him over all whom he met in the ordinary walks of life, and over most of those whom he conversed with

through the medium of their literary essays. And perhaps this sense of his own uncommon powers, has given rise to the most striking feature in the Edinburgh Review—an indifference, namely, to the works treated of, and a tone of superiority, both over the book and the writer, often just, but sometimes offensive to the reader, and always irritating to the author.\*

This spirited sketch of Mr. Jeffrey's talents, and peculiar fitness for the high and responsible duties of editor of the Review, is by no means overdrawn.\* Among numerous articles ascribed to his pen, we venture to select the following:

- E. R. No. 3. Stewart's account of Dr. Robertson.
- 6. Stewart's account of Dr. Reid.
- 14. Memoirs of Marmontel.
- 20. Cobbett's Register.
- 22. Sir Jno. Sinclair's Code of Health.
- 26. Reliques of Burns.
- 35. Alison on Taste.
- 36. Ford's Dramatic Works.
- 40. G. Francis Leckie's essay on the Br. government.
- 41. *De la Literature* par Madame de Stael.
- 51. Memoirs of Madame de Laroche Jaquelin.
- 53. Scott's Edition of Swift.

Nearly all the reviews of the works of Scott, Southey, Miss Edgeworth, &c. &c. &c. In his capacity of editor, we presume, from internal evidence, Mr. Jeffrey is at liberty to exercise his judgment, either in retrenching, revising, adding, or occasionally of re-writing articles presented for admission; this we conceive to be among his most perplexing duties.

It should also be generally known, that the editor's compositions are written with the utmost promptitude, amidst the toils of an extensive practice, as a leading advocate at the Scottish bar.

The articles which we have just ventured to designate, not only abound in sound sense and right feeling—but unite almost every excellence of fine writing. The genius of the critic glows and mingles with the kindred inspiration of his author; frequently rising and diverging into a train of original speculation; sometimes erroneous, but always eloquent and ingenious. Many of his articles are intitled to the distinction of separate essays; they exhibit the subjects discussed, in lights which seem to have escaped the sagacity of the author cited, and in a great degree sanction the confident tone of superiority assumed by the reviewer. Mr. Jeffrey has been illiberally scandalised for his stern exposition of the moral and political vices of Swift. With deference to the school-boy maxim, we can discern no good reason for protecting the ex-

\* In the — number of the North American Review, article Beauty—the reader will find a very judicious character of Mr. Jeffrey's philosophical style and manner of writing, though by no means a confutation of his ingenious views on that perplexing subject. The very able manner in which this journal (henceforth to be published quarterly,) is conducted, reflects honour upon the taste and talents of the literati of Boston.

ample and the opinions of even a standard author from criticism, merely because he cannot himself defend them. So long as his works survive him—so long as they exercise a pernicious influence over the minds and conduct of men, they are justly amenable to criticism.

The character and the views of an author, are to be inferred from his writings; in the case of Swift, the subject came fairly within the critic's jurisdiction;—a new and magnificent edition of the works of Swift had just issued from the press. The reviewer makes every possible concession to Swift's incomparable genius as a writer; but it is the hollowness of his pretensions to patriotism and to moral integrity, deduced from his published confessions, that he justly exposes to censure. Whether these confessions were published with or without the concurrence of the author, makes no essential difference in the argument; it is enough that they are acknowledged to be his. The moral depravity of this author's character, and the evil tendency of many of his productions, have long been notorious, and required no further exposition;—but the mean and mercenary character of his ambition—his servility to Harley and Bolingbroke—his intolerable arrogance—the malignity of his party hatred—and above all, the corrupt motives that induced him to enlist his great talents in calumniating his old friends, from whom he had scarcely separated—were never before so firmly and eloquently established.

The late Francis Horner, Esq. contributed many valuable articles to the earlier volumes of the *Edinburgh Review*, chiefly on subjects connected with political economy.

Mr. Horner was born and educated in Edinburgh. At the high-school, he obtained at an early period, and constantly retained the rank of *Dux*, although opposed by Mr. Brougham, and the present lord advocate of Scotland. The rector, doctor Adam, was accustomed to observe, that *Francis Horner was the only boy he had ever known, who had an old head upon young shoulders.*—At the university, his steady perseverance in his collegiate duties, attracted the notice and the esteem of Dugald Stewart, (at that time professor of moral philosophy,) by whom he was made acquainted with lord Henry Petty, then a resident in the professor's house. Mr. Horner and lord H. Petty attended the classes together, and became members of the speculative society, an institution which has called forth and disciplined some of the most eloquent men of the age. The frequency of their intercourse, the similarity of their characters, and views of ambition, gave birth to a friendship that lasted during the brief period of Mr. Horner's existence; and was endeared by many disinterested acts of friendship. Upon leaving the university, Mr. Horner became in due course, an advocate at the Scottish bar, while his noble friend, at the early age of twenty-six years, was advanced to the office of chancellor of the exchequer, &c. &c. The recollections of his early friendships were strengthened by his elevation to power; at his solicitation, Mr.

Horner was returned a member of Parliament, and took his seat in the house in 1806.

In the course of the succeeding year, a new ministry was appointed, and a new Parliament convoked; but Mr. Horner was not among the list of members. Meanwhile he entered his name at one of the 'Inns,' and soon after received a call to the English bar. He was again returned a member, for Wendover. The distinguished part he took in the great bullion question, (1810,) and his unwearied exertions, as a member of that committee, fully kept the promise of his earlier years, and opened still wider views and expectations of future excellence. He acted for some time as chairman to that committee, and drew up the first part of their far-famed report. The speech which he delivered in the house on that momentous question, discovered talents of the highest order.

He continued to exert himself in Parliament with indefatigable zeal and ability, until the year 1816, by which means the symptoms of a pulmonary consumption, that had long threatened him, were alarmingly increased. By the intreaties of his friends, he reluctantly consented to seek relief in a more genial climate, but the disorder which he carried with him to Italy, terminated fatally at Pisa, on the 8th of February, 1817, in the 39th year of his age. Had he been spared to his country, it was well understood that he was to have succeeded Mr. Ponsonby (who had announced his wish to retire,) as the leader of opposition in the house of commons. Without possessing the brilliancy of Mr. Brougham's talents, or perhaps the variety of his knowledge, Mr. Horner's rank and influence as a statesman, took precedence of his friend in the house of commons. This was chiefly acquired by the moderation of his views, by enlightening and persuading the house, rather than by opposing them, yet no man maintained the independence of his opinions with greater tenacity than Mr. Horner. His premature loss to his friends and his country, was deplored by persons of every political party in Parliament—but by none more pathetically and sincerely than his friend, the late sir Samuel Romilly.

Henry Brougham, Esq. the author of an excellent work on the colonial policy of England, at present a distinguished leader of opposition in Parliament, and an eminent English barrister, is a well known contributor to the Review.

This gentleman is about forty years of age, was educated at Edinburgh, and has risen to his present eminence by the force of his talents, unaided by powerful family alliances. He was one of the original compact of Edinburgh reviewers. His most valuable articles are on questions of political economy;\* but every department of literature and science has been alternately subjected to his criticism. His opinions generally, are more stern and intolerant than those of the editor; he seizes upon the defects of a work with so much avidity, as to induce a belief, that he has either

\* Lord Lauderdale's work on Public Wealth, was reviewed by Mr. Brougham.



misconstrued or neglected its beauties. His articles on the science of political economy, in all its branches, have frequently thrown new light on the doctrines of its illustrious founder, and have greatly assisted in raising the character of the *Edinburgh Review* to its present eminence. The articles attributed to him on passing political events, although written with uncommon force of mind, and great extent of knowledge, are certainly among the most unhappy specimens in the *Edinburgh Review*. The dignity of a statesman is often compromised by the ardent impetuosity of his party-feelings and resentments, and his speculations assume an air of paradox and prediction, unauthorised by succeeding events. Hence we conceive has arisen, that want of unity in political opinions, which has so frequently disfigured the pages of the *Review*.

Mr. B's article on 'The French Usurpation in Spain,' by Don Pedro Cevallos, is said to have diminished the circulation of nearly two thousand numbers of the *Review*.

Latterly Mr. B. appears to have adopted a more temperate, and consequently a more effectual course of opposition. His meritorious exertions as chairman of the education committee in the house of commons; the many flagrant abuses and corruptions of charitable endowments for instruction, so glaringly revealed by the volume of printed evidence before that committee; his admirable letter to the late sir Samuel Romilly, stating the causes which defeated his labours in defending the rights of the poor against the lawless encroachments of the rich, elevate his character and his views as a legislator, while they proclaim the utter hopelessness of the most reasonable plans of reform.

It is indeed lamentable to contemplate the paltry and selfish scheme of policy, manifested by the ministerial rulers of England, in thwarting and mutilating one of the most benevolent and disinterested bills of reform ever offered to the consideration of parliament.

The facts revealed to the world, by the records of this transaction, exhibit stronger proofs of corrupt influence and odious political principle, than have ever been alleged by the most factious enemy of the British government.

As Americans, we ought not to forget Mr. Brougham's great exertions in forcing a repeal of the orders in council; had the measure taken effect at the period urged by him, humanity would have been spared the outrages of war.

Nearly all the leading articles in the *Review*, on natural philosophy, mathematics, geology and geography, are from the pen of Mr. John Playfair, professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh.

The character of this admirable man, has been elegantly sketched by the editor, in the 13th article of the 30th number of the *Edinburgh Review*.

'Of all the men of genius that ever existed, D'Alembert perhaps is the most amiable and truly respectable. The great extent

and variety of his learning, his vast attainments and discoveries in the mathematical sciences, and the beauty and eloquence of his literary compositions, are known to all the world; but the simplicity and openness of his character, his perpetual gentleness and gayety in society, the unostentatious independence of his sentiments and conduct; his natural and cheerful superiority to all feelings of worldly ambition, jealousy and envy; and that air of perpetual youth and unassuming kindness, which made him so delightful and so happy in the society of women, are traits which we scarcely expect to find in combination with those splendid qualifications, and compose altogether a character of which we should have been tempted to question the reality, were we not fortunate enough to be familiar with its counterpart in one living individual.—This beautiful compliment to the character of his venerable friend, was finely identified by Mr. Playfair's asking the editor—'to whom it alluded?'

It is impossible to mention the name of Playfair, without dwelling for a moment on his exalted virtues, and unrivalled acquirements.

He is now between sixty and seventy years of age, in the enjoyment of a strong constitution, nurtured by habits of the strictest temperance.

He was originally educated for the church of Scotland, and discharged the functions of a parish priest for some time anterior to his professorship. His works consist of illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth—two volumes of outlines of his course of lectures on Natural Philosophy; a volume of biographical notices of Hutton and others, and of an introductory discourse to the supplementary volumes of the Encyclopædia Britannica. But many of the highest efforts of his mind enrich the pages of the Edinburgh Review: his profound article on La Place's *Traité de Mécanique Céleste*, is admitted to be the most masterly display of analytical criticism in the Review. As an example of the tenderness of his heart, we would point out his remarks on Madam Cotin's *Elizabeth*. Perhaps no other living author could have furnished articles, in which are revealed the sublimest truths of science, with the most exquisite emotions of the female heart.

No man can be more cherished and venerated by the enlightened circle which he ornaments than Playfair. His innocent gayety and perfect docility of manners (so characteristic of the highest order of mind,) the condescension with which he dispenses, and adapts his vast treasure of knowledge to minds of every age and capacity—his entire exemption from prejudice—his abhorrence of vulgar fame and popularity, comprise the attributes of a soul exalted to a level with its sublime meditations and pursuits.

The reverend Sidney Smith, the supposed author of *Peter Plymly's Letters*, and the avowed author of two volumes of vivacious sermons, has contributed many articles to the Edinburgh

Review. The subjects of his criticism are theology, education, methodism, missionaries, and classical literature.

We have no conception of a more agonising species of torture than that of an unhappy author, whose delinquent work has been fated to fall beneath this reverend critic's unsparing censure and ridicule.

It is indifferent to him, whether his attacks are levelled at the orthodoxy of his author's *head* or his *wig*, as was instanced in the case of the classical patriarch of England, Dr. Parr.

As a joker, Mr. Smith is reputed to be the champion of England; in his criticisms his jokes, though powerfully aimed, often transgress and outrage the prescribed laws of decorum, in this modern species of warfare. They possess a sort of factitious value, derived from a quaint and ostentatious use and application of long words, to trite thoughts on familiar subjects. He is, notwithstanding his critical arrogance, a gentleman of unblemished reputation, and often treats a subject in a very commanding style.\*

A few articles in the earlier numbers, are attributed to the pen of Walter Scott, Esq.—they are on his favourite subjects of chivalry and romance. This gentleman seceded from the association, (of which he was never an enlisted member) owing probably to the decided political character which the Review assumed. We think we recognise the *Lorraine* tints of his pencil in an article on lord Byron's third canto in the Quarterly Review.

The versatility, richness, and untiring activity of Mr. Scott's mind, we conceive to be unexampled in the present race of authors. His poetry is too well known and felt in the United States, to call forth a single remark. His prose works, (for we *now* do verily believe him to be the legitimate father of the whole family of Waverly and his kinsfolk) will place him in the first rank of that delightful class of writers. With respect to the disputed parentage of these novels, we are positively informed, that the many stories of their 'transatlantic origin,' so confidently circulated in the United States, are destitute of all foundation.

The motives which might influence Mr. Scott in maintaining his invisibility, are sufficiently plausible. No other author has drawn such rich largesses from the public; his invention has been tasked, in ministering to its unsated appetite for his productions. It therefore forms a question of sound policy in an author, confident of his powers over the public mind, how far he may be sanctioned in fresh demands either of money or fame. Moreover, the high degree of curiosity excited by an anonymous work of genius—the perpetual discussion of claims in behalf of disputed authors—the sagacity which every disputant conceives he displays, tend, in an extensive degree, to publish its merits and increase its circulation.

\* Vide, *Strictures on Female Education*, in the 30th number of the *Edinburgh Review*.

The celebrity of Junius will probably be greatly diminished by his imputed identification with a gentleman never before suspected by the public. Besides, it is not extravagant to suppose, that the delicacy of a man of genius may incline him to withdraw for a time, from the continued glare of public attention and admiration.

In these vague conjectures, it is by no means our intention to convey censure on Mr. Scott's motives either in withholding his name from his works, or for multiplying them, so long as the public prefers them to all others.

Latterly, sir James M'Intosh, has lent his occasional aid to the *Edinburgh Review*, both on subjects of politics and literature.

In addition to the eloquence of his youthful productions, he displays a powerful condensation of thought and argument;—his deductions and his maxims, are drawn from elementary principles of knowledge—and his views have a practical tendency towards the melioration of the whole human race. His style is a perfect example of pure idiomatic English.\*

With such precious gifts and acquirements, it is to be lamented that this great and good man should be destined to waste his powers in the barren regions of the house of commons. Like his immortal antagonist and friend, Burke, his genius and his taste are too refined for the stormy and ungrateful nature of his pursuits. We hope he will redeem his pledge to literature, by gratifying the world with his projected continuation of *Hume's History*. We anticipate in him all the matchless graces of that great historian's style and manner, without his party prejudices. As Americans, we feel a deep interest in sir James' labours; the story of our revolution, than which a more glorious theme never graced the page of history, may find in him a worthy historian.

We have been told, that he is possessed of rare materials, derived from the highest sources, which clearly explain the obduracy of the British government, throughout that calamitous period.

We would venture to suggest, that a direct application to some of the few surviving leaders of the revolution, would furnish him with many of the hidden springs which gave birth to that event, and led to its successful termination.

The *Edinburgh Review* now extends to the sixtieth number; perhaps this voluminous work contains more original views in every department of human knowledge—a greater display of genius and learning—a more complete history of the progress of literature in the 19th century, than has ever been given to the world, in any age or country.

\* His article on Dugald Stewart's preliminary discourse to the additional volumes of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, displays a singular intimacy with the obscure metaphysical writers of the monkish age of literature. Sir James M'Intosh delivered a course of lectures on the law of nature and of nations, some years since, which are spoken of with the utmost deference and distinction by the best judges; we believe the introductory lecture only, has been given to the public.

In conducting a work of such magnitude and duration, written chiefly without the rules of Horace, it was not to be expected that its predictions would always be fulfilled, nor its authors escape from censure.

The case of lord Byron immediately presents itself to view; the discourteous manner in which the firstlings of his lordship's muse, were dandled by the Reviewer (though not, as has been asserted, by the Editor,) created a just cause of provocation.

The luxury of presiding over the literary destiny of a peer of the realm, betrayed the reviewer into false prophecy. Although lord Byron has since gloriously redeemed his fame, by a series of poems, unequalled, either for strength or originality since Shakspeare, we confess ourselves of the guilty number who augured nothing from 'Poems by a Minor.'

It has been asserted, that the editor was chastised by the severity of his lordship's satire into repentance, and a recognition of his merits. The story is without foundation; lord B. himself tendered the olive branch to the editor, and strove by the only means in his power to expiate the sins of his vindictive muse, by suppressing its offspring. The consequence is, that a copy of 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,' is now advertised in English catalogues, among rare and costly works.

With regard to the criticisms on Miss Baillie and her plays, the reviewers have been guilty of an offence which scarcely admits of atonement. This lady and her productions were arraigned at the bar of judgment, somewhat in the manner of malefactors, to be punished for the commission of every species of literary heresy. Apart from that gallantry of feeling and toleration of error, due to the sex, but especially to one of its brightest ornaments, the reviewers seem to have closed their eyes to the highest order of poetical beauties, recognised as such, by every reader of taste and sensibility. We acquit the reviewers of any error of the heart in misjudging Miss Baillie's productions; yet we think the abstract given by them of her finest tragedy, bears the same sort of resemblance to the play itself, as the skeleton of a beauty does to its living counterpart.

In the Oxford controversy (as it was denominated) the reviewers encountered a powerful adversary in Dr. Copplestone—provost of Oriel college. His three anonymous pamphlets in reply to their attack upon the system of instruction, and state of learning, at the university of Oxford, having performed the services assigned to them, are now 'out of print,' and by the express injunction of the author, will remain so.

They are written with a stricter regard to facts, and comparatively in a style of greater decorum and temper, than the articles which provoked them. They meet the reviewers (*tria juncta in unum*) at every point of attack; and by an axiom of indisputable facts, with a train of unanswerable reasoning, vindicate the ancient fame of the university from every aspersion.—In this memorable con-

test, the Quarterly Reviewers bore a signal part, by assuming the province of umpire between the parties. We acquiesce in the justice of their decision against their critical antagonists of the north, and cannot resist the temptation of repeating the happy quotation with which they closed the subject:—‘*Horum naturam triplicem, tria corpora memmi, tries species tam dissimiles, tria talia texta, una dies dedit exitio.*’

In the instance of R. P. Knight, the reviewer (Hallem) was answered by a species of the true argumentum ad hominem.

In article 2d of number 14, on ‘Knight’s Analytical Inquiries into the Principles of Taste’ (probably the very best work on that disputed subject) the author is arraigned for writing false Greek, in his translation of a fragment of Gray’s Bard. The learned critic unhappily cites the 12th line of that translation as an example of ‘nonsense.’

In the fourth edition of Mr. Knight’s work, he thus defends his Greek.

‘This line, which a synod of north British critics have peremptorily pronounced to be nonsense, is taken from the tenth *nemean* of Pindar, v. 141; and until they passed sentence upon it in number xiv. of the Edinburgh Review, was universally thought to express, with peculiar force and delicacy, the mixture of indignation and tenderness, so appropriate to the grief of the hero of the modern as well as of the ancient ode.’

The controversy with Dugald Stewart, was conducted solely (we believe) by the editor, and stands unrivalled amidst the many brilliant efforts of that gentleman’s pen.

The undue importance which Mr. Stewart assigned to the science of metaphysics; the power of subjecting the various phenomena of mind to actual experiments, instead of observation, are among the positions questioned, if not controverted by the arguments of the reviewer. The manner in which this contest was conducted reflects honour upon the candour and liberality of both parties.

The illustrious reputation of Stewart (the *magnus Apollo* of the Scottish metropolis) is courteously acknowledged, and treated with the utmost deference by the reviewer. The editor disclosed the consciousness of his strength, by venturing to oppose his views and opinions against those of Dugald Stewart. But the masterly manner in which he maintained his ground, against his eloquent antagonist, who, on that memorable occasion only, descended from his elevation, in defence of his favourite pursuits, reflects the proudest eulogy on the talents of the reviewer.

In several of the later numbers of the Edinburgh Review, two new contributors have appeared, both of them of very different schools from the mass of their brother reviewers, and differing as widely in tastes and opinions from each other. The first is the Rev. Dr. Chalmers of Glasgow, well known in this country by a series of astronomical sermons written in a diffuse and slovenly style, and very false taste; yet full of noble and original thoughts, and of passages of true elo-

quence. He is also the author of an admirable essay on the historical evidences of christianity, a work written in a purer style than most of his other publications, and peculiarly remarkable for the very lawyer-like ingenuity with which he manages his argument. Dr. Chalmers is now the most popular pulpit orator in Scotland, or indeed in Great Britain. He is also very able as an extemporary debater, and is considered in the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, as the leader and champion of the *orthodox* party. He is a decided though not violent whig, and his connexion with the Edinburgh Review probably arose from that circumstance. His accustomed careless and wordy, yet very animated and impressive style betrays him as the writer of the whole of the discussion on the Poor Laws.

The other new recruit to the critical corps is Hazzlit, an author by profession, who has written lectures on English poetry—characters of Shakspeare's plays, the Round Table, &c. He is often ingenious, sometimes striking, and always lively, flippant and paradoxical. He has long been accustomed to literary and political controversy in the London newspapers, and seems much inclined to carry the weapons and practices of that warfare into the higher service in which he is now enlisted. The attacks on Southey and Coleridge, which excited much sensation in England in 1816, were from his pen.

We might prolong this desultory article by brief notices of many other contributors to the Edinburgh Review, whose names stand high in the records of fame; but we fear, we have already trespassed too far on the patience of our readers.

We shall also defer, to another occasion, what we have to say in relation to the writers of the Quarterly Review, and of the principles which appear to have governed them in conducting that able journal. Whether this rigorous and haughty tone of censorship, has had a salutary or pernicious influence on the literature of the 19th century; whether it has not oftener wounded the pride of genius, than rebuked the arrogance of ignorance and dulness, are points which perhaps we may hereafter discuss.

ART. V.—*Florence Macarthy*, an Irish tale, by lady Morgan, in four vols. London 1818.

ALL admiring readers of fiction in prose will be glad to perceive that lady Morgan has again applied her talents to the production of novels. In that class of writers, whose aim is to amuse without caring to instruct she holds deservedly a very high rank; and possessed of so luxuriant a fancy, and gifted with such power over the imagination of her readers, she must continue to be a favourite, notwithstanding the numerous faults with which she is justly chargeable, and the more numerous sins imputed to her by the English reviewers.

If she would but 'stoop to truth and *moralize* her song,' we should willingly overlook her affected use of French phrases, her inaccuracy as to dates and geography, her bad puns and the unfe-

minine violence of her political antipathies, as merely specks on the sun's disk. But it is much to be regretted that with such genius and such sensibility she neither sees nor feels the propriety of giving a moral to her fables, and adding piety to the list of her heroine's virtues. Unfortunately, while successfully endeavouring to interest the imagination, she tries too little to inform the judgment or to mend the heart.

In this last work not one religious sentiment is uttered by any of the *amiable* personages of the story, nor a religious motive attributed to them: piety is only mentioned in connexion with fanaticism or hypocrisy, and then, but as a subject for ridicule. This is its greatest defect, and a defect the more striking, because it is observed in a female author, portraying in her heroine the perfection of female virtue. The next is the tiresome repetition of diatribes, very just perhaps, but not the less fatiguing, against the maladministration of the government of Ireland. The book purports indeed to be a 'national tale,' and appears to be written with so much of the bitterness of political rancour as to occasion too frequent interruptions to the story, and to give it too much the air of a party pamphlet.

It is, however, in many parts highly interesting and beautiful. The plot is exceedingly involved, and we have not room even for an epitome. In the heroine, lady Morgan probably intended to sketch her own character, and certainly Florence is infinitely more interesting than Imogen or Glorvina.

In the following passages the wicked Quarterly Reviewers receive a 'retort courteous' for their attack upon her fame. Florence, it must be premised, is an author, as she relates.

'The strong extremes and wild vicissitudes of my life, have perhaps given a variegated tone to my character and a versatility to my mind, not its natural endowments. I have continued always before the world, yet always in seclusion, known to all in my public capacity, to none in my private character, noble by chance, an author *by necessity*.'

Possibly you have heard, general Fitzwalter, that I am by divine indignation a—a sort of an author, *un maniere d'esprit*, and it is quite true. With Ireland in my heart and epitomizing something of her humour and sufferings in my own character and story, I do trade upon the materials she furnishes me, and turning my patriotism into pounds, shillings and pence, endeavour the same moment to serve her and support myself.'

'When lady Dunore,' said young Crawley, 'mentioned the title of her (Florence's) works, I recollected having looked over those tomes of absurdity and vagueness, of daring blasphemy, of affectation, of bad taste, bombast and nonsense, blunders, ignorance, jacobinism and falsehood, licentiousness and impiety, which it now seems are the effusions,' &c.

'Her impudent falsehoods and lies by implication, the impious jargon of this mad woman, this audacious worm.'—'Are you



speaking of lady Clancare, sir?' said gen. Fitzwalter, 'are you applying such language to a woman, *to any woman?*' 'I was speaking, sir,—that is, I was repeating the criticism of a celebrated *periodical review* which may perhaps be deemed severe, but which is edited by men of the most'—'men do you call them?' said Gen. F. with a sharp contemptuous laugh, and turning on his heel. 'Men indeed!' pp. 37, 38. vol. 4.

'Which (says Florence) of the worthy *we's*, the weekly, the monthly, the *quarterly* drudges would "let loose their dogs of war" on works safe from the world's notice and applause? No, they war not with dulness and the dead; it is living, buoyant and above all, *prosperous merit* animates their zeal; and their malice is worth courting, for next to the spontaneous burst of public applause, an author's ambition should be the unqualified, unmanly, ungentlemanlike attacks of some party hired, anonymous writer. I speak with warmth, for I speak with experience. I have not the vanity to think you have all read me, "*pour les beaux yeux de mon m rite.*" No I have been lashed into notice by these wasp-stung and impatient critics; their attacks have been patronage, their malice kindness, and it must be allowed they have been very, very kind indeed.' p. 146.

'And of this I am certain [young Crawley again *loquitur*] that had Milton published his *Paradise Lost* in the present day, there is not one genuine *English* review that would not have denounced him for an impious parodist, and condemned him *out of his own words* as profane, jacobinical, indecent, and immoral.' v. 2, p. 193.

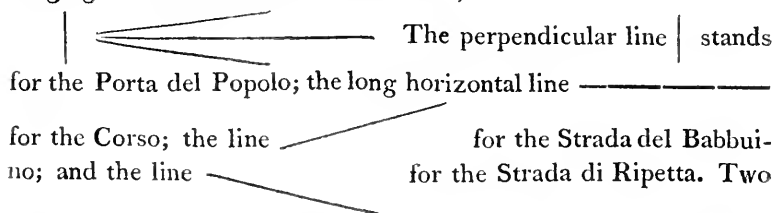
#### ART. VI.—*Letter from Italy.*

[From the Edinburgh Magazine.]

Rome, 11th March 1818.

I AM now safely housed in the Piazza di Spagna of Rome, after a journey of five days and a half from Florence, which almost famished me. Had I not provided myself with about eight pounds of roast beef, and a few bottles of vino aleatico, I should certainly have been starved outright; for such suppers as we have in general were enough to poison the devil. Upon my cold roast beef and wine I fared sumptuously in the vettura, when it used to stop about eleven or twelve o'clock, and while others were running about rummaging in wretched albergos for something to allay the torments of their hunger. This plan, besides affording me better fare, saved me money, my dinner never costing me more than about one Paul or less. I forgot to mention also that Vincent, besides providing these things, (for the merit of contrivance is his,) had purchased chocolate at Florence for me, and made me a large comfortable cup of it every morning as soon as he opened his eyes. So much for having a good, provident, and attentive servant. I shall now continue the journal, which I was obliged to break off in my letter to ——— for want of room. I entered Rome by the Porta del Popolo, at the northwest extremity of the

city. This entrance to the city is striking, since it opens into a spacious square, (the Piazza del Popolo,) and presents to you at once the entrance to the Corso, (directly opposite,) and the entrances to the Strada di Ripetta, and the Strada del Babbuino, the three central and principal streets of Rome. The Corso runs in a straight line from the side of the square opposite to the Porta del Popolo; and the other two streets (Ripetta and Babbuino) run diverging on each side of the Corso thus,



handsome churches of similar achitecture, and each having a cupola, stand one on each side of the entrance to the Corso, and form the bottom of the square opposite the Porta del Popolo, and terminate the three streets in a very pleasing manner. In the centre of this square rises a very ancient Egyptian obelisk of red oriental granite, and covered with hieroglyphics; and beside it, towards the Corso, is a fountain. The height of this obelisk is 108 palms, exclusive of the cross on its summit, which is 17 palms, and of the pedestal, &c. 37 palms more, so that it rises, from the ground to the top of the cross, 162 palms. This square is the place where criminals are executed. The guillotine is, I understand, quite the fashion now in Italy. About six weeks or two months ago there was an execution by the guillotine at Florence. The grand duke is of so merciful a disposition, that he is with difficulty persuaded to punish any crime whatever with death;—but I am wandering from Rome. On passing Ponte Molle three bajocchi were demanded from each on account of luggage; and, at the Porta del Popolo, another claim of five bajocchi each was made for the same things. Proceeded to the custom-house to have our luggage searched. We were detained there only about fifteen minutes, during a very superficial inspection of the upper contents of our trunks, night-sacks, &c. Paid again for this examination, 6th March,—went to the police-office for our letters of permission to remain in Rome. Our passports had been taken from us at the Porta del Popolo on entering, and we had each received in return a certain paper, which we were desired to carry to the police-office within twenty-four hours. For our permission (thirty days) we each paid two Pauls. At Florence nothing was asked for my letter of permission. I must digress a little farther to mention a curious impost, or imposition, which we suffered at Siena. On entering at the one gate, our keys were demanded, in order to be sent to us at the other. For this piece of ceremony we were obliged to pay half a Paul each. In the time of Bonaparte no

custom-house officer in Italy dared to ask a quatrino from travellers, on pain of being instantly dismissed from his place. From the police-office we went to the pantheon of M. Agrippa, on the Piazza della Rotonda, (the pantheon is commonly called 'La Rotonda,') and stood for some minutes before this superb edifice, admiring its lofty portico, beautiful in effect, although blackened by time in his various attacks during nearly 2000 years. This building is now 'La Chiesa di S. Maria ad Martires.' The interior is striking from the simplicity of its architecture, and the grand circular sweep of its walls and cupola. The light of day streams into it by one circular opening in the centre of the dome. The ancient bronze that covered the inside of the dome was long ago torn off, and its rich appearance is now poorly supplied by a covering of white wash. In the niches, round the walls, which were formerly occupied by statues of the heathen gods, we now see busts of celebrated Roman artists and of ecclesiastics. The bust of Metastasio stands on the right of the entrance; next him Pessuti, a mathematician; next Bracci, a sculptor, and so on. While standing in the pantheon, I could not help reflecting on the singular changes in the tide of human affairs which had converted it from a heathen temple into a christian church, and had supplied the places of imaginary divinities by the busts of perishable mortals. Catholics were kneeling around me on the pavement,—and tapers were burning on the high altar under which modern superstition has placed the real or imaginary relics of christian martyrs. I must mention, (in honour of *music*,) that, in one of the chapels in the pantheon, stands the bust of Antonio Sacchini, the famous Neapolitan, whom I have always considered as one of the most pure, natural, and graceful among Italian composers.

Proceeded to the study of Canova, the famous Venetian sculptor, to inquire for my travelling companion G——, and to see some of the works of the great artist. Walked through the rooms among casts, models, and sculptures, done by Canova or his pupils. I shall mention only two or three of the most striking sculptures by Canova which I saw there. A colossal group of Theseus killing the Centaur, formed of two large pieces to be afterwards joined together,—this is not yet quite finished. It was ordered by Bonaparte for Milan, and the Milanese government have, of course, not countermanded the order. It is to be sent thither. A beautiful figure of a dancing Nymph for —— a most exquisite figure of a naked Nymph, awakened by the song of love. She is recumbent, and raising herself a little,—turns her head to listen to the enchanting strains of the god who sits near her feet, with a lyre in his hands. This charming figure is for the Prince Regent of England. A very fine head of Canova, executed by himself on a large scale, in white marble, and considered an admirable likeness,—a group of Venus and Mars, just begun. Venus appears to be clinging round the neck of Mars in an amorous or beseeching manner; but the whole is so merely in a state of commence-

ment, that it is not possible to form any correct idea of what it may be when finished. While looking at these fine things, the figure of Mr. J— B— started up before me, and inquired, very kindly, what had brought me into this part of the world, &c. &c. He is much altered by illness, and looks very pale and weak. He said he had not yet recovered from the shock given to his constitution by the rupture of a blood vessel which happened to him in Paris. In a room of Canova's Studio are hung up excellent engravings of this artist's works.

After dinner, visited St. Peter's church; passed over the bridge of St. Angelo, and, leaving on the right the circular fortress of that name, (formerly the tomb of Adrian, afterwards converted into a fortress, and rendered peculiarly interesting by its intimate connexion with some of the most glorious names and events of Roman history,) advanced along the unpromising street that conducts directly to the Basilica of the Vatican, commonly called St. Peter's church. On first entering the Piazza, here your eye is at once called off from the ornamented front of the church to the simple, and majestic, and prodigious colonnade, sweeping away to the right and left in two grand uniform curves. In the centre of the Piazza stands the beautiful and entire Egyptian obelisk of red granite, brought from Heliopolis during the reign of Caligula. This obelisk was placed here by Sextus V. It has no hieroglyphics. Height, exclusive of pedestal, 113 palms. Its greatest breadth 12 palms. Total height, including pedestal and cross, 180 palms. On each side of this obelisk, towards the colonnade, stands a fountain of a remarkable elegant appearance. When I first entered this Piazza, my eye was offended by the buildings of the Vatican, that rise to the northwest, *close* beside the church and colonnade, and which seemed to *me* to injure materially the effect of these principal objects. These buildings rise high and irregular on one side, and, from their position and appearance, struck upon my eye as huge excrescences, disfiguring the beauty of this magnificent piazza. I may be very far wrong in my judgment, but such was the impression instantly produced upon me by these accompaniments.

The portico of St. Peter's is very grand. At each extremity is a vestibule containing an equestrian statue, the one of Constantine the Great, the other of Charlemagne. Looking along from either of these vestibules to the other, the effect is striking. Including them, the length of the portico is 638 palms, its breadth 54. On entering the church, the eye is at first unable to judge correctly of distances and magnitudes; every thing appears nearer and smaller than it is in reality. Indeed, the richness and splendour of the decorations bewilder the eye for a time; and in its wanderings over a multiplicity of many coloured and glittering details, it loses that kind of indescribable impression which is produced by vast and simple unity. The gilded stucco of the moulded and 'high-embowed roof,'—the beautiful and finely-polished marbles that

form pillars, and pilasters, and tombs, and statues, around you,—the towering altar, that rises with its four immense twisted columns of gilded bronze under the great dome,—every thing that you see is fine and brilliant;—but it is only after the first impressions give place to a sober calculation of the immensity and grandeur of the whole fabric, that the emotion of sublimity is felt—and it is felt. But, to see and understand the greatness of St. Peter's church, you must visit it more times than one, and you must ascend to the highest point of steady footing, just under the great ball that crowns the summit; but of this in its place. The tombs of popes ornament the interior of St. Peter's with a profusion of fine marbles and rich sculpture. Approaching the great altar, you are struck by the magnificence of this lofty and beautiful piece of metallic architecture. The bronze employed in this altar was taken from the Pantheon, and it is said to weigh 186,392 pounds, (the Italian pound is 12 ounces.) The expense of its formation is said to have exceeded 100,000 scudi, and the gilding of it alone to have cost 40,000 scudi of gold. I do not well understand this calculation, but I am in a Catholic country, where *faith* is required as the foundation of all good belief; so I pass the account. Looking up here, beside the great altar, the grand cupola astonishes you by its altitude and fine proportions. It is indeed grand, and was worthy of the genius of Michael Angelo. On my first visit to this church, there was some fine music performed in the Capella del Coro. Here I heard, for the first time, the voices of some of those unfortunate beings who have a matured human shape, but are neither men nor women. The soft, and sweet, and melancholy tones of their fine voices pleased me, and yet distressed me. A few electric flashes of horrible reflection upon their hideous destiny passed through my soul, and made my blood boil with indignation against the hellish miscreants by whom such a monstrous violation of nature was invented and executed. The unhappy victims to whom I have alluded were accompanied by some excellent tenor and bass voices, and by the old and celebrated organ of the chapel. Under the great altar is the sepulchre, or 'Confessione di S. Pietro.' On the balustrade that surrounds this sepulchre, are disposed 112 large gilded lamps, which are kept almost constantly burning. Around this sanctified place, and before altars in different parts of the church, were kneeling, men, women, and children, whose devotion seemed to be easily interrupted by curiosity, since they kept turning about every moment to look at us with the quick and keen eye of inquiry, while their lips continued to move mechanically in their accustomed exercise. In my after-visits to St. Peter's, I remarked the same inattention of the people to the duties in which they were engaged.

ART. VII.—*Memoir read to the Agricultural Society of Pennsylvania*, January 19, 1819; by William Rawle, Esq.

**T**HIS interesting memoir, read but a few days since, will very soon be given entire to the public; the society having unanimously presented their thanks to Mr. Rawle, and requested a copy for publication. Having participated in the pleasure of hearing it we are enabled to present the following extract, and have to regret that our limits render it necessarily so short. The subject of the discourse was the policy of our encouraging migration from Europe to this country. And now, whilst the belief is extending among the people of Europe, that America is anxious to entice away their labourers and their artisans, it is gratifying to find advanced by such respectable authority the language which the dignity of this nation requires it to hold; that we do not need nor desire any other accession to our numbers than that which is supplied by the natural increase of our own native population. The duty of giving an hospitable reception to such strangers as may come to dwell among us is however fully recognised, and many topics subservient to the principal question are amply illustrated; but we have room only for what is subjoined.

‘ Our citizens at present form three general classes. 1st. Those who practise the productive art of agriculture, including the raising of animal food. 2d. Those who are engaged in manufactures, and 3d. Those who pursue commerce.

‘ The great preponderance of the first class, in point of numbers, impresses a character on the present discussion. Were we merely a nation of merchants or artists or warriors, different principles would be found to apply.

‘ There is an obvious distinction between *admitting* and *inviting* immigration. A nation in a state of peace and safety ought not to deny a hospitable reception to the fugitive from oppression or misfortune at home. This is the debt of humanity. But considerations of a different nature press upon us when we examine whether it is now expedient to take pains to invite the inhabitants of other nations to join our community.

‘ This is a legitimate question of self-interest and depends on our own wants.

‘ 1st. Do we require them to improve our own condition?

‘ 2d. Do we require them for our own safety?

‘ 3d. Is the present population too small in respect to the quantity of land?

‘ 4th. Is our own natural increase too slow?

‘ 1st. In about two hundred years a population exceeding six millions of free persons is found in the full and useful possession of one soil. A small proportion of these millions is composed of recent emigrants from Europe. Much the greatest part consists of descendants from the original emigrants.

‘ Possessed of the arts and sciences of Europe, we have enlarged and improved on them till we feel no inferiority in whatever tends to promote the domestic convenience and increase the rational blessings of life. What we do not already know and practise is easily obtained by literary communications; the times are past when knowledge could only be acquired by actual inspection. We need no information from other quarters to improve our political systems, unless it is to teach us what we ought to avoid.

‘ History affords no instance of a republican form of government more perfect in theory or more successful in practice than our own. A full comparison of advantages and defects would at present be misplaced. It is sufficient to say, that if any improvements in principle or effect should in time be found necessary, it is most probable that they will be better discovered and administered by ourselves than by strangers, however sound and friendly their intentions may be.

‘ 2d. Nor do we require an extraneous accession of numbers to contribute to our safety, if ill fortune should again involve us in defensive hostility. The events of our second war assure us that our numbers, skillfulness and courage, are sufficient for our own protection.

‘ 3 and 4. What other motives can impel us to desire an increase of population in this mode?

‘ Is our produce more than we consume? Commerce carries away the surplus; we need not invite others merely to consume it at home.

‘ Have we lands that require cultivation? We have millions, and by gradual acquisition shall have many millions more, which will hereafter be covered by our own natural increase. The land does not so much require the people as our own people will in time require the land.

‘ A view of the census of 1790, compared with that of 1810, sufficiently shows the progress of natural increase.

‘ In 1790, the total white, or free population, amounted to 3,231,630, in 1810 to 6,037,539.

‘ Thus in twenty years it was almost doubled. What proportion of this increase is to be credited to immigration, we have no materials to calculate. The next census will doubtless show a proportional increase beyond that of 1810, and it is certain that the migration to this country has been very great since the peace. In 1817, the only year of which we have certain data, the number amounted to 22,240. It is believed however, not to have been so great before nor since. But we may justly refer to single states, *out* of which it is probable the quantity of migration has been in proportion greater than any other, and *into* which, it is certain, migration has been very small.

‘ Connecticut in 1790, contained of free inhabitants 235,182; in 1810, 261,632. From New Jersey, which like Connecticut, has no bodies of profitable vacant land, on which to spread a super-

abundance of population, there has also been a considerable emigration. Her population of the same character amounted, in 1790, to 172,716: in 1810 to 237,711.

‘On comparing the tables, it will be found, that the population of every one of the old states in the union has increased; although from every state considerable bodies of emigrants have removed to cultivate the additional territories acquired towards the west.

‘There is no mystery in the principle which produced the result. When a population is so overcharged as to render subsistence difficult, the removal of the excess renews the means of subsistence to those who remain, and revives the tendency to natural increase.

‘From these considerations, it seems to follow, that this country is not required to make any material alteration in its polity, for the purpose of alluring strangers to join it.’

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ART. VIII.—*Letter from Lieutenant General Kellermann, on the battle of Marengo.*

[Translated from La Bibliotheque Historique, of October, 1818.]

SIR—I observe in your third volume an article upon the monument erected at Marseilles, in honour of general Dessaix, by which it appears you share the common misapprehension as to the last circumstance of his life; a misapprehension created and encouraged by that man whose inordinate ambition and envy could more easily brook the glory of the dead, than of the living.

It is said that general Dessaix, by the sacrifice of his life, gained the victory at Marengo.

God forbid that I should desire to diminish the glory of that illustrious commander and virtuous citizen; but he gathered a sufficient harvest of his own, without having need to deprive others of what was properly theirs. The truth is, he had no share in the *decisive* movement which restored victory to our banners at Marengo.

The French army was composed, in the beginning of that affair, of the corps of generals Lannes and Victor. Weakened in men, ammunitions, and artillery, it was obliged towards noon, to cease fighting, and abandon the field of battle. The battalions, half destroyed, retired across the plain, protected by the younger general Kellerman's brigade of cavalry; and, thanks to the slowness with which the Austrians *debouched* from the morass of the Bormida, and the false direction taken by their numerous cavalry, these scattered remnants found a refuge behind the corps commanded by Dessaix.

The first consul, elated by his success at Montebello, had anticipated a chase rather than a battle, and had detached this corps towards Novi, to cut off the enemy's retreat to Genoa. Dessaix was hastily recalled, he had just taken a position near St. Julian, when general Kellerman with his brigade of cavalry arrived there, and met the aid-de-camp Savary, who was waiting to tell him the



battle was to be renewed, and to deliver the first consul's order, that he should support the attack of general Dessaix.

Of Kellerman's brigade, there was left but 400 horse, fatigued with eight hours fighting, and repeated charges; and it was with Dessaix' corps of 3 or 4000 infantry, and these 400 horse, they ventured to renew the battle.

This handful of combatants moved forward, whilst the Austrian army advanced, as it had a right to expect, to certain victory. The two corps approached; a discharge of artillery was heard, and Dessaix fell, mortally wounded. The forces were too unequal, and this remainder of the French army so imprudently risked, could not sustain the shock; all was confusion; all took to flight. General Kellerman, concealed by vineyards, observed the destruction of our infantry, and the disorder of the enemy, who gave themselves up to an incautious pursuit. At this desperate moment, considering only the danger of his compatriots, he threw his corps, as a forlorn hope, among the Austrians, whom he surprised without cartridges in their muskets, and in the confusion of victory. Six thousand grenadiers were crushed under the horses' feet, or laid down their arms instantly. The mass of the enemy, panic struck, and believing they had to do with an unexpected reinforcement, fled in disorder toward the Bormida, and yielded us a victory they might easily have disputed. The feeble corps of general Kellerman was left alone for some time, between the two armies, and that of the first consul was in such a state of annihilation and confusion, that a sufficient force could not be collected to complete the destruction of the enemy.

The Austrian general, however, acknowledged himself vanquished, and the next day proposed a capitulation, which surrendered Italy to us. This is a faithful relation of the *decisive circumstance* of the battle; numerous witnesses still live who can attest it, and it can be denied by none.

Dessaix, therefore, was already dead, and the troops in complete route, when Kellerman precipitated himself into the midst of the enemy, and snatched from them the victory; the praise of which is due to him and the brave men that devoted themselves with him. And if the commander in chief of the French army, to relieve himself from the obligations of gratitude to him that had (unintentionally, it is true) placed the crown of Italy upon his head, dissembled the services thus rendered to him; if he thought it his interest to give the credit to a chief that had fallen; if general Kellerman preserved a modest silence, and contented himself until now, with the good opinion of his fellow soldiers, it becomes his duty to break that silence, and to restore the true knowledge of a memorable exploit, now when it is attempted to form of it the brightest flower in the crown of general Dessaix.

I ask not that you should publish this letter; for why recall the remembrance of victories, the fruits of which a madman has thrown

away? The battle of Marengo is of no more importance to us than those of Zama and Pharsalia.

But I invite you, to rectify, when occasion shall present, the error you have committed on this subject, and to give to every one the credit which he deserves.

I have the honour to be, &c.

KELLERMANN, *Lieutenant General.*

ART. IX.—*An Anniversary Discourse* delivered before the New-York Historical Society, December 7, 1818; by Gulian C. Verplanck, Esq.

**WE** cannot more distinctly evince our admiration of this eloquent address than by extracting fully from its pages. And we shall detain our readers only to observe, that nothing has recently appeared more creditable to the present condition of American literature nor more auspicious to its future character. While our learned societies annually receive discourses in such excellent taste, so truly national in sentiment, so rich in the exposition of interesting facts, and so classically chaste in diction, we need not “despair of the republic,”—of letters.

Mr. Verplanck has adopted a theme not less instructive than flattering to our national pride, in the commemoration of some of those virtuous and enlightened men of Europe, who, long ago, looking with a prophetic eye towards the destinies of this new world, and regarding it as the chosen refuge of freedom and truth were moved by a holy ambition to become the ministers of the most High, in bestowing upon it the blessing of religion, morals, letters and liberty.

The first of these, in time, and in merit too, was the good Las Casas, whose fame, slandered, as we believe, by the historian Robertson, who imputes to him the introduction of African slavery into America, is successfully vindicated by a satisfactory exposure of the source of Robertson's error, and by a collection of the testimony of numerous authorities, which prove the immaculate purity of the conduct of Las Casas. Nor should we consider the question remote in interest, because his exertions aimed more immediately at the melioration of the southern continent, for as Mr. V. most justly observes, ‘Whenever the historical inquirer can efface the stains which time or malice has left upon the fame of the wise and good, he effects many of the grandest objects of history. He strips away from vice the apology and consolation which it finds in the frailty of erring virtue. He excites the ingenuous mind to measure its ambition by a more perfect standard of moral and intellectual worth. He gives new strength to the purest and most exalted sentiments of our nature, by enabling us to embody, in some permanent form of active virtue, those magnificent, but undefined ideas of possible excellence, which sometimes float before the mind in its better hours; and then vanish

away for ever, before the breath of the world. If "that man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force on the plain of Marathon, and whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona," surely he too is to be pitied whose heart swells with no emotion when the mist of falsehood is thus rolled away, and the form of moral greatness stands unveiled before him, in all its majesty, towering far above the highest elevation of selfish ambition; like the pillar of Pompey, rising aloft in solitary grandeur amid the waste and subject plain.'

The early colonization of New-England, an extraordinary epoch in the history of colonization, is thus noticed. 'Never, until that time, had such high principles, and such noble minds, been engaged in the great work of extending the bounds of the civilized world. Most of the founders of new states have been driven abroad by necessity; while in others, the spirit of adventure was kindled sometimes by restless ambition, or political discontent; sometimes by enlightened views of commercial profit, but oftener by wild dreams of sudden wealth. But, in the fathers of New-England, we behold a body of men, who, for the liberty of faith alone, resolutely and deliberately exchanged the delights of home and the comforts of civilized life, for toil and danger, for an ungenial climate and a rugged soil. They were neither desperate adventurers, nor ignorant fanatics; on the contrary, there is every evidence that they universally possessed a much higher degree of mental cultivation, than was common at that period among the English people. Indeed, the austerity of the moral habits of their immediate descendants, and the remarkable freedom of their language from the provincial dialects of England, afford ample evidence of the general character of their ancestors.

'Nay, even if in the pride of a vain philosophy, we should choose to suspect the praises of this portion of our English ancestry as being but the delusions of national vanity, and to dwell more upon their faults and follies than on their virtues, still it is impossible to refuse some share of admiration to the talents and courage of these voluntary exiles, if we regard them merely as a portion of that party in church and state, which, to borrow the coarse but strong language of Warburton, had out-fought the cavaliers, outprayed the puritans, and outwitted the parliament. The period at which they lived, is very remarkable for having been fertile in every form of irregular greatness, and they partook largely of the character of their times. In every great exertion of genius, in that age, whether in poetry, in eloquence, in moral theological speculation or in active life, there was an incongruous and unaccountable mixture of the gigantic and the childish—of glorious truth and miserable prejudice. Pope's criticism on the poetry of Milton, may serve for a universal description of the talents of that day.

Milton's strong pinion now not Heav'n can bound,  
Now serpent-like, in puus, he sweeps the ground.

This defect of taste, however, was the most venial error of the age; the greatest one, and that which casts a dark shade over our own early history, was the spirit of religious persecution. The reason of the seventeenth century—and never surely was human reason more active or vigorous—had advanced no farther than to perceive and allow the conflict of opposite duties, that of the magistrate to punish, and of the martyr to suffer. The rest was left to the justice or mercy of heaven. On this single point, the doctors of Rome, of Geneva, and of Oxford, were of one opinion. The toleration of Cromwell's reign, imperfect as it was, and comprehending neither the Catholic, the Unitarian, the Quaker, nor the Jew, was but one of the arts of political management, by which he raised himself to power, and can scarcely be considered as indicating in him or in his party at large, any settled and clearly defined principle.\* while the qualified freedom of worship allowed to the Huguenots in France, was a measure of necessity extorted and defended by force.

‘About the same time that Bossuet, the most illustrious champion of the church of Rome, was engaged in maintaining, with all the force of his overwhelming eloquence and inexhaustible ingenuity, that the sovereign was bound to use his authority in extirpating false religions from the state; the Scotch commissioners, in London, were remonstrating, in the name of their national church, against the introduction of “a sinful and ungodly toleration in matters of religion;”† whilst the whole body of the English presbyterian clergy, in their official papers, protested against the schemes of Cromwell's party, and solemnly declared, “that they detested and abhorred toleration.” “My judgment,” said Baxter, a man noted in his day for moderation, “I have always freely made known—I abhor unlimited liberty or toleration of all.” “Toleration,” said Edwards, another distinguished divine, “will make the kingdom a chaos, a Babel, another Amsterdam, a Sodom, an Egypt, a Babylon. Toleration is the grand work of the devil, his master-piece and chief engine to uphold his tottering kingdom: it is the most compendious, ready, sure way to destroy all religion, lay all waste and bring in all evil. It is a most transcendent, catholique and fundamental evil. As original sin is the fundamental sin, having the seed and spawn of all sins in it, so toleration hath all errors in it and all evils.” The *dragonades* of Louis XIV. the bloody sentences of the star-chamber, and the savage persecutions of the Remonstrants, in Holland, and of the Quakers, by the Independents of England and America, afforded terrible commentaries on these doctrines. Now and then, indeed, some purer spirits could pierce through this gloom, and anticipate the lights of a succeeding age. Even in that day, Fenelon could

\* A sufficient proof of this may be found in the treatment of John Biddle, the learned Unitarian, during the protectorate. See *Biographia Britannica*. Art. Biddle.

† Lord Clarendon—*History of the Rebellion*, Book XII.

inculcate upon his royal pupil, that power might make men hypocrites, but could not make them converts; and Jeremy Taylor raised his voice for "the liberty of prophesying," and eloquently testified against the "unreasonableness of prescribing to other men's faith, and the iniquity of persecuting differing opinions."

' Yet these were but solitary and unheeded examples, and the voices of these sons of peace were drowned amidst the clash of arms and the clamours of controversy.

' The glory of having first set an example of a practical and extensive system of religious freedom, was reserved for America; and the first legislator who fully recognised the rights of conscience, was Roger Williams, a name less illustrious than it deserves to be; for although his eccentricities of conduct and opinion, may sometimes provoke a smile, he was a man of genius and of virtue, of admirable firmness, courage, and disinterestedness, and of unbounded benevolence.

' He was a native of Wales, and emigrated to New-England, in 1630. He was then a young man, of austere life and popular manners, full of reading, skilled in controversy, and gifted with a rapid, copious, and vehement eloquence. The writers of those days represent him as being full of turbulent and singular opinions, "and the whole country," saith the quaint Cotton Mather, "was soon like to be set on fire by the rapid motion of a wind-mill in the head of this one man."\* The heresy which appeared most grievous to his brethren, was his zeal for unqualified religious liberty. In the warmth of his charity, he contended for "freedom of conscience, even to Papists and Arminians, with security of civil peace to all;" a doctrine which filled the Massachusetts clergy with horror and alarm. "He violently urged," says Cotton Mather, "that the civil magistrate might not punish breaches of the first table of the commandments, which utterly took away from the authority all capacity to prevent the land which they had purchased on purpose for a recess from such things, from becoming such a sink of abominations as would have been the reproach and ruin of Christianity in these parts of the world."

' In addition to these most "disturbant and offensive doctrines," Mather charges him with preaching against the royal charter of the colony, "on an insignificant pretence of wrong therein done unto the Indians." To his fervent zeal for liberty of opinion, this singular man united an equal degree of tenacity to every article of his own narrow creed. He objected to the custom of returning thanks after meat, as, in some manner, involving a corruption of primitive and pure worship; he refused to join any of the churches in Boston, unless they would first make a public and solemn declaration of their repentance for having communed

\* Cotton Mather—*Magnalia*. Book VII. in the chapter, entitled *Little Foxes*, or the spirit of *Rigid Separation* in one remarkable zealot, &c.

with the church of England, and when his doctrines of religious liberty were condemned by the clergy, he wrote to his own church at Salem, "that if they would not separate as well from the churches of New-England as of Old, he would separate from them."

' All his peculiar opinions, whether true or erroneous, were alike offensive to his puritan brethren, and controversy soon waxed warm. Some logicians, more tolerant or politic than the rest, attempted to reconcile the disputants by a whimsical, and not very intelligible sophism. They approved not, said they, of persecuting men for conscience' sake, but solely for correcting them for sinning against conscience; and so not persecuting, but punishing heretics. Williams was not a man who could be imposed upon by words, or intimidated by threats; and he accordingly persevered in inculcating his doctrines publicly and vehemently. The clergy, after having endeavoured in vain to shake him by argument and remonstrance, at last determined to call in the aid of the civil authority; and the general court, after due consideration of the case, passed sentence of banishment upon him, or, as they phrased it, "ordered his removal out of the jurisdiction of the court." Some of the men in power had determined that he should be sent to England; but, when they sent to take him, they found that, with his usual spirit of resolute independence, he had already departed, no one knew whither, accompanied by a few of his people, who, to use their own language, had gone with their beloved pastor "to seek their providences." After some wanderings, he pitched his tent at a place, to which he gave the name of Providence, and there became the founder and legislator of the colony of Rhode-Island. There he continued to rule, sometimes as the governor, and always as the guide and father of the settlement, for forty-eight years, employing himself in acts of kindness to his former enemies, affording relief to the distressed, and offering an asylum to the persecuted. The government of his colony was formed on his favourite principle, that in matters of faith and worship, every citizen should walk according to the light of his own conscience, without restraint or interference from the civil magistrate. During a visit which Williams made to England, in 1643, for the purpose of procuring a colonial charter, he published a formal and laboured vindication of this doctrine, under the title of "The Bloody Tenant, or a Dialogue between Truth and Peace." In this work, which was written with his usual boldness and decision, he anticipated most of the arguments, which, fifty years after, attracted so much attention, when they were brought forward by Locke. His own conduct in power; was in perfect accordance with his speculative opinions; and when, in his old age, the order of his little community was disturbed by an irruption of Quaker preachers, he combated them only in pamphlets and public disputations, and contented himself with over-

whelming their doctrines with a torrent of learning, invective, syllogisms and puns.\*

† It should also be remembered, to the honour of Roger Williams, that no one of the early colonists, without excepting William Penn himself, equalled him in justice and benevolence towards the Indians. He laboured incessantly, and with much success, to enlighten and conciliate them, and by this means acquired a personal influence among them, which he had frequently the enviable satisfaction of exerting in behalf of those who had banished him. It is not the least remarkable or characteristic incident of his varied life, that within one year after his exile, and while he was yet hot with controversy, and indignant at his wrongs, his first interference with the affairs of his former colony was to protect its frontier settlements from an Indian massacre. From that time forward, though he was never permitted to return to Massachusetts, he was frequently employed by the government of that province in negotiations with the Indians, and other business of the highest importance to their interests. Even Cotton Mather, in spite of his steadfast abhorrence of Williams's heresy, seems to have been touched with the magnanimity and kindness of the man, and after having stigmatized him as "the infamous Korah of New-England," he confesses, a little reluctantly, that "for the forty years after his exile he acquitted himself so laudably, that many judicious people judged him to have had *the root of the matter* in him, during the long winter of his retirement." †

We are aware that whether Williams, as a legislator, is justly entitled to take precedence of lord Baltimore and William Penn, in the exalted merit of introducing a system of complete religious toleration, is a question upon which there is a difference of opinion perhaps irreconcilable, 'adhuc sub judice lis est,' and we should be glad to see it fully discussed. Mr. Verplanck, though he gives the palm to Williams, does not appear to underrate either of his rivals in fame.

‡ Lord Baltimore had neither the talents nor the eccentricities of Roger Williams, but he was a man of strong sense and great worth. He had passed with reputation through several offices of high political trust and importance, under James I.; but, in 1624, he resigned all his employments on becoming a convert to the Roman Catholic faith. He then projected a colony at Newfoundland, but after visiting his settlement twice, bestowing great expense and labour upon it, and once in person rescuing it from a

\* The title of one of his books against George Fox, and his follower, Burrowes, is 'The Fox digged out of his Burrows.'

† Mather—*Magnalia Americana*, Book VII. cap. 2. Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, VI. 245. VII. 3. VIII. 2. IX. 23. X. 15. &c. &c. Brooks' *Lives of the Puritans*, III. 477. Chalmers' *Political Annals*, p. 269. Quarto edit. Dr. Trumbull (*Hist. U. S.* vol. I. p. 105.) speaks of Williams with cold praise, though he calls him a 'gentleman of benevolence.'

French invasion; despairing of success he abandoned his proprietary rights there, and procured a patent for Maryland. After he had visited and explored the country, he died, while he was engaged in making the necessary preparatory arrangements for his undertaking, and before the charter had passed the forms of office; so that there is scarce any historical record of his share in the colonial administration of Maryland. But the little that tradition has preserved respecting him, speaks volumes in his praise. We know that he displayed the most perfect good faith in all his transactions with the natives, and that it was to him that Maryland was indebted for such a liberal code of religious equality, that the province soon became the refuge, not only of the Catholics who fled from Great Britain, but of the puritans who were driven from Virginia, and of the quakers exiled from New England.\*

‘His son, the second lord Baltimore, deserves also to be named with honour, as having inherited the enterprise and the tolerant spirit of his father.

‘These admirable examples remained without imitation for nearly half a century, until 1682, when William Penn repeated the same experiment on a much greater scale, and laid the foundation of the government of Pennsylvania, with this “grand fundamental,” as he termed it, “that every person should enjoy the free profession of his faith, and exercise of worship, in such way as he should in his conscience believe most acceptable.”

‘The resemblance of character between Penn and Roger Williams is striking. Penn, like Williams, was enthusiastic without being bigoted; he had the same benevolence, the same scorn of intellectual slavery, the same love of controversy; and, above all, the same habitual inflexibility of purpose and opinion. But he had mixed more widely in the world, had more experience, and more knowledge of character, a more bustling activity of disposition, greater skill in the conduct of affairs, and, perhaps, a little more of worldly ambition, as well as much more of worldly wisdom. He appeared, too, on a more magnificent theatre of action, and has left the impress of his own peculiar character very deeply stamped upon the opinions and institutions of England and of America.

‘Among the most remarkable peculiarities of his mind, was that singular inflexibility of which I have spoken; and he was in the habit of applying it indiscriminately to the noblest and to the most paltry uses. His range of knowledge was extensive, he had looked, with an observant eye, upon many forms of character and modes of life, and he deemed it to be his duty to declare his settled opinion upon every subject which fell in his way, and to take a part in every controversy as soon as it arose.

‘It mattered nothing, whether the subject was of little importance or of great, he was always stiff in his opinions, bold in his

\* Chalmers’ *Political Annals*, p. 200, 4to. London. *Biographia Britannica*, article ‘Calvert.’ Marshall’s *Washington*, I. 80—83.



avowal of them, ready and copious in expounding them, and ingenious in their defence. Yet in spite of these foibles, every ludicrous association is repelled from his character, by the admiration which he excites when we behold him inculcating the purest doctrines of religion with the fervour of an apostle, and defending the dearest interests of his country and the most sacred rights of man with an ability, a courage, and a sagacity which would have done honour to Hamden or Algernon Sidney.

‘He lived in an age of controversy and intolerance, both religious and political, and for a considerable part of his life, he published a polemical tract every month, and was regularly thrown into prison at least once a year. But neither tyranny nor the continual irritation of controversy, could change his steady character; prosperous or unprosperous, in peace or in controversy, in business and in retirement, he was still the same; kind, pure, patient, laborious, fearless, zealous, pious. If his polemic ardour now and then hurried him a little beyond the bounds of his habitual meekness, still his violence was always confined to a few rough words; and it is even worthy of remark, that this occasional intemperance of expression seldom extended much beyond his title-page;\* and as soon as that slight effervescence was over, he quietly returned to his accustomed calm, clear, and quaint simplicity of style.

‘It was after a long and rigid discipline of adversity and oppression, when his youthful presumption had subsided, and his enthusiastic zeal had ripened into a wise and practical benevolence, that Penn became the founder of that commonwealth which so gloriously perpetuates his name, his wisdom, and his virtues—a more magnificent and lasting monument than conqueror or despot ever reared.

‘He arrived in Pennsylvania, in October, 1682. As he was wont, according to the taste of the age and of his sect, to allegorize natural occurrences, he might have found in the soft serenity of the season in which he landed, an apt emblem of those happy and useful days he was to pass in America. The rest of his life, like the other parts of the year in this climate, was vexed with many fierce and sudden varieties of change, but the period of his administration in America, was destined to be, like the American autumn, mild, calm, bright, and abounding in rich fruits.

‘Here, his genius seemed to expand, as if to fit itself for a grander scene of action; while his benevolence grew warmer and “the sweet quiet of these parts,” to use his own beautiful language, “freed from the troublesome and anxious solicitations, hurries, and perplexities of woful Europe.” In all outward things he was well satisfied, and he had no desire left, but that of doing good. “The land,” said he, “is rich, the air clear and sweet, the

\* As for example ‘A brief Reply to a mere Rhapsody of Lies, Folly, and Slander,’ &c. ‘An Answer to a False and Foolish Libel,’ &c. are the titles of some of his tracts.

springs plentiful, and provisions good and easy to come at: in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, would be well contented with; and service enough for God, for the fields are here white for harvest.”\*

‘The history of man does not furnish any more interesting scene, nor one calling up finer associations or more generous sympathies, than the first conference of William Penn and his followers with the savage chiefs; when, to recur again to his own inimitable words, “they met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage was taken on either side, but all was openness, brotherhood and love.”’

‘Montesquieu, with his usual brilliant and ambitious originality, has styled Penn the modern Lycurgus.† Paradoxical as this strange association of names may at first appear, there is one marked point of resemblance between the Spartan and the Pennsylvania legislator; widely as they differed in the character of their institutions, and the ultimate ends of their ambitions.

‘It is the peculiar glory of these two, above all the other legislators of mankind, to have possessed that self-balanced and confident energy of mind, which could enable them to disregard all considerations of temporary expediency and private interest, and to make every part of their system harmonise in perfect unison with those leading principles which were to pervade, animate, and govern every portion of the state.

‘Never was there undertaken a more sublime political enterprise than that of the founder of Pennsylvania. Never was there a legislation so boldly marked with that unity of intention which is the most peculiar and majestic feature of all original conception. His system of virtuous politics was reared upon benevolence, justice, and liberty. With these objects he began, and with these he ended. In an age when, with few exceptions, the sound principles of civil liberty were as little understood by those who clamoured for freedom, as by those who defended the doctrines of arbitrary power, William Penn began his system of virtuous politics, by proclaiming to his people, in words of noble dignity and simplicity, “that the great end of government was to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration—for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.”‡

‘With such views, thus liberal and temperate, his first care was to divest himself of the almost arbitrary power with which he had

\* William Penn’s Letters.

† “M. Penn est un veritable Lycurgue, quoique le premier ait eu la paix pour objet comme l’autre a eu la guerre,” &c. *L’Esprit des Loix*. Liv. IV. chap. 6.

‡ Preamble to Penn’s “Frame of Government,” in Marshall’s *Life of Washington*, vol. I. Appendix, note 4. The whole is curious, and much of it admirable.

been intrusted, and to establish a form of government on the broadest plan of republican representation. But at the same time, well-judging "that governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments," he rested his sole reliance upon public morals and education for the preservation of public liberty. "For," saith he, "that which makes a good government must keep it, namely, men of wisdom and virtue; qualities which, because they descend not with natural inheritance, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth."

'It is unnecessary to recall to the recollection of any American, who is at all conversant with the history of his country, the gentleness and tolerance of Penn's government, his love of peace and its arts, the kindness with which he watched over the welfare, and laboured for the instruction of the African race, his encouragement of useful industry and general education, the mild wisdom of his criminal code; and, above all, his effort to improve the administration of justice, by combining the reformation of the offender with the punishment of the offence—a grand and original attempt, which, had he no other claim to our gratitude, would alone intitle him to a most honourable place among the benefactors of the world.

'It is true, that some of Penn's plans of peaceful legislation, have been found inapplicable to the actual state and condition of mankind. But his very failures were glorious, for they arose chiefly from a too sanguine anticipation of the mental and moral improvement of the human race, and too hasty anticipations of universal holiness and universal peace; an illusion so fair and lovely, and so nearly allied to truth, that it sheds lustre over every error with which it may be connected, and can even lend momentary dignity and interest to the wild speculations of Godwin and Condorcet.\*

'The great name of John Locke, is associated with that of William Penn, by a double tie; by his celebrated constitution for the Carolinas, which enrolls him among the earliest legislators of America, and by one of those anecdotes of private friendship and magnanimity, upon which the mind gladly reposes, after wandering among the cold and dreary generalities of history.

'During the short period of Penn's influence at the court of James II., he obtained from the king the promise of a pardon for Locke, who had fled to Holland, from the persecution of the dominant party. Locke, though grateful to Penn, for this unsolicited kindness, replied with a firmness worthy of the man who was destined to become the most formidable adversary of tyranny in all its shapes, "that he could not accept a pardon, when he had not been guilty of any crime." Three years after this occurrence, the Stuarts were driven from the throne of England; Locke then

\* For the facts upon which the above views of Penn's character are founded, see Clarkson's *Life of Penn*—Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, and Marshall's *Washington*, vol. I.

returned in triumph. At the same time, the champions of English liberty, to serve some party object, proclaimed Penn a traitor without the slightest ground; and all his rights as an Englishman, and his chartered privileges, were shamelessly violated by the very statesmen who had drafted the Act of Toleration and the Bill of Rights. In this season of distress and desertion, Penn was unexpectedly gratified by the grateful remembrance of Locke, who now, in his turn, interceded to procure a pardon from the new sovereign. In the pride of slandered innocence, Penn answered, as Locke had formerly done, "that he had never been guilty of any crime, and could not, therefore, rest satisfied with a mode of liberation which would ever appear as a standing monument of his guilt."\*

'The genius of Locke has been described by Dr. Watts, with equal elegance and truth, as being "wide as the sea, calm as the night, bright as the day:" and yet his mind appears to have been deficient in that practical sagacity which so happily tempered the enthusiasm of William Penn. The code of government and laws which Locke formed for the Carolinas, contained many excellent provisions, but it was embarrassed by numerous and discordant subdivisions of power, was perplexed by some impracticable refinements in the administration of justice, and was, in all respects, unnecessarily artificial and complicated.† Nevertheless, it is, I think, a legitimate subject of national pride that we can thus number this virtuous and profound philosopher, among those original legislators of this country, who gave to our political character its first impulse and direction.'

Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, Berkeley the benefactor of New-England, and Hollis to whose bounty Howard college is chiefly indebted for her numerous professorships and her splendid library, are then successively and in the same full manner brought into view. And the picture gallery of British worthies is closed with this reflection. 'It would be most easy to prolong this enumeration of those virtuous and wise men of Great Britain and Ireland, who have, on different accounts, merited the gratitude of the American people.'

'Indeed such is the sympathy between that nation and our own, resulting from the unity of our language and literature, and the similarity of our laws, our tastes, and domestic manners, that scarce any well directed effort to enlarge the knowledge or to promote the good of mankind, can be made, in either country, without its effects being instantaneously felt in the other.'

'Nor have we, at present, any thing to dread from this reciprocal influence. The time has now gone by when a prudent policy might well look with suspicion upon every thing which tended to impair the individuality of our national character. It was wise to

\* Clarkson's Life of Penn, I. 338. II. 53. Philadelphia edition.

† Marshall, I. 90. Trumbull's History of the U. S. I. 206, and the Constitution itself in Locke's Works, vol. X. p. 175. 8vo. edit. London, 180..

guard the infancy of the nation from foreign corruptions, even at the expense of foreign arts and learning. But we have now risen into the manhood of our existence; and whether we look to the past or to the future, every thing conspires to animate us with the proud consciousness of our independence. We may now gather, without fear, the fruits of British industry and genius. Theirs is a literature, rich and pure beyond example; theirs is the ripened wisdom of centuries, treasured up in the works of Jurists, Divines, Philosophers, and Patriots. If we are but true to ourselves, that wisdom and that literature are our own, unmixed with any of that base matter, with which power, prejudice, and corruption have too often alloyed the pure gold.'

He then passes to the consideration of our Batavian ancestry, and the friends of this country in Holland, among whom professor Luzac of Leyden is conspicuous.

'John Luzac was born at Leyden in 1746. He was a son of the learned printer of the same name, who established and for many years published the celebrated Leyden Gazette. He completed his course of study at the university of his native town with much reputation, and was particularly distinguished for his acquirements in the mathematics and the learned languages. He then applied himself to the law as his future profession, and commenced his career at the bar with the most brilliant promise. But after some time, he was induced to relinquish these prospects in order to take charge of the Leyden Gazette, which under his care soon became equally celebrated for the elegance of its style, the accuracy of its information, and for the comprehension, penetration, boldness, and correctness of its political views. There is not at this day any publication here or abroad which affords an exact parallel to this journal, either as it respects extent of circulation or influence upon the public opinion of Europe. Most of the presses of the continent were then under a rigid censorship, and had entirely forfeited public confidence on all political subjects. This paper issuing from a free country, the very centre of political and commercial information, and written in French, the universal language of all who then aspired to speak or write on political matters, acquired a reputation for extent and accuracy of knowledge and independence of opinion, which, without the parade of literary pretension, gave it something of the same kind of rank which the abler British reviews hold at present; while its circulation was far more general and extensive. It was in fact the general continental and diplomatic journal. There was not an ambassador nor a statesman in Europe who was not in the habit of reading it, and it has been said, that it was regularly translated at Constantinople for the use of the divan. Its files are still frequently referred to as affording the most authentic and ample materials of modern European history. From 1770 the younger Luzac was the sole writer of the editorial part of this journal, and without

any solicitation or the countenance of government, he enlisted all his talents and information on the side of American freedom.

‘The effects of his writings on this subject, upon the opinions of the continent, were, of course, gradual, but they were very powerful, and they were acknowledged and repaid by the friendship of Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson, as well as of the other official representatives of our government at the several European courts.

‘After our independence was acknowledged, he engaged with warmth in supporting against encroachment the ancient constitution, under which Holland had enjoyed so much prosperity; in consequence of this he was exposed to much obloquy and persecution. But his private life was irreproachable, and, as a politician, he was incorruptible and inflexible. He had no personal views, or animosities. If he was sometimes animated, and even harsh in his censure, it always arose from “the strong antipathy of good to bad;” never from private feeling; for he had no enemies but those of his country and of virtue.

‘His political zeal never interrupted his literary labours. He was elected to two separate chairs in the university, and filled, with ability, the professorship of history and that of Greek literature, in the latter of which, he proved himself worthy to be the successor of the laborious and ingenious Valckenaer, of whose posthumous works he published an edition, to which he afterwards added an original work of his own entitled *Lectiones Atticæ*, written in the same spirit of philosophical criticism. Finally he was appointed Rector or President of the university.

‘On his inauguration as professor, he delivered an oration on the civic character of Socrates “*de Socrate cive*,” and another on his installation as rector “*de Eruditione altrice virtutis civilis, presertim in civitate libera*,” on the influence of literature on public virtue. Both of these orations are very remarkable for their high and truly Roman spirit of liberty. To these discourses he prefixed a long prefatory dedication, addressed to his friend John Adams, at that time vice-president of the United States. It is distinguished, among other things, for a most luminous eulogy of the then recently adopted American constitution, in which the author sums up in Ciceronian latinity, all the prominent and peculiar features of our federal government, touches, with acuteness and foresight, on the several dangers to which it is exposed, and finally expresses his confident reliance on its power to ward off those ills to which his own country had fallen a prey. The merit of this discussion is the more conspicuous from its contrast to the unaccountable perplexity and confusion which surround the best informed European politicians\* in all their speculations on our constitutions, and particularly on the division of power between the general and state governments.

\* As among many others, Jeremy Bentham in his late correspondence on codification.

‘After alluding with undissembled satisfaction to some literary honours he had received from America, and to his personal friendship with Adams and Jefferson, Luzac adds, that he recollects, with pride, that he had been invited by them, and almost persuaded, to associate his fortunes, under their auspices, with those of the American republic, which, says he, had I done eight years ago—and then, as if overpowered with the recollection of the recent discords of his own country, breaks off with “sed quid ego tecum de nostris Batavorum per sedecem annos temporibus atque fatis.”\*’

‘To the soundest philosophy and the most various knowledge, Luzac added a simplicity and an amenity of disposition and manners that gave great interest to his character and conversation. One of his biographers, who had been associated with him in his learned labours and in his political persecution, observes of him, “I knew the whole charm of his conversation; I sometimes fancied myself in the presence of one of the sages of antiquity. I could then forget my exile and proscription, and felt all my severe losses mitigated.”’

‘His age was honourable and peaceful. He filled his high literary offices for many years, during which he kept up a constant correspondence with several of the most learned men of the United States, and had the satisfaction of assisting, in various ways, the progress of learning in America. In 1807, he was killed in the terrible explosion which destroyed a great part of the city of Leyden.’†

The following affecting tribute to the virtues of the unfortunate Louis XVI. and the concluding reflections will be found particularly interesting.

‘But I should do injustice to the gratitude of my country, if, in commemorating her benefactors, I should omit to pay some honour to the memory of Louis XVI. Our distance from the factions, animosities, and interests of Europe, enables us to place ourselves, as it were, in the situation of posterity; and this republic is as yet the only land in which that much injured sovereign can receive an honest and unprejudiced eulogium. Let us then lose no opportunity of anticipating the justice of history towards the man, who, in the words of our old congress, “was raised up by a gracious Providence to be our friend,” and who, as the same venerated body repeated at the peace of 1783, “enabled us to close the war on an honourable and firm foundation, in freedom, safety, and independence.”’

‘Indeed, it is impossible to express the weight of our obligations to him, better or more strongly than in the very words of the men

\* Luzac, *Orationes*, 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1795.

† For the above facts, see Luzac’s *Opuscula*, and an account of his life originally printed at Paris, in the *Journal de l’Empire*, in 1807; a translation of which is published in the Boston Anthology, for Oct. 1809.

of the revolution. In a memorable and eloquent state-paper, written by John Dickenson, and signed as President by John Jay, addressed by the unanimous consent of congress to the several states, they thus speak: "The conduct of our GOOD and GREAT ally towards us, has so fully manifested his sincerity and kindness, as to excite, on our parts, corresponding sentiments of confidence and affection. Observing the interest of his kingdom to be connected with those of America, and the combination of both clearly to coincide with the beneficent designs of the Author of nature, who unquestionably intended men to partake of certain rights and portions of happiness, his majesty perceived the attainment of these views to be founded on the single proposition of a separation between America and Great Britain. The resentment and confusion of your enemies, will point out to you the ideas you should entertain of the magnanimity and consummate wisdom of his most Christian Majesty on this occasion. *They* perceive that selecting this grand and just idea from all those specious ones that might have confused or misled inferior judgment and virtue; and, satisfied with the advantages that must result, from that event alone, he has cemented the harmony between himself and these states, not only by establishing a reciprocity of benefits, but by eradicating every cause of jealousy or suspicion. They also perceive, with similar emotions, that the moderation of our ally, is not desiring an acquisition of dominion on this continent, or an exclusion of other nations from a share of its commercial advantages, has given no alarm to those nations, but has, in fact, interested them in the accomplishment of his generous undertaking."\*

‘Nor is there any thing in the after-life of Louis to induce republicans to revoke these praises.

‘The history of the French revolution, and of the events which led to it, has been hitherto written only by party zealots, and those of no very commanding talents or extended views. When hereafter its Tacitus shall arise, what subjects will it afford for his philosophy and for his eloquence! Virtue and vice mixed in mad confusion; the basest passions and the noblest feelings, on all sides, and often in the same breast, struggling together for the mastery. France made glorious in a thousand hard-fought fields by the universal and unrivalled valour of Frenchmen; France rendered up a trembling victim to tyrant after tyrant, by the universal cowardice of Frenchmen. The female character in its greatest elevation and in its deepest depravity; woman, now dreadful with fiend-like intelligence and malignity, and now, exalted into more than Roman heroism by higher principles than Pagan antiquity ever knew.

‘Throughout the long and dreadful narrative, the historian will never lose sight of the meak and steady virtues of the patriot king. He will describe him, in early youth, in the midst of a corrupt and

\* ‘Address of congress on the present situation of affairs,’ 26th of May, 1779. Dickenson’s Political Works, II. 53.



sensual court, forming his conscience and regulating his life by the mild and holy precepts of Fenelon;\* surrounded by bigoted or heartless politicians, yet glowing with affection for his people, and eagerly co-operating with the enlightened friends of freedom† in the reform of abuses, the limitation of his own powers, and the establishment of popular rights. He will relate, that he staked every thing on this vast and bold experiment of regulated liberty and representative government; and at last voluntarily offered up his life in that cause, rather than purchase it at the expense of the blood of his countrymen. He will portray him, as the danger thickened, summoning all his virtues to his heart, and rising greater and greater in the hour of calamity.

‘Finally, the historian will paint the sorrows and the consolations of his prison—or rather, he will tell that touching story in the plain words of those who saw and loved him to the last;‡ and then, as he follows the king to the place of his death, accompanied by his last and faithful friend, the venerable Abbe Edgeworth, he will insensibly catch that good man’s pious enthusiasm, and with him, forgetting the wrongs of the patriot and the sorrows of the husband and the father in his veneration of the saint and the martyr, he will exclaim at the foot of the scaffold, “Go, son of St. Louis, ascend to Heaven.” “*Montez, Fils de St. Louis, montez au Ciel.*”

‘As I have advanced, I find my subject widening upon me on every side. It is true, that few European names are to be found to which we owe so large a debt of public gratitude, as we do to those characters of surpassing excellence, which I have already attempted to portray.

‘But, in later years, there is scarce a single individual who has obtained a place in history, by his virtues as well as by his talents, who has not, at some period of his life, been ambitious of deserving the esteem of the American people. In this point of view, our history is rich indeed. It has not, like the history of the old world, the charm of classical or romantic associations, and it bends itself with difficulty, and without grace, to the purposes of poetry and fiction. But in ethical instruction, in moral dignity, it has no equal.

The study of the history of most other nations, fills the mind with sentiments not unlike those which the American traveller feels on entering the venerable and lofty cathedral of some proud old city of Europe. Its solemn grandeur, its vastness, its obscurity strike awe to his heart. From the richly painted windows, filled with sacred emblems and strange antique forms, a dim religious light falls around. A thousand recollections of romance, and poetry, and legendary story come crowding in upon him. He is

\* The ‘Directions pour la conscience d’un Roi,’ was the favourite book of Louis XVI.

† Malesherbes, Turgot, &c.

‡ Malesherbes, Clery, Abbe Edgeworth, and others.

surrounded by the tombs of the mighty dead, rich with the labours of ancient art, and emblazoned with the pomp of heraldry.

‘What names does he read upon them? Those of princes and nobles who are now remembered only for their vices, and of sovereigns, at whose death no tears were shed, and whose memories lived not an hour in the affections of their people. There, too, he sees other names, long familiar to him for their guilty or ambiguous fame. There rest, the blood-stained soldier of fortune—the orator, who was ever the ready apologist of tyranny—great scholars, who were the pensioned flatterers of power—and poets, who profaned their heaven-given talent to pamper the vices of a corrupted court.

‘Our own history, on the contrary, like that poetical temple of Fame, which was reared by the imagination of Chaucer, and decorated by the taste of Pope, is almost exclusively dedicated to the memory of the truly great. Or rather, like the Pantheon of Rome, it stands in calm and severe beauty amid the ruins of ancient magnificence and “the toys of modern state.” Within, no idle ornament encumbers its bold simplicity. The pure light of heaven enters from above and sheds an equal and serene radiance around. As the eye wanders about its extent, it beholds the unadorned monuments of brave and good men who have greatly bled or toiled for their country, or it rests on votive tablets inscribed with the names of the best benefactors of mankind.

Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando, vulnera passi,  
 Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,  
 Quique pii vates, et Phoebæ digna locuti,  
 Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,  
 Quique sui memores, alios fecere merendo.

‘Doubtless, this is a subject upon which we may be justly proud. But there is another consideration, which, if it did not naturally arise of itself, would be pressed upon us by the taunts of European criticism.

‘What has this nation done to repay the world for the benefits which we have received from others? We have been repeatedly told, and sometimes, too, in a tone of affected impartiality, that the highest praise which can fairly be given to the American mind, is that of possessing an enlightened selfishness: that if the philosophy and talents of this country, with all their effects, were for ever swept into oblivion, the loss would be felt only by ourselves; and that if to the accuracy of this general charge, the labours of Franklin present an illustrious, it is still but a solitary exception.

‘The answer may be given confidently and triumphantly. Without abandoning the fame of our eminent men, whom Europe has been slow and reluctant to honour, we would reply, that the intellectual power of this people has exerted itself in conformity to the general system of our institutions and manners; and therefore, that for the proof of its existence and the measure of its force, we must look not so much to the works of prominent individuals, as

to great aggregate results; and if Europe has hitherto been wilfully blind to the value of our examples and the exploits of our sagacity, courage, invention and freedom, the blame must rest with her and not with America.

‘Is it nothing for the universal good of mankind to have carried into successful operation a system of self-government, uniting personal liberty, freedom of opinion, and equality of rights, with national power and dignity; such as had before existed only in the Utopian dreams of philosophers? Is it nothing, in moral science, to have anticipated in sober reality, numerous plans of reform in civil and criminal jurisprudence, which are, but now, suggested as plausible theories by the politicians and economists of Europe? Is it nothing to have been able to call forth on every emergency, either in war or peace, a body of talents always equal to the difficulty? Is it nothing to have, in less than half a century, exceedingly improved the sciences of political economy, of law, and of medicine, with all their auxiliary branches; to have enriched human knowledge by the accumulation of a great mass of useful facts and observations, and to have augmented the power and the comforts of civilized man, by miracles of mechanical invention? Is it nothing to have given the world examples of disinterested patriotism, of political wisdom, of public virtue; of learning, eloquence, and valour, never exerted save for some praiseworthy end? It is sufficient to have briefly suggested these considerations; every mind would anticipate me in filling up the details.’

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ART. X.—*Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Holy Land, Mount Libanon, and Cyprus*, in the year 1814. By Henry Light, Captain in the Royal Artillery. 4to. London. 1818.

CAPTAIN Light, of the Royal Artillery, made a hurried journey up the Nile as far as Ibrim, the point which terminated also the travels of Mr. Legh.

Leaving Alexandria, on the 17th March, he proceeded to Rosetta, where he hired a boat to carry him to Cairo. The first sensations in the progress up the Nile are described as very agreeable; they interest from their novelty; for here an European finds himself in a new region—he observes a shore lined with a belt of palm trees, among which the mingled mosques, and tombs of sheiks meet the eye at every opening;—as one unvaried scene, however, extends from Rosetta to Cairo, the sameness at length becomes tiresome. The villages are frequent and well peopled; and besides the boats on the river, numerous passengers on horses, asses and camels are every where seen skirting the shores of the Nile. Provisions appeared to captain Light to be plentiful and cheap, yet beggars swarmed on every side. Blindness was very common, and every third or fourth peasant seemed to have a complaint in his eyes. The plague and ophthalmia are the prin-

cipal diseases of Egypt, to both of which the inhabitants are perfectly resigned. The Arabs (no great philosophers, it must be confessed) consider the plague as a necessary evil to keep down the population to the level of the means of subsistence.

Siout is the intermediate mart between Sennaar, Darfoor, and Cairo, at which caravans of *Gelabs*, or slave merchants, are constantly arriving. The remnant of one came in while captain Light was at this place. Its fate had been most melancholy, having lost on the desert a vast number of men, women, and children, horses, camels, and other animals, to the amount, in the aggregate, of four thousand; notwithstanding which our traveller was offered a young well-formed negress, about seventeen years old, for the trifling sum of fifteen pounds. 'The Gelab,' he says, 'like a horse-dealer, examined, pointed out, and made me remark what he called the good points of the girl in question. The poor wretch, thus exposed, pouted and cried during the ceremony; was checked, encouraged, and abused, according to her behaviour.' Another branch of commerce at Siout is that of eunuchs for the seraglio at Constantinople. In two boats were one hundred and fifty black boys, on their way to Cairo, who had been emasculated, and cured in a month, at a village in the neighbourhood. A Franciscan monk described the operation, though painful and cruel, as easily performed, and without much danger; eleven only having died out of one hundred and sixty. We have here a proof how difficult it is to get at the real truth from the *hearsay* report of travellers. Mr. Legh, in speaking of the same operation, and the subsequent process of burying the victims in sand to stop the hemorrhage, observes that, according to calculation, 'one out of three only survives;' and that the operation 'is performed at a moment of distress, that the risk of mortality might be incurred at a time when the merchants could best spare their slaves.'

The Thebiad has been so often described, that, although every attentive traveller may find something new, the objects are mostly a repetition of what have before been observed—gigantic masses of stone, colossal statues, columns of immense magnitude, and deep caverns, excavated out of the living rock. At Luxor the diameters of some of the columns are upwards of eight feet, and their height forty; and they support masses of stone eighteen feet long and six square, which gives to each a weight from forty-five to fifty tons. Captain Light thus describes Carnac:—

'My visit to Carnac, the ancient Diospolis, a ruined temple farther from the banks of the river, on the same side as Luxor, was equally gratifying. It was impossible to look on such an extent of building without being lost in admiration; no description will be able to give an adequate idea of the enormous masses still defying the ravages of time. Enclosure within enclosure, propylæa in front of propylæa; to these, avenues of sphinxes, each of fourteen or fifteen feet in length, lead from a distance of several hundred yards. The common Egyptian sphinx is found in the avenues to the south; but, to the west, the crio sphinx, with

the ram's head, from one or two that have been uncovered, seems to have composed its corresponding avenue. Those of the south and east are still buried. Headless statues of gray and blue granite, of gigantic size, lay prostrate in different parts of the ruins. In the western court, in front of the great portico, and at the entrance to this portico, is an upright headless statue of one block of granite, whose size may be imagined from finding that a man of six foot just reaches to the patella of the knee.

‘The entrance to the great portico is through a mass of masonry, partly in ruins; through which the eye rests on an avenue of fourteen columns, whose diameter is more than eleven feet, and whose height is upwards of sixty. On each side of this are seven rows, of seven columns in each, whose diameter is eight feet, and about forty feet high, of an architecture which wants the elegance of Grecian models, yet suits the immense majesty of the Egyptian temple.

‘Though it does not enter into my plan to continue a description which has been so ably done by others before me, yet, when I say that the whole extent of this temple cannot be less than a mile and a half in circumference, and that the smallest blocks of masonry are five feet by four in depth and breadth, that there are obelisks of eighty feet high on a base of eighteen feet, of one block of granite; it can be easily imagined that Thebes was the vast city history describes it to be.’—pp. 105—107.

Captain Light crept into one of the mummy pits or caverns, which were the common burial places of the ancient Thebans. As it happened to be newly discovered, he found thousands of dead bodies, placed in regular horizontal layers side by side; these he conceives to be the mummies of the lower order of people, as they were covered only with simple teguments, and smeared over with a composition that preserved the muscles from corruption. ‘The suffocating smell,’ he says, ‘and the natural horror excited by being left alone unarmed with the wild villagers in this charnel house, made me content myself with visiting two or three chambers, and quickly return to the open air.’

The Troglodites of Goornoo, it seems, still inhabit the empty tombs or caverns; they derive their chief subsistence, he tells us, from the pillage of the tombs, of which they are constantly in quest. Whenever a new one is discovered, ‘the bodies,’ he adds, ‘are taken out and broken up, and the resinous substance found in the inside of the mummy forms a considerable article of trade with Cairo.’

We took an opportunity, in our last number, to introduce to the acquaintance of our readers a Roman traveller of the name of Belzoni, who, in laying open the front of the great sphinx, had made some singular discoveries in Egyptian antiquities. The uncommon sagacity and perseverance displayed by this Italian are worthy of all praise; and we apprehend that we cannot conclude this article in a more satisfactory way than by giving a summary account of what his recent discoveries have been; and what may yet be expected from him.

At Thebes Mr. Belzoni succeeded in making several very remarkable discoveries. Among other things, he uncovered a row of statues in the ruins of Carnac, as large as life; having the figures of women with heads of lions, all of hard black granite, and in number about forty. Among these was one of white marble, about the size of life, and in perfect preservation, which he conceived to be a statue of Jupiter Ammon, holding the ram's head on his knees. On his second visit to Thebes he discovered a colossal head of Orus, of fine granite. It measured ten feet from the neck to the top of the mitre, was finished in a style of exquisite workmanship, and is in a state of good preservation. He brought away to Cairo one of the arms belonging to this statue, which with the head, he thinks would form an admirable specimen of the grandeur and execution of Egyptian sculpture; and as he succeeded so well in removing the head of the younger Memnon, as it is called, now deposited in the British museum, we have no doubt he would be equally successful, if encouraged, in conveying the one in question to Alexandria.

While thus employed in making researches among the ruins of Thebes, and occupied in his observations on the burial-grounds of the Egyptians, he conceived that he had discovered an infallible clue to the Egyptian catacombs; and such was the certainty of the indications which he had noticed, that, by following them, he discovered no less than six tombs in the valley which is known by the name of 'Biban El Moluck,' or the 'Tombs (or rather Gates) of the Kings,' in a part of the mountains which, to ordinary observers, presented no appearance that could possibly hold forth the slightest prospect of success. All of these are excavations in the mountains, and from their perfect state, owing to the total exclusion of intruders, and probably of the external air, they are said to convey a more correct idea than any discovery hitherto made of Egyptian magnificence and posthumous splendour. The passage from the front entrance to the innermost chamber in one of them measured 309 feet, the whole extent of which is cut out of the living rock; the chambers are numerous; the sides of the rock every where as white as snow; and covered with paintings of well shaped figures, *al fresco*, and with hieroglyphics quite perfect. The colours of the paintings are as fresh as if they had been laid on the day before the opening was made. It was in one of the chambers of this tomb that Mr. Belzoni discovered the exquisitely beautiful sarcophagus of alabaster which we noticed in our last number, and which he describes as being 'nine feet five inches long, by three feet nine inches wide, and two feet and one inch high, carved within and without with hieroglyphics and figures in intaglio, nearly in a perfect state, sounding like a bell, and as transparent as glass.' From the extraordinary magnificence of this tomb, Mr. Belzoni conceives that it must be the depository of the remains of Apis, in which idea he is the more confirmed by having

found the carcass of a bull embalmed with asphaltum in the innermost room.

But the most brilliant of M. Belzoni's labours, and perhaps the most arduous and extraordinary, is the opening of the second pyramid of Ghiza, known by the name of Cephrenes. Herodotus was informed that this pyramid had no subterraneous chambers, and his information, being found in latter ages to be generally correct, may be supposed to have operated in preventing that curiosity which prompted the opening of the great pyramid of Cheops.

The following is M. Belzoni's own account of his operations in penetrating to the centre of the pyramid of Cephrenes.

‘ Having acquired permission, I began my labours on the 10th of February, at a point on the north side in a vertical section at right angles to that side of the base. I saw many reasons against my beginning there, but certain indications told me that there was an entrance at that spot. I employed sixty labouring men, and began to cut through the mass of stones and cement which had fallen from the upper part of the pyramid; but it was so hard joined together, that the men spoiled several of their hatchets in the operation; the stones which had fallen down along with the cement having formed themselves into one solid and almost impenetrable mass. I succeeded however in making an opening of fifteen feet wide, and continued working downwards in uncovering the face of the pyramid; this work took up several days, without the least prospect of meeting with any thing interesting. Meantime, I began to fear that some of the Europeans residing at Cairo might pay a visit to the pyramids, which they do very often, and thus discover my retreat, and interrupt my proceedings.

‘ On the 17th of the same month we had made a considerable advance downwards, when an Arab workman called out, making a great noise, and saying that he had found the entrance. He had discovered a hole in the pyramid into which he could just thrust his arm and a djerid of six feet long. Towards the evening we discovered a larger aperture, above three feet square, which had been closed in irregularly, by a hewn stone; this stone I caused to be removed, and then came to an opening larger than the preceding, but filled up with loose stones and sand. This satisfied me that it was not the real but a forced passage, which I found to lead inwards and towards the south;—the next day we succeeded in entering fifteen feet from the outside, when we reached a place where the sand and stones began to fall from above. I caused the rubbish to be taken out, but it still continued to fall in great quantities; at last, after some days' labour, I discovered an upper forced entrance, communicating with the outside from above, and which had evidently been cut by some one who was in search of the true passage. Having cleared this passage, I perceived another opening below, which apparently ran towards the centre of the pyramid. In a few hours I was able to enter this passage, and found it to be a continuation of the lower forced passage, which runs horizontally towards the centre of the pyramid, nearly all choked up with stones and sand. These obstructions I caused to be taken out; and at half way from the entrance I found a descent, which also had been forced; and which ended at the distance of forty feet. I afterwards continued the work in the horizontal passage

above, in hopes that it might lead to the centre; but I was disappointed, and at last was convinced that it ended there; and that, to attempt to advance in that way would only incur the risk of sacrificing some of my workmen; as it was really astonishing to see how the stones hung suspended over their heads, resting, perhaps, by a single point. Indeed one of these stones did fall, and had nearly killed one of the men. I therefore retired from the forced passage, with great regret and disappointment.

‘Notwithstanding the discouragements I met with, I recommenced my researches on the following day, depending upon my indications. I directed the ground to be cleared away to the eastward of the false entrance; the stones incrustated and bound together with cement, were equally hard as the former, and we had as many large stones to remove as before. By this time my retreat had been discovered, which occasioned me many interruptions from visitors; among others was the Abbé de Forbin.

‘On February 28, we discovered a block of granite (at 4) in an inclined direction towards the centre of the pyramid, and I perceived that the inclination was the same as that of the passage of the first pyramid or that of Cheops; consequently I began to hope that I was near the true entrance. On the first of March we observed three large blocks of stone one upon the other, all inclined towards the centre: these large stones we had to remove as well as others much larger as we advanced, which considerably retarded our approach to the desired spot; I perceived, however, that I was near the true entrance, and, in fact, the next day about noon, on the 2d of March, was the epoch at which the grand pyramid of Cephrenes was at last opened, after being closed up for so many centuries, that it remained an uncertainty whether any interior chambers did or did not exist. The passage I discovered was a square opening of four feet high and three and a half wide, formed by four blocks of granite; and continued slanting downward at the same inclination as that of the pyramid of Cheops, which is an angle of  $26^{\circ}$ .—It runs to the length of 104 feet 5 inches, lined the whole way with granite. I had much to do to remove and draw up the stones which filled the passage down to the portcullis or door of granite, which is fitted into a niche also made of granite. I found this door supported by small stones within 8 inches of the floor, and in consequence of the narrowness of the place it took up the whole of that day and part of the next to raise it sufficiently to afford an entrance; this door is 1 foot 3 inches thick, and, together with the work of the niche, occupies 6 feet 11 inches, where the granite work ends: then commences a short passage, gradually ascending towards the centre, 22 feet 7 inches, at the end of which is a perpendicular of 15 feet: on the left is a small forced passage cut in the rock, and also above, on the right, is another forced passage, which runs upwards and turns to the north 30 feet, just over the portcullis. There is no doubt that this passage was made by the same persons who forced the other, in order to ascertain if there were any others which might ascend above, in conformity to that of the pyramid of Cheops. I descended the perpendicular by means of a rope, and found a large quantity of stones and earth accumulated beneath, which very nearly filled up the entrance into the passage below which inclines towards the north. I next proceeded to-



wards the channel that leads to the centre, and soon reached the horizontal passage. This passage is 5 feet 11 inches high, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and the whole length, from the above-mentioned perpendicular to the great chamber is 158 feet 8 inches. These passages are partly cut out of the living rock, and at half-way there is some mason's work, probably to fill up some vacancy in the rock; the walls of this passage are in several parts covered with incrustations of salts.

‘On entering the great chamber, I found it to be 46 feet 3 inches long, 16 feet 3 inches wide, and 23 feet 6 inches high; for the most part cut out of the rock, except that part of the roof towards the western end. In the midst we observed a sarcophagus of granite, partly buried in the ground, to the level of the floor, 8 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 2 feet 3 inches deep inside, surrounded by large blocks of granite, being placed apparently to guard it from being taken away, which could not be effected without great labour; the lid of it had been opened; I found in it only a few bones of a human skeleton, which merit preservation as curious relicks, they being, in all probability, those of Cephrenes, the reported builder of this pyramid. On the wall of the western side of the chamber is an Arabic inscription, a translation of which has been sent to the British Museum.\* It testifies that “this pyramid was opened by the masters Mahomet El Aghar and Otman, and that it was inspected in presence of the sultan Ali Mahomet the 1st, Ugluch.”† There are also several other inscriptions on the walls, supposed to be Coptic (qu. enchorial?); part of the floor of this chamber had been removed in different places evidently in search of treasure, by some of those who had found their way into it. Under one of the stones I found a piece of metal something like the thick part of an axe, but it is so rusty and decayed, that it is almost impossible to form a just idea of its form. High up and near the centre there are two small square holes, one on the north and the other on the south, each one foot square; they enter into the wall like those in the great chamber of the first pyramid. I returned to the before-mentioned perpendicular, and found a passage to the north in the same inclination of  $26^{\circ}$  as that above: this descends 48 feet 6 inches, where the horizontal passage commences, which keeps the same direction north 55 feet, and half-way along it there is on the east a recess of 11 feet deep. On the west side there is a passage 20 feet long, which descends into a chamber 32 feet long and 9 feet 9 inches wide, 8 and 6 feet high; this chamber contains a quantity of small square blocks of stone, and some unknown inscriptions written on the walls. Returning to the original passage, and advancing north, near the end of it is a niche to receive a portcullis like that above. Fragments of granite, of which it was made, are lying near the spot; advancing still to the north, I entered a passage which runs in the same inclination as that before-mentioned, and at 47 feet 6 inches from the niche it is filled up with some large blocks of stone, put there to close the entrance which issues out precisely at the base of the pyramid. According to the measurements, it is to be observed that all the works below the base are cut into the living rock, as well as part of the passages and chambers before-mentioned. Before I conclude I have to mention that I caused a range of steps to be built from the upper part of the perpendicular to the passage below, for the accommodation of visitors.’

\* We cannot find that this inscription has yet reached its destination.

† A Tartaric title, as Uleg Bey, &c.

ART. XI.—*Political Economy.* An examination of Mr. Ricardo's Theory of Value.

THE most important and radical inquiry in political economy, is that relating to the nature of *value*; it is the foundation on which the whole science rests. It may, therefore, be of some utility to ascertain whether Mr. Ricardo in his treatise on the principles of this science, very recently published, has not, in this respect, fallen into a very remarkable error. His theory, moreover, has received so able and ingenious a development, in a late number of the *Edinburgh Review*, that it will, in all probability, be very extensively disseminated; if it, therefore, be unsound, it becomes the more necessary to expose its insufficiency.

Before, however, we proceed to this examination, we must premise, that although according to Adam Smith, 'the word *value* has two different meanings, sometimes expressing the utility of some particular object, and sometimes the power of purchasing other goods, which the possession of that object conveys,' later writers on political economy have gone further, and traced all value to *utility*, using, however, this expression in its most enlarged sense. Hence, agreeably to this signification of the term, luxuries may be said to be useful; or, in other words, subservient to our use. Whatever, therefore, has the power of satisfying our various wants, is said to have value. Such being our definition of value, let us now endeavour to ascertain, whether it is produced, in the manner laid down by Mr. Ricardo; he himself admitting, that exchangeable value depends on this kind of utility.

According, then, to the hypothesis of Mr. Ricardo, 'commodities, possessing utility, derive their value from the *whole quantity of labour* required to obtain them.' We are afterwards told, that by labour he means 'the exertion of human industry,' or the expenditure of animal and intellectual strength. It is true he also remarks, that there are some commodities, the value of which is determined by their scarcity alone; but he expressly says, 'they form a very small part of the mass of commodities daily exchanged,' and therefore, need not be considered, in examining the laws which regulate values in general. We may here, however, observe, that the value of such commodities even does not altogether depend upon their scarcity alone, but upon the proportion which the supply bears to the demand.

But it is the soundness of his general position, namely, that the value of a commodity is derived from the *whole quantity of labour* required to obtain it, that we now propose to investigate; for it is a doctrine of the utmost importance in political economy, and if true, will change the whole aspect of this science. It is this part also, of Mr. Ricardo's work which has received such unqualified commendation from the *Edinburgh Review*. It is said in that journal, to be 'a new and important doctrine which Mr. Ricardo has illustrated and supported with extraordinary talent and inge-

uity, and in a manner which is completely conclusive as to its accuracy.'

That the quantity of labour employed in the production of a commodity, forms a component part of its value, is an undeniable principle; but the *quantity* of this labour does not constitute the whole value of the commodity, but is a condition which limits its eventual supply. In every case, therefore, of the actual exchange of one commodity for another, their value must depend upon the proportion which the supply bears to the demand, and not upon the quantity of labour required to obtain them. It is then manifest that it is always correct to say, and in reference to *periods of unlimited duration*, although in opposition to the observation of the Edinburgh critic, that the exchangeable value of a commodity increases 'directly as the demand, and inversely as the supply, and *vice versa*.'

Although in point of fact it were true, that in every case a certain quantity of labour is employed in producing every commodity, it by no means follows that this quantity is the sole measure of its value. The value of the raw material, on which the labour has been employed, can neither, to use the language of mathematicians, be rejected as nothing, nor estimated as a constant quantity. The value of raw materials and of labour itself *always* vary with the proportion of supply and demand. We are told by Mr. Ricardo, 'that if any one commodity could be found, which now, and at all times, required precisely the same quantity of labour to produce it, that commodity would be of an unvarying value, and a *standard* by which the variation of other things might be measured. Now, inasmuch as the value of labour is always varying in the proportion of supply to demand, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that even if the *quantity* of labour required to produce a certain commodity were always the same, that commodity would not be of an unvarying value, or a standard by which the variation of other things might be measured.

But commodities are not produced by labour alone. A more exact analysis of the nature of production, fully demonstrates that all values are derived, not from the whole quantity of labour required to obtain them, as assumed by Mr. Ricardo, but from the application of human industry, or labour, *combined* with the operation of those agents which *nature* and *capital* supply us. By far the largest portion of the utility given to almost every product, is obtained from the employment of the powers of nature. In the value of a diamond, the whole value of the labour of the lapidary may be considered as almost nothing in comparison with the value of the *natural agent*, which has bestowed so beautiful and *rare* a crystallization on one of the most abundant substances in nature. Industry alone, if left to itself, would have been wholly insufficient to have produced it. By natural agents, however, we must not only understand the action of inanimate bodies, but all the general properties of matter, such as gravitation, magnetism, the

elasticity of the atmosphere, and heat, as well as many others, which contribute to the creation of values. It is this important phenomenon in production which Mr. Ricardo has lost sight of; for as *capital*, according to his hypothesis, is only the product of *labour* previously accumulated, the value of every commodity is said by him to be derived from the *whole* quantity of labour required to obtain it, including therein the proportion of labour required to furnish this capital.

This theory is then, evidently erroneous; for we have demonstrated that the value of a commodity is not derived from the *quantity* of labour required to produce it, or even solely from that *labour* itself. We trust, we have also established, that values are derived from the united operation of human industry, assisted by natural agents and capital—and that capital itself is only a term made use of to express the products of labour and natural agents previously accumulated. Moreover, that the most important element in production, that which has caused the great multiplication of the productions of the different arts, and been chiefly instrumental in diffusing universal plenty, through all the different ranks of society, is the power of natural agents; and not, as was supposed by Adam Smith, ‘in consequence of the division of labour.’ There is no doubt that the separation of occupations adds greatly to the productiveness of industry; but it is wholly insufficient to explain the cause of the abundance of products enjoyed by civilized nations, when compared with savage.

It is this knowledge of the *productive service of natural agents*, which enables us to establish the true theory of the influence of machinery in the creation of wealth, and also to arrive at the solution of many other problems in the science of political economy, of equal importance. All the fallacies involved in Mr. Ricardo’s reasonings in his chapters on ‘Rent’ and ‘Taxes,’ proceed from having overlooked or rejected this essential element in production. The errors also, into which his critic has fallen, may readily be traced to the same source.

These important views respecting the nature of production were, we believe, first suggested by Mr. Say; and it is to his profound and logical work on the science of political economy, that we are indebted for the materials which so completely overthrow the system adopted by Mr. Ricardo. It is, indeed, a matter of surprise to us, that Mr. Ricardo should have been able attentively to peruse Mr. Say’s excellent work, without perceiving the fallacy of his hypothesis. A thorough examination of the principles contained in the admirable and highly original chapter on ‘Markets,’ which Mr. Ricardo so deservedly extols, we conceive ought to have satisfied him, that these principles themselves, are but corollaries of the still more important fundamental doctrine, that all values are derived from the united agency of industry and natural forces.

It remains for us, then, to point out some of the errors into which Mr. Ricardo has fallen, from the incorrect view which he has taken of this fundamental principle of this science. It is laid down by him, as one of his positions, in support and illustration of this doctrine, that a rise or fall of the rate of wages is not attended by a proportional increase or diminution of the price of commodities; their exchangeable value not being increased, except by an increase of the quantity of labour necessary for their production; and their value, therefore, not being augmented by an enhancement of the rate of wages. Now, we apprehend, if our analysis of the nature of production be admitted as correct, the *real* price or value of all commodities must always be affected by an increase of wages; but not from a rise in their *money* price, except in their relation to that commodity alone. For if we decompose the elements of this price, or the value of the commodity, we shall find, they may be resolved into the labour, natural agents, and capital, of which it was composed; any increase, therefore, in the value of one of these elements, as for example, in the value of the labour, or which is the same thing, the price of the wages, without there being, at the same time, a proportional diminution in the value of the other elements, must necessarily cause an enhancement in the price of the commodity. For the same reason, any variation in the value of either of the other elements, and they are always varying in the proportion of supply and demand, as we have already shown, must in the same manner, always affect the price of commodities.

The Edinburgh Review contains a singular passage in support of the foregoing doctrine, maintained by Mr. Ricardo; an examination of it may be of use to us in establishing our own views; we shall therefore subjoin the following extract:

‘Thus supposing the value of money to be invariable, and the quantity of labour necessary to produce 1000*l.* worth of gloves to remain the same, the gloves would continue to sell for that sum, whether the wages actually paid to the manufacturer amounted to 500*l.*, to 800*l.*, or to 900*l.* Commodities, in short, would continue to sell after the rise of wages, for the very same price as before, but the proceeds would be differently divided:—A greater share would belong to the labourer, and a less to the capitalist; or, what is the same thing, *the profits of stock would be diminished.*’

We confess we are at loss to understand the meaning of this proposition; for the thing to be proved, namely, that the worth of the gloves, or 1000*l.*, would continue to sell for that sum, whether the wages actually paid to the manufacturer amounted to 500*l.*, to 800*l.*, or to 900*l.*, is assumed as the foundation of the argument. It becomes then, impossible, from the manner in which the proposition is here stated, to deduce any inference from it. Still less can it be said to appear, that commodities would continue to sell after the rise of wages, for the very same price as before! This

objection we deem to be fully sufficient; it will, therefore, be unnecessary to examine what proportion of the gloves would belong to the labourer. For we have already proved, that any rise or fall in the wages of the labourer, as of the elements in the production of every commodity, must necessarily affect its real price.

We must not, however, leave this subject without noticing the following observations of Mr. Ricardo; they evince uncommon depth and acuteness, and may be considered as presenting the most striking view of the apparent correctness of the theory we have been engaged in refuting. It may not be so easy to demonstrate the inconclusiveness of his argument, from the very close connexion it appears to have with some of the best established principles in the science of political economy. We shall, nevertheless, attempt to point out its insufficiency, in as intelligible a manner as we are capable of doing.

‘To say that commodities are raised in price, is the same thing as to say, that money is lowered in relative value; for it is by commodities that the relative value of gold is estimated. If, then, all commodities rose in price, gold could not come from abroad to purchase those dear commodities, but it would go from home to be employed with advantage in purchasing the comparatively cheaper foreign commodities. It appears, then, that the rise of wages will not raise the prices of commodities, whether the metal from which money is made be produced at home or in a foreign country. All commodities cannot rise at the same time, without an addition to the quantity of money. To purchase any additional quantity of gold from abroad, commodities must be *cheap*, and not *dear*. The importation of gold, and a rise in the price of all home-made commodities, by which gold is purchased and paid for, are effects absolutely incompatible. The extensive use of paper money does not alter this question; for paper money conforms, or ought to conform, to the value of gold; and, therefore, its value is influenced by such causes only as influence the value of that metal.’

In the first place, then, we admit the correctness of the position, that an increase of price is only the correlative of a depreciation of money; and also, that gold would not come from abroad to purchase *dear* commodities, but would go from home to purchase comparatively *cheaper* commodities. But it is not, therefore, a consequence from this principle, that a rise of wages will not raise the real prices of commodities. Although it is true the *money* price of all commodities cannot rise at the same time, without an addition to the quantity of money, it by no means follows that their *real* price, or value, the question we have now to consider, will not rise, in their relation to all other commodities. That they must necessarily rise, we have already demonstrated in our analysis of the manner in which value is derived; a brief recapitulation of what we have there said, will make it appear still more clear. The price of the commodity is enhanced by the rise of

wages, precisely because one of the elements of which its whole value, or real price is composed, has itself augmented in value. We flatter ourselves we need not dwell any further on this part of the argument. It is, however, somewhat curious, and we make the remark, in passing, that Mr. Ricardo should have been betrayed into this error, from not having applied one of his own tests, to analyse the elements of natural prices, before he laid it down so broadly, that commodities cannot rise without an addition to the quantity of money. There is no part of his writings in which he appears to be more anxious to be understood, than in his observations on the natural and market prices of commodities; he particularly states that 'the permanent and ultimate regulator of the exchangeable value of every commodity is *the cost of production.*'

We have but one further observation to make on another passage of the same paragraph just quoted. The importation of gold, and a rise in the price of all home-made commodities, by which gold is purchased or paid for, are, also, said 'to be effects absolutely incompatible.' Now, an importation of gold, or silver, or both, may take place, and the *real* price of commodities, notwithstanding, become dearer. Their value expressed in *money*, may be diminished; but their value compared with other commodities, increased. The relative value of commodities depending, then, on the proportion of the supply in the market to the demand, a diminished supply, whilst the demand continues unaltered, must occasion an enhancement of its value. Now this diminution of supply may occur when there has just been an importation of gold, and although when compared with gold the money price of the commodity be cheaper, yet its exchangeable value, its value compared with all other commodities, or its real price will be dearer. They are therefore effects entirely compatible, and may be shown repeatedly to have happened.

The foregoing reasoning, will apply with equal force, and lead us to the same results, in an examination of the *nature and causes of rent*. Rent is said by Mr. Ricardo, to be 'that portion of the produce of the earth, which is paid by the farmer to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil.' This definition may be considered as sufficiently correct, if by the phrase 'original and indestructible powers of the soil,' the productive service of natural agents be understood. Now, it becomes manifest, if this term be understood in the manner we have just pointed out, and we cannot perceive how it admits of any other interpretation, that rent enters as a component part into price, and that prices always vary as rents vary, or that the one must rise and fall with every rise and fall of the other. It is hardly necessary again to remind our readers, that the productive service of this natural agent, constitutes a part of the value of the commodity, which it has contributed to produce, and that it must, therefore, affect its price.

In this application of Mr. Ricardo's theory of value, in an inquiry into the nature and causes of rent, he, however, does not claim the merit of originality. It is stated, in the *Edinburgh Review*, that on the subject of rent, 'he is not equally original as in other parts of his work. He has given a much better exposition of the principles which regulate the rise and fall of rent, than any other writer; but the leading facts, which show that rent does not enter into price, were previously ascertained in two pamphlets of very great merit, published almost at the same instant by Mr. Malthus, and a "Fellow of the University of Oxford." Mr. Ricardo's principal merit consists in his having traced the ultimate consequences of this doctrine,—in having stripped it of the errors by which it had been encumbered,—and having shown its importance to a right understanding of the fundamental principles of political economy.' It is *owing* to this stripping of their new theory of rent of its encumbrances, and laying open the ultimate consequences of the doctrine, which Mr. Ricardo has indeed effected, that we have been enabled to point out its fallacy.

We have thus attempted, whether with entire success or not, we will not presume to say, to lay before our readers our objections to the theory of value, presented to us by Mr. Ricardo, in his treatise on Political Economy, and adopted and highly extolled in the *Edinburgh Review*. It must not, however, be supposed, from the manner in which we have conducted our examination of this hypothesis, that we have been actuated by any desire to undervalue the general scope of Mr. Ricardo's writings. The uncommon talent and great depth of thought, which the greater part of his disquisitions in political economy display, entitle him to the highest praise. We cannot, however, for a moment accede to the opinion of his critic, 'that he has done more for the improvement of this science than any other writer, with perhaps the single exception of Dr. Smith.' We are, also, ready to acknowledge our obligations to the writers of the generality of the admirable articles, on the different branches of political economy, which have so often appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*; some of the most luminous and correct expositions of many of the fundamental principles of this science are to be found in that celebrated journal.

It is our intention, on some future occasion, to invite the attention of our readers to some of the more popular doctrines in political economy, and to give some account of, and examine the merits of the different *monetary systems* of political economists. On this subject, however, little has been added to the important stock of original investigation, first submitted to the world by the celebrated Dr. Adam Smith; yet it is not a little surprising, that the profound and correct views displayed by that author in his observations on money, banks, and paper currencies, should have been so very generally misunderstood and misrepresented.



## ART. XII.—*Notoria; or Miscellaneous Articles of Philosophy, Literature, and Politics.*

*Theatre Receipts.*—The comparative receipts of Drury-Lane Theatre, for a given series of years, were lately stated in a report of the general committee.

Boxes, first price, 6s.—Second, 3s.			
Seasons.	No. Nights.	Receipts.	Nightly average.
1803-4	119	50,327	255
1804-5	201	59,278	294
1805-6	200	57,129	280
1806-7	200	47,464	276
1807-8	200	49,792	249
1808-9	115	33,221	200

Burnt 24th of Feb. 1809.

*Receipts of the present Theatre.*

Boxes, first price, 7s.—Second 3s. 6d.			
Seasons.	No. Nights.	Receipts.	Nightly average.
1812-13	204	75,534	370
1813-14	235	68,329	290
1814-15	225	67,418	269
1815-16	218	58,117	266
1816-17	208	41,075	197
1817-18	119	41,066	205

— *Ed. Mag.*

*New Theory of Colours.*—A new and very ingenious hypothesis of the cause of colours in bodies, has been proposed by M. B. Prevost, in which the effect is accounted for by radiation instead of by reflection. It has been generally imagined that the different rays of light which fall upon bodies have been all absorbed, except a certain number, which being reflected, produce an effect of colour, according to their nature. But M. Prevost supposes that coloured bodies reflect a portion of the light unchanged; whilst they act upon another portion which enters their substance and decompose it; one part is absorbed whilst the other is thrown off by radiation, and this last causes the colour of the body. The colour of bodies, as commonly observed, is altered by the white light mixed with the rays producing colour, but the former may be removed by a series of reflections from surfaces of the same substance, and the relative intensity of the true colour augmented. Thus a ray of light reflected several times successively from polished surfaces of gold, is at last deprived of all undecomposed white light, and gives a deep red orange colour, supposed to be the real colour of gold. The colour of copper obtained in the same way is a scarlet; that of silver, a fine yellow; and that of tinned iron, a deep golden yellow,

low, of the common hue. On this hypothesis, it is evident, that a distinction must be made between the colours of bodies as they commonly appear, and their real colours; and the real or ultimate colour will differ more from the apparent colour in proportion as the light which is reflected or even absorbed, varies in quantity with the light decomposed. This is the case with the metals named above; and M. Prevost concludes from his experiments, that there is no metal which is properly white or gray, but that they all of them have some decided brilliant colour.

— *J. of Science.*

*Steam Boats.*—The application of steam engines to the propulsion of boats and marine vessels, is now becoming very general; not only in England and America, but in other parts of the world. Experiments have been made with a steam boat on the Danube, between Vienna and Nusdorf, and have succeeded. A fine vessel called the Garonne, has been launched at Larmont, near Bordeaux, and has answered every wish of the builders; and it is said steam boats exist even at Naples. *ib.*

*French Prize Questions.*—The royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres at Paris, have given as the subject of the prize medal of 1500 francs value, to be adjudged in 1819, 'To ascertain what were the various feasts of Bacchus in the different cities of Greece, and particularly at Athens; to fix the number of those feasts, and point out the places; either in the city or without it, where they were celebrated, and the various times of the year to which they belonged; to distinguish the rites belonging to each of those feasts, and particularly those which made part of the mystical ceremonies.'

The works are to be written either in French or Latin, and delivered before the first of April, 1819.

Another prize subject, to be rewarded by a medal of the same value, in July 1820, is, 'To examine what was the state of government and legislation in France, when St. Louis ascended the throne, and what, at the termination of his reign, were the effects of his institutions.'

The papers written in Latin or French, are to be sent to the secretary of the Academy before April, 1820.

The following prize subjects are announced by the French Academy.

For the Poetical prize, which will be adjudged the 25th of August, 1819, 'the Institution of the jury in France.' A gold medal, value, 1500 francs.

A man of letters, who wishes to remain unknown, has placed at the disposal of the Academy, a medal of 1200 francs value, as a poetical prize for the following subject: 'the advantages of mutual instruction.' It will be adjudged at the same time.

A gold medal of 400 francs value will also be given at the same time to the author of that work which, having been published during the year 1818, shall be judged 'the most useful to manners.'

None but works written in French will be admitted. They are to be addressed to the secretary of the institution, in the usual way, before the 15th May, 1819.

Notice is also given that the prize question of eloquence to be proposed next year for 1820, will be 'to distinguish and compare the kinds of eloquence and the moral qualities proper for the Speaker at the Bar, and at the Senate.' *ib.*

*London Institutions.*—The following is an estimate made of the means of intellectual improvement in London. There are 407 places of public worship; 4050 seminaries for education, including 237 parish charity schools; eight societies for the express purpose of promoting good morals; 12 societies for promoting the learned, the useful, and the polite arts; 122 asylums and almshouses for the helpless and indigent, including the Philanthropic society for reclaiming criminal children; 30 hospitals and dispensaries for sick and lame, and for delivering poor pregnant women; 700 friendly or benefit societies; about 30 institutions for charitable and humane purposes; about 30 institutions for teaching some thousands of poor children the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic, on the plans of Mr. Lancaster and Dr. Bell; and these several establishments, including the poor's-rate, are supported at the almost incredible cost of one million per annum. *ib.*

*Russian Voyage of Discovery.*—The general results of the voyage of discovery, made by the Russian ship *Rurick*, captain Kotzebue, is stated to be 'the discovery of several single islands, and whole groups of islands in the south; the more exact determination of the east coast of Behring's Straits, or of the northwest coast of America, where a very extensive bay has been discovered; the correction and confirmation of previous geographical observations, with many important new ones, and a rich collection of natural history.'

A very singular ice berg was fell in with by this vessel during its voyage. It was of great magnitude, and partly covered with earth and mould, so that herbs and trees were growing on it. On one part of its water line a shore had been formed, by matter washed down from above, and on this a landing was made good. A great quantity of the remains of a mammoth were found on it, in a very putrescent state. These had probably been preserved for many ages in the cold regions of the north, and were no doubt co-equal in age to those remains which the geologist finds in his later strata, and merits therefore, in a *geological sense*, the name of organic remains. The vessel brought away a number of the tusks and other parts of these animals. *ib.*

*Gas from Turf.*—It has been proposed in Holland to substitute turf for coal, as a material, from which to obtain a gas for illumination. The experiments that have been made promise much success; and the apparatus required may be of far simpler construction than those used in the distillation of coal. The products do not require that careful and elaborate process of purification which is necessary for the gas from coal. It is said also, that the light is better. The light may be better, than that from coal gas badly made, or carelessly used; but it is not likely that, with equal precautions, the first should surpass, or even equal the latter. *ib.*

*Gas from Oil.*—Messrs. J. and P. Taylor are the first persons who have resorted to oil as a substance from which gas for illumination could be easily and cheaply prepared; and in the construction of a convenient apparatus for the decomposition of this body, they have fully shown its numerous advantages.

over coal, while they have afforded the means of producing the most pure and brilliant flame from the inferior and cheap oils, which could not be used in lamps. The apparatus for the purpose is much smaller, much simpler, and yet equally effectual, with the best coal gas apparatus. The retort is a bent cast iron tube, which is heated red by a small convenient furnace, and into which oil is allowed to drop by a very ingenious apparatus; the oil is immediately volatilized, and the vapour in traversing the tube becomes perfectly decomposed. A mixture of inflammable gases, which contains a great proportion of olefiant gas passes off; it is washed by being passed through a vessel of water (which dissolves a little sebaceous acid, and which seldom requires changing,) and is then conducted into the gasometer.

The gas prepared from oil is very superior in quality to that from coal; it cannot possibly contain sulphuretted hydrogen, or any extraneous substance; it gives a much brighter and denser flame; and it is also more effectual, i. e. a lesser quantity will supply the burner with fuel. These peculiarities are occasioned, in the first place, by the absence of sulphur from oil, and then by the gas containing more carbon in solution. As the proportion of light given out by the flame of a gaseous compound of carbon and hydrogen, is in common circumstances in proportion to the quantity of carbon present, it is evident that the gas which contains a greater proportion of olefiant gas, or supercarburated hydrogen than coal gas, will yield a better and brighter light on combustion. *ib.*

**Gas Light Apparatus.**—Mr. Mair, of Kelso, has, by a simple process, constructed an apparatus which produces gas sufficient to supply ten different burners; the flame of each fire surpassing that of the largest candle, and which completely illuminate his shop, workshop, and dwelling-house, with the most pure pellucid brightness, the cost of which is only about three pence per night. Wax cloth bags have been invented, which, when inflated with gas, are removed at pleasure from place to place, and when ignited, they answer all the purposes of candles. By this process, it would seem that any person,

with bags as above prepared, may be furnished with gas from the coal-pits, and apply the gas so procured to whatever number of tubes for lights he has occasion for. *Ed. Mag.*

**Gas Lights.**—By the list of the Local Acts, it appears, that legal powers were obtained, in the last session of Parliament, to light with gas—

Bath,	Liverpool,
Leeds,	Edinburgh,
Nottingham,	Worcester,
Oxford,	Kidderminster,
Sheffield,	Brighthelmston,

—ten of the most considerable and most intelligent cities and towns in the empire. *ib.*

**French Dictionary.**—In the French and Latin Dictionary by Boiste, page 750 of the 2d edition published in 1803, is the following article, printed thus: Spoliateur, s. m. Spoliator, quidépouille, qui vole. G. C. Spoliatrice, s. f. Buonaparte.

In the year 1804, after many hundred copies of the dictionary had been sold, this article was noticed. The author, the printer, and the publisher, were arrested, all the copies of the dictionary seized, and the presses put under seal. Boiste is questioned; he boldly complains of this proceeding, and demands what it all means? ‘Did you,’ he is asked, ‘write this dictionary?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘Did you write this sheet, this page, this article?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘And you still ask what it means?’—What, Sir, has the name of Buonaparte to do in your dictionary? ‘It is to justify myself; it was my duty to name my authorities. I have not met with the word *Spoliatrice* any where except in an article of the *Moniteur* of such a day, month, and year, which runs thus, “*La nation Angloise, cette nation Spoliatrice.*” “But why is the name printed in such remarkably large letters?” ‘Out of respect, because it is that of the First Consul.’ *L. Gaz.*

**Debate on Dr. Burney's Library.**—The House having gone into a committee of Supply, Mr. Banks moved the resolution for granting 13,500*l.* for the purchase of the late Dr. Burney's library, to be placed in the British museum. The library of the late Dr. Burney was of the most valuable description. Among other things it contained the most com-

plete collection of Greek literature that had perhaps ever been in the possession of any individual. It was not necessary for him to enlarge on the expediency of not permitting such a collection to be dissipated: a collection which it might require many centuries again to accumulate. This part of the late Dr. Burney's library was enriched with manuscript remarks by himself, Porson, and other eminent and distinguished scholars.

Mr. Curwen, considering the pecuniary embarrassments under which the country laboured, felt himself bound to oppose the grant.

Mr. Douglas stated, that 3,500*l.* of the money required would be supplied by the sale of books now in the British Museum, which the acquisition of Dr. Burney's library would render superfluous, and that the remaining 10,000*l.* should be furnished by suspending the usual annual grant to the British Museum, until the advance of that sum had been paid.

Mr. Lockhart said, the cases in which the State should interfere to make purchases of the kind now proposed, should be when the things to be purchased were at once of extreme rarity and of extreme utility. In the case of the Elgin Marbles it had been alleged that the possession of those rare examples would inspire our sculptors with the genius of Grecian art. If any thing was to be found in this collection not elsewhere to be obtained, either fragments of history, or treatises of morals, or examples of oratory, he should be willing to pay money for its preservation: but as for the varieties of verbal criticism, it might well be left to the enthusiasm of virtuosos, while the interference of the State was confined to that which was really useful to mankind.

Sir J. Mackintosh rose to enter his protest against the sentiments of the Hon. member for the city of Oxford (Mr. Lockhart)—it was well he was not member for the University, who had expressed such contempt for classical learning, which was the foundation of education in this as well as every other polished nation of Europe. What would the inmates of that University which was seated in the city which the honourable gentleman represented, say, when they heard that they, and all others who studied classical learning, were trained

in frivolous questions respecting minute and unimportant distinctions? Was not the honourable member aware, that in that classical education to which so many superficial objections might be made, was comprised a course of indirect, but not the less forcible moral and political instruction, which had the greatest effect in the formation of the character and the mind? (*hear, hear!*) Where the lawgivers of this and other countries meredrivellers, when they recommended a degree of minute accuracy in these studies? But did not this accuracy form the criterion of a perfect familiarity with those authors who were the models of thought, the masters of moral teaching and of civil wisdom, and, above all things, of civil liberty! (*hear!*) He was ashamed to hear any part of knowledge treated as a luxury or an amusement. (*Hear!*) Classic learning was in reality much more important than others which had more direct connexion with the business of life, as it tended more to raise high sentiments, and fix principles, in the minds of youth than the sciences. In such a country as this, at least, it was strange to talk of money laid out on science as a waste—in this country in which Mr. Watt, who had lived to see an application which he had made of one principle of science, add more to the wealth of this country than it had ever happened to an individual to add before. They had seen, too, an individual who had changed the whole face of science—Sir H. Davy, by an admirable, though simple invention, saving annually a number of human lives. He estimated as highly the Elgin Marbles as his own ignorance would permit him; but if an artist who restored the smallest portion of an ancient statue was worthy of praise, a Bentley or a Porson, who illustrated one obscure beauty, or chastened one incorrect line of the models of ancient eloquence, was also to be valued.—The vote was agreed to without a division.

— *Gent. Mag*

*New Bank.*—We are informed that an immense bank covered with Cod has been discovered, extending from Papa Westra, in Orkney, along the west coast of the Shetland Islands. Already the fishing has been great. Next season it is expected that this hitherto hidden treasure will afford lucrative employment to several hundred sail of fishing vessels. The fishermen report,

that from 150 to 200 sail of vessels can fish on it, and out of sight of each other. We expect, in a future Number, to communicate a full account of this important discovery. *Ed. Mag.*

**New Medical Instrument.**—A new instrument has been introduced into medical science at Paris; and, from the favourable report which it obtained, on being submitted to the Academy of Sciences, would appear to be somewhat more than a chimerical improvement.

Dr. Laennec, physician to the Neck-er Hospital, supposed it likely, that the various sounds which are formed in the interior of the body, as in the breast, &c. might become, from the variation induced on them by disease, indications of the state of health; and that the sounds produced by the action or motion of any particular organ, as of the heart or lungs, would point out any change in the state of that organ; and taking advantage of the superior conducting power of solid bodies, with regard to sound, he formed an instrument which should convey these indicatory sounds more readily and distinctly to the ear. This instrument is a cylinder of wood, which, in some cases, according to the nature of the examination, is solid; in others, perforated lengthways by a canal; and in others, hollowed like a horn.

The voice, the respiration, sounds in the throat, and pulsations of the heart, are general indications to so many different kinds of diseases; and by one of these, among others, it is said, that the existence of ulcers in the lungs, their extent, their state, and the nature and consistence of the matter within them, were ascertained. *ib.*

**Sunday Schools.**—It appears, that no less than 22,434 children are instructed in Sunday schools, in Manchester alone; and in the whole United Kingdom 550,000, attended by nearly 60,000 teachers. The progress of education may be judged from the fact, that above 10,000 per month are now sold of Mavor's well-known spelling-book and Pelham's London primer. *M. Mag.*

**Great Britain.**—The following account of the total nett produce of the revenue of Great Britain and Ireland has been published by parliament:—

	In 1815.	In 1816.	In 1817.
G. Bri- tain }	66,445,205	57,360,726	47,277,478
Ireland	5,406,630	4,314,600	4,352,130
Total.	71,851,835	61,675,327	51,629,609

By a report of a committee of parliament, it appears that the turnpike roads of England and Wales extend 19,755 miles, and the other highways 95,104, making a total of 114,859 miles; also, that 1,415,833*l.* is expended per annum on them; and that the area of England and Wales is 57,960 square miles, or 37,094,400 acres.

By another report, we learn that pauperism is still on the increase. At Bernondsey, the number in 1812 were 400, but in 1817 they were 600. At Manchester, the rates in 1797 were 16,941*l.* but in 1817 they had amounted to 65,912*l.* In many places the poor-rates exceed the rentals.

One hundred and ninety-three new members have been returned to the new parliament.

Severity of collection has augmented the revenue in the past quarter above 1,400,000*l.* compared with the quarter of 1817. The customs also have increased; and, on the whole, the prospects of industry are improving. The bankruptcies also have diminished from 427 to 217 in corresponding quarters of 1817 and 1818. *ib.*

**France.**—The observations of the editor of this miscellany made during a recent visit to Paris, enable him to state, with precision, that France is divided at present into two great parties—

THE REPUBLICANS  
and

THE NAPOLEONISTS.

The intelligent and educated part of the community are devoted to liberty; and, having no security in the faith of kings or emperors, desire to revive the republic of 1793; a project against which they conceive no difficulty exists within France, if the kings of Europe forbear to interfere.

On the other hand, the mass of the population, or the muscular strength of the French nation, dazzled by the glory, talents, and patriotism of Napoleon, would, under very slender securities of civil liberty, prefer to see him again at the head of the nation.

In regard to the Bourbons, they have no party among the French people.

Forced on the throne by foreign bayonets, equivocating in regard to the charter, and faithless in their pledges to the patriots and the army, they have no interest in France, except among the Swiss guards, the English visitors, the returned emigrants, and a few despised priests. The king temporizes, and has sought to find protection in the name of Henry IV.; but, as it appears that Napoleon II. is, by his mother's side, more nearly related to Henry than the dynasty on the throne, so Louis XVIII. has lost his hope in that association. Respect for their pledges to France is the only chance of the Bourbons; but they are too proud, too bigotted, and too much blinded with rage, to play their game with success. *ib.*

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*Ireland.*—A contagious epidemic has for the last two years entailed more misery and distress upon the poor of Ireland than any former combination of causes. 'Plague, pestilence, and famine,' have united to afflict the land; and a cabin is scarcely to be found in the island which has not to deplore 'a father, mother, or first-born slain.' The mendicants, who, in consequence of bad seasons and want of employment, since the peace, have greatly increased in number, and who, from their habits, the filth of their persons, and their vagrant life, were supposed, and with good reason, to be highly instrumental in propagating contagion, are now avoided as the plague. From the calculation made by some eminent physicians in Cork, grounded on the known prevalence of fever in that city, and on official statements made in other quarters, it would appear that scarcely less than one million, or one fifth of the whole population, have been already attacked by the disease. Not a single county in the whole island has been exempted from the ravages of the fever: the county of Wexford, which had been unaccountably free from this visitation, being now afflicted by it; nor have the towns been more fortunate. *ib.*

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*Vienna Reviews.*—The first number of the '*Vienna Jahrbuch der Litteratur*' appeared lately at Vienna. It is a journal established under the auspices of the Austrian government, with prince Metternich for its patron, and intended to be continued quarterly; after the manner of our two leading Reviews.

The work cannot fail of a paramount degree of interest, as being the vehicle of the sentiments and views of the Austrian government, on topics of great importance to Europe, in the present state of affairs. An article on the liberty of the press in England; from the pen of Genz, forms one of the leading attractions of the present number. The editor is Collin, the tutor of the young Napoleon. Von Hammer, the orientalist, and other men of eminence in literature, are contributors. *Ed. Mag.*

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*Wellington Testimonial.*—The first stone was laid on, 18th of June 1817, the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, in the most eligible situation in the Phoenix park, Dublin. This pile is composed wholly of that very durable stone called granite, and will occupy the attention of the artists for another year, viz. till the 18th day of June in the next year, on which day it will be presented to public view. Its base is 100 feet square; sloping upwards it forms itself into a pedestal 50 feet square, with another pedestal in front, on which stands an equestrian figure of the illustrious Duke. Then above that rises the shaft of the obelisk, which is 30 feet at the base. The whole rises 210 feet.—On each of the four sides will be engraved, in brass letters, the names of the different victories, cast out of the cannon taken in India, Spain, Portugal, and France. A subscription of L. 20,000 (the whole raised from private funds, and every subscriber an Irishman) was completed in the course of a few weeks. Mr. Robert Smirke finished the design. *ib.*

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VOLTAIRE UPON ROUSSEAU.

*From the Journal of Belles Lettres.*

MR. EDITOR—I send you what is in some measure a literary curiosity, *Voltaire's* analysis of *Rousseau's Eloise*. The French wit, who could bear 'no brother near the throne,' was naturally roused by the celebrity of the Swiss romancer; and the critique on his profligate and popular work, has the power of envenomed genius. It instantly ran through Switzerland and Europe in manuscript. But as it is, I believe, scarcely known to the later readers in this country, and as it deserves to be known, from its fine and fair development of the most unprincipled work that ever pretended to morality, I wish to see it take a place in your journal. LUCI.

ROSSEAU'S ELOISA. A PROPHECY.  
GENEVA, 1761.

In those days there shall appear in France a very extraordinary person, come from the banks of the lake of Geneva. He shall say unto the people, I am possessed of the demon of enthusiasm: I have received from heaven the gift of inconsistency. And the multitude shall run after him, and many shall believe in him, and he shall say unto them, Ye are all villains and rascals, your women are all abandoned, and I am come to live among you. And he shall take advantage of the natural levity of this country, to abuse the people; and he shall add, that all the men are virtuous in the country where he was born; and he shall maintain that the sciences and the arts must necessarily corrupt our morals, and he shall treat of all sorts of sciences and arts; and he shall maintain that the theatre is a source of corruption, and he shall compose operas and write plays. He shall publish, that there is no virtue but among savages, though he never was among them; he shall advise mankind to go naked, and he shall wear laced clothes, when given to him. He shall employ his time in writing French music, and he shall tell you there is no French music. He shall tell you, that it is impossible to preserve your morals if you read romances, and he shall compose a romance; and in this romance shall be seen vice in deeds and virtue in words, and the actors in it shall be mad with love and with philosophy; and in this romance we shall learn how to seduce philosophically, and the disciple shall lose all shame and all modesty, and she shall practise folly and raise maxims with her masters. And his love-letters shall be philosophical homilies; and he shall get drunk with an English nobleman, who shall insult him, and he shall challenge him to fight, and his mistress, who has lost the honour of her own sex, shall decide with regard to that of men, and she shall teach her master, who taught her every thing, that he ought not to fight. And he shall go to Paris, where he shall be introduced to wantons of the town, and he shall get drunk like a fool; and he shall write an account of this adventure to his mistress, and she shall thank him for it. The man who shall marry his mistress shall know that

she is loved to distraction by another, and this good man notwithstanding shall be an Atheist; and she shall write to her lover, that if she were again at liberty she would wed her husband rather than him: and the philosopher shall have a mind to kill himself, and shall compose a long dissertation to prove that a lover ought always to kill himself when he has lost his mistress; and her husband shall prove to him that it is not worth while, and he shall not kill himself. Then he shall set out to make the tour of the world, in order to allow time for the children of his mistress to grow up, and that he may get to Switzerland time enough to be their preceptor, and to teach them virtue as he has done their mother. And he shall see nothing in the tour of the world; and he shall return to Europe, and when he shall have arrived there, they shall still love each other with transport, and they shall squeeze each other's hands and weep. And this fine lover being in a boat alone with his mistress, shall have a mind to throw her into the water, and himself along with her.—And all this they shall call philosophy and virtue; and they shall talk so much of philosophy and virtue, that nobody shall know what philosophy or virtue is. And the mistress of the philosopher shall have a few trees and a rivulet in her garden, and she shall call that her Elysium, and nobody shall be able to comprehend what that Elysium is; and every day she shall feed sparrows in her garden; and she shall sup in the midst of her harvest people; and she shall cut hemp with them, having her lover at her side, and the philosopher shall be desirous of cutting hemp the day after, and the day after that, and all the days of his life. And she shall be a pedant in every word she says, and all the rest of her sex shall be contemptible in her eyes. And she shall die; and before she dies, she shall preach, according to custom; and she shall talk incessantly, till her strength fails her; and she shall dress herself out like a coquette, and die like a saint.

The author of this book, like those empiries who make wounds in order to show the virtue of their balsams, shall poison our souls for the glory of curing them, and this poison shall act violently on the understanding and on the heart.

and the antidote shall operate only on the understanding; and the poison shall triumph, and he shall boast of having opened a gulf, and he shall think he saves himself from all blame, by crying, 'Wo be to the young girls who shall fall into it, I have warned them against it in my Preface'—and young girls never read a preface; and he shall say, by way of excuse for his having written a book which inspires vice, that he lives in an age wherein it is impossible to be good; and to justify himself, he shall slander the whole world, and threaten with his contempt all those who do not like his book; and every body shall wonder how, with a soul so pure, he could compose a book which is so much the reverse; and many who believed in him shall believe in him no more.

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*Remarkable Tenuity of the Spider's Thread.*—In the introduction to a modern system of entomology there is a description of the process by which the spider weaves its web. After describing the four spinners, as they are termed, from which the visible threads proceed, the writer makes the following curious observations:—

These are machinery, through which, by a process more singular than that of rope-spinning, the thread is drawn. Each spinner is pierced like the plate of a wire-drawer, with a multitude of holes, so numerous and exquisitely fine, that a space often not bigger than a pin's point includes a thousand. Through each of these holes proceeds a thread of an inconceivable tenuity, which, immediately after issuing from the orifice, unites with all the other threads from the same spinner into one. Hence, from each spinner proceeds a compound thread; and these four threads at the distance of about one-tenth of an inch from the apex of the spinner, again unite, and form the thread we are accustomed to see, which the spider uses in forming its web. Thus, a spider's web, even spun by the smallest species, and when so fine that it is almost imperceptible to our senses, is not, as we suppose, a single line, but a rope, composed of at least 4,000 strands. But, to feel all the wonders of this fact, we must follow Leuwenhoeck in one of his calculations on the subject. This renowned microscopic observer found, by an accurate

estimation, that the threads of the spiders, some of which are not larger than a grain of sand, are so fine, that 400,000 of them would not exceed in thickness one of the hairs of his beard. Now we know that each of these threads is composed of 4,000 still finer. It follows, therefore, that above 16,000,000 of the finest threads which issue from such spiders, are not altogether thicker than a human hair.'

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*Literary Intelligence.*

In a few weeks will be published '*Vindiciæ Hibernicæ* or a Vindication of Ireland from some of the errors contained in the Histories of Temple, Borlase, Rapin, Carte, Leland, Macauley and Huine on the subject of the affairs of that Kingdom' in one large octavo volume. By Matthew Carey, Esq.

Henry Wheaton, Esq. Reporter to the Supreme Court of the United States is preparing for the press a Digest of the Decisions of that Court from its establishment in 1789 until the present time; and also including the decisions of the Continental Court of appeals in prize causes during the Revolutionary war.

Messrs Mitchell and Ames are publishing a '*History of the United States before the Revolution, with some account of the Aborigines*' by E. Sanford. Esq. in one vol. octavo.

Mr. Moses Thomas has in press a new satirical work entitled the *Hermit in America* on a visit in Philadelphia, containing some account of the Beaux and Belles, Dandies and Coquettes, Cotillion Parties, Supper parties, Tea parties, &c. &c. &c. of that famous city. By a young gentleman of this city.

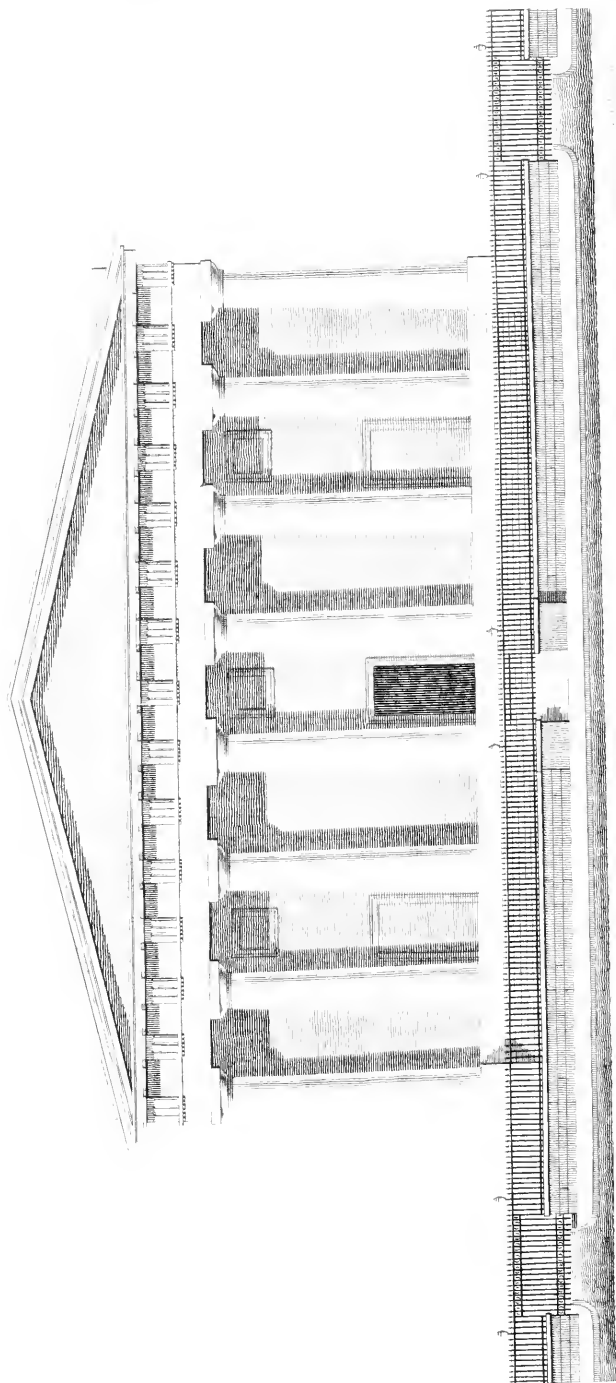
Our countryman Mr. D. B. Warden is about to publish in London '*a statistical, political and historical account of the United States, &c. on a new plan*' 3 vols. octavo.

*Tales of my Landlord.*—There is said to be a third series of these charming novels preparing for publication, of which the copy-right has sold for five thousand guineas.

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*Fine Arts.*—Mr. Sully is engaged to paint a large picture for the legislature of North Carolina; the subject is the crossing of the Delaware before the battle of Trenton. It will contain a full size equestrian figure of general Washington.







THE  
ANALECTIC MAGAZINE.

MARCH, 1819.

ART. I.—*A Treatise on Political Economy*: to which is prefixed, a Supplement to a Preceding Work on the Understanding, or Elements of Ideology; with an Analytical Table, and an Introduction on the Faculty of the Will. By the Count Destutt Tracy, member of the Senate and Institute of France, and of the American Philosophical Society. Translated from the unpublished French Original. Georgetown, published by Joseph Milligan, 1817.

**T**HIS treatise is ushered into the presence of the public, by the following letter from Mr. Jefferson to the publisher.

*Monticello, October 25, 1818.*

SIR—I now return you, according to promise, the translation of M. Destutt Tracy's *Treatise on Political Economy*, which I have carefully revised and corrected. The numerous corrections of sense in the translation, have necessarily destroyed uniformity of style, so that all I may say on that subject is, that the sense of the author is every where now faithfully expressed. It would be difficult to do justice, in any translation, to the style of the original, in which no word is unnecessary, no word can be changed for the better, and severity of logic results in that brevity, to which we wish all science reduced. The merit of this work will, I hope, place it in the hands of every reader in our country. By diffusing sound principles of Political Economy, it will protect the public industry from the parasite institutions now consuming it, and lead us to that just and regular distribution of the public burthens from which we have sometimes strayed. It goes forth, therefore, with my hearty prayers, that while the *Review of Montesquieu*, by the same author, is made with us the elementary book of instruction in the principles of civil government, so the present work may be in the particular branch of Political Economy.

MR. MILLIGAN.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

A recommendation so strong, from a person of such eminence in literary as well as political station, gives no common interest to the book that has called forth this voluntary eulogium; and the public will of course feel much curiosity to know something of the author, and of the contents and character of the book, thus highly recommended to their notice.

In the year 1802, the author, Destutt Tracy, published 'Elements of Ideology,' of which, in 1804, there was printed another edition. In this work he considered all the faculties usually termed intellectual, as mere modes of sensation or perception, but without determining any thing on the source or nature of the faculty of perception itself.

In 1803, he published a second part of his Elements of Ideology; comprehending the Analysis of *Grammar*; and the Signs of our Sensations and Ideas.

In 1805, he published a third part on *Logic*, dedicated to his friend Dr. P. J. G. Cabanis; and in 1815, he published a fourth and a fifth part on the *Will*: which, like the rest of our intellectual faculties, he refers to sensation alone.

In this treatise on the will, he divides his subject into three parts. An introduction: wherein he attempts to show, that the will is nothing more than a sensation: that it gives rise to our ideas of personality and of property: that, from this faculty of willing arises all our wants, and all our means of supplying them—our notions of riches and poverty—of liberty and restraint—of rights and of duties.

After this introduction, he treats of the will and its effects; and first of our actions, or ECONOMY: this he subdivides into disquisitions—

1. On society. 2. On the production and formation of our riches.
3. On the measure of utility, or the value of commodities. 4. On the change of form, or manufacturing industry; including as a branch of manufacture, all the operations of agriculture. 5. On the change of place, or commercial industry. 6. On coin and money. 7. Reflections on what precedes. 8. On the distribution of riches among individuals. 9. On population. 10. Consequences of, and details on the two preceding chapters. 11. On the employment of wealth; or, on consumption. 12. On the revenues, expenses, and debts of government. 13. Conclusion. 14. Analytical view of the fourth volume.

Elements of Ideology; vol. 5, part the second, of a treatise on the will and its effects.

Of our sentiments or passions; that is, of morality.

1. Preliminary notions. 2. On love. 3. Final note. 4. Analytical view of the 5th volume.

The work now in review before us, consists of the fourth volume of the Treatise on Ideology, of which we have just given the table of contents. It is, in fact, little more than a development of the opinions advanced in the commentary on Montesquieu, by the same author, of which, Mr. Jefferson caused a translation to be made and published in Philadelphia, in 1811. The part of that work which treats of political economy, will be found from page 158 of the translation, to page 250. The commentary on Montesquieu was little noticed, and the dissemination of it was circumscribed;

but it well deserves to be perused with attention, for the many just and enlightened ideas it contains.

Sometime about the year 1802, Dr. Cabanis published his great work on the connexion between the physical constitution, and the intellectual faculties and moral dispositions of the human being; wherein he traced the moral character to the physical organization, as the source of its varieties and tendencies. It is a most curious and ingenious disquisition, wherein he attempts to establish, by a different train of physiological reasoning, the same general truths, that Hartley had before more profoundly treated in his *Disquisitions on Man*, first published in 1749: and which all the late writers on insanity in particular, adopt to account for mental derangement. It seems now settled, that there is no such thing as a disorder of the mind; and intellectual derangement must be traced in its origin to organic derangement, and the remedies applied, to alter the morbid action of the *bodily* organs. All this is perfectly consistent with the usual opinion of a soul distinct from the body; because no physiologist of note has attempted to show how perception, or sensation, or even animal life can arise from any assignable organic structure. Certain impressions will be made on the nervous system by external objects, and these impressions will be transmitted to the place in the human system, where they are felt or perceived: but what being it is that feels or perceives them, is a question upon which the common sense of mankind has uniformly been in accord with the doctrines of revelation. Destutt Tracy, made and published an analysis of this work of Cabanis; and beside these, we know nothing more of the literary labours of the author of the treatise now before us.

We greatly regret that Mr. Jefferson, whose style is so clear and perspicuous, when he offers to the public his own ideas, had not leisure to do more than correct the translation of Destutt Tracy's work on political economy, with a view to the faithful rendering of the author's meaning; for a more harsh and inelegant translation of any book we have seldom met with: so much does it deserve this character, that if it were not for the recommendation prefixed by Mr. Jefferson, the reader would turn away with disgust from the perusal of English so inelegant; and, indeed, from the strange affectation of Destutt Tracy himself, in making the subject of political economy a part of the metaphysics of ideas. To us it appears, that a treatise on confectionary or on the art of dancing, is just as much connected with the nature of the will, and the physical formation of our wants and our means, as political economy. On this subject, however, the author has a right to be heard for himself, and we present to our readers, the connexion of the two subjects in the language of the translator, as presented in his prefatory analytical table.

‘*Advertisement.*—Before commencing the second section of the elements of Ideology, which treats of the will and its effects, I am

going to give a supplement to the first, which embraces the history of our means of knowledge. Then will come the introduction to the treatise on the will, which presents the general considerations common to the three parts of which this treatise is composed. The introduction will be followed by the first of these three parts, that which treats specially of our actions.

‘*Supplement to the first section of the Elements of Ideology.*—I have previously reduced the whole science of logic to two facts.

‘The first is that our perceptions being every thing for us, we are perfectly, completely, and necessarily sure of whatever we actually feel.

‘The second is, that consequently none of our judgments, separately taken, can be erroneous: inasmuch as we see one idea in another, it is actually there; but their falsity, when it takes place, is purely relative to anterior judgments, which we permit to subsist; and it consists in this, that we believe the idea in which we perceive a new element to be the same as that we have always had under the same sign, when it is really different, since the new element which we actually see there, is incompatible with some of those which we have previously seen; so that to avoid contradiction, we must either take away the former, or not admit the latter. From these two facts or principles, I deduce here fourteen aphorisms or maxims, which constitute, in my opinion, the whole art of logic, such as it proceeds from the true science of logic.

‘According to the last of these aphorisms, which enjoins us to abstain from judging while we have not sufficient data, I speak of the theory of probability.

‘The science of probability is not the same thing as the calculation of probability. It consists in the research of data and in their combination. The calculation consists only in the latter part: it may be very just, and yet lead to results very false. Of this the mathematicians have not been sufficiently aware. They have taken it for the whole science.

‘The science of probability is not then a particular science; as a research of data it makes a part of each of the sciences on which these data depend; as a calculation of data it is an employment of the science of quantity.

‘The science of probability is properly the conjectural part of each of the branches of our knowledge, in some of which, calculation may be employed.

‘But it is necessary to see well what are those of which the ideas are, from their nature, susceptible of shades sufficiently precise and determinate to be referred to the exact divisions of the names of numbers and of cyphers, and in order that in the sequel we may apply to them the rigorous language of the science of quantities. To this again the mathematicians have not paid sufficient attention. They have believed that every thing consisted in calculation, and this has betrayed them into frightful errors.

‘ In the state in which the science of probability is as yet, if it be one, I have thought I should confine myself to this small number of reflections, intended to determine well its nature, its means, and its object.

‘ *Second section of the Elements of Ideology, or a treatise on the will and its effects.*—Introduction.—Section 1.—The faculty of will is a mode and a consequence of the faculty of perception.

‘ We have just finished the examination of our means of knowledge. We must employ them in the study of our faculty of will to complete the history of our intellectual faculties.

‘ The faculty of willing produces in us the ideas of *wants* and *means*, of *riches* and *deprivation*, of *rights* and *duties*, of *justice* and *injustice*, which flow from the idea of *property*, which is itself derived from the idea of *personality*. It is necessary, therefore, first to examine this latter, and to explain beforehand with accuracy what the faculty of willing is.

‘ The faculty of willing is that of finding some one thing preferable to another.

‘ It is a mode and a consequence of the faculty of feeling.

‘ Section 2.—From the faculty of will arise the ideas of *personality* and *property*.

‘ The *self* of every one of us is for him his own sensibility.

‘ Thus sensibility alone gives to a certain point, the idea of *personality*.

‘ But the mode of sensibility, called the will or willing faculty, can alone render this idea of personality complete; it is then only that it can produce the idea of property as we have it. The idea of property arises then solely from the faculty of will; and moreover it arises necessarily from it, for we cannot have an idea of *self* without having that of the property in all the faculties of *self*, and in their effects. If it was not thus, if there was not amongst us a natural and necessary property, there never would have been a conventional or artificial property.

‘ This truth is the foundation of all economy, and of all morality; which are in their principles but one and the same science.

‘ Section 3.—From the faculty of will arise all our wants and all our means.

‘ The same intellectual acts emanating from our faculty of will, which cause us to acquire a distinct and complete idea of *self*, and of exclusive property in all its modes, are also those which render us susceptible of wants, and are the source of all our means of providing for those wants.

‘ For 1st. Every desire is a want, and every want is never but the *need* of satisfying a desire. Desire is always in itself a pain.

‘ 2d. When our sensitive system re-acts on our muscular system, these desires have the property of directing our actions, and thus of producing all our means.

‘ Labour, the employment of our force, constitutes our only treasure and our only power.

‘ Thus it is the faculty of will which renders us proprietors of *wants* and *means*, of *passion* and *action*, of *pain* and *power*.

‘ Thence arises the ideas of *riches* and deprivation.

‘ Section 4.—From the faculty of will arises also the ideas of riches and deprivation.

‘ Whatsoever contributes, mediately or immediately, to the satisfaction of our wants, is for us a *good*; that is to say, a thing, the possession of which is a good.

‘ To be rich is to possess these *goods*; to be poor is to be without them.

‘ They arise all from the employment of our faculties, of which they are the effect and representation.

‘ These goods have all two values amongst us; the one is that of the sacrifices they cost to him who produces them, the other, that of the advantages which they procure for him who has acquired them.

‘ The labour from which they emanate has then these two values.

‘ Yes labour has these two values. The one is the sum of the objects necessary to the satisfaction of the wants that arise inevitably in an animated being, during the operation of his labour. The other is the mass of utility resulting from this labour.

‘ The latter value is eventual and variable.

‘ The first is natural and necessary. It has not, however, an absolute fixity; and it is this which renders very delicate all economical and moral calculations.

‘ We can scarcely employ in these matters but the considerations drawn from the theory of limits.

‘ Section 5.—From the faculty of will arise also the ideas of *liberty* and *constraint*.

‘ Liberty is the power of executing our will. It is our first good. It includes them all. A constraint includes all our evils, since it is a deprivation of the power to satisfy our wants and accomplish our *desires*.

‘ All constraint is sufferance; all liberty is enjoyment. The total value of the liberty of an animated being is equal to that of all his faculties united.

‘ It is absolutely infinite for him, and without a possible equivalent, since its entire loss imports the impossibility of the possession of any good.

‘ Our sole duty is to augment our liberty and its value.

‘ The object of society is solely the fulfilment of this duty.

‘ Section 6.—Finally, from the faculty of will arise our ideas of rights and duties.

‘ Rights arise from wants, and duties from means.

‘ Weakness in all its kinds, is the source of all rights, and power the source of all duties; or in other words, of the general duty to employ it well, which comprehends all the others.



‘ These ideas of rights and duties are not so essentially correlative as is commonly said. That of rights is anterior and absolute.

‘ An animated being, by the laws of his nature, has always the right to satisfy his wants, and he has no duties but according to circumstances.

‘ A sentient and willing being, but incapable of action, would have all rights and no duties.

‘ This being supposed capable of action, and insulated from every other sensible being, has still the same plenitude of rights, with the sole duty of properly directing his actions, and well employing his means for the most complete satisfaction of his wants.

‘ Place this same being in contact with other beings, who develop to him their sensibility, too imperfectly to enable him to form conventions with them; he has still the same rights, and his duties or rather his sole duty is only changed, so far as he must act on the will of these beings, and is under a necessity to sympathise more or less with them. Such are our relations with the brutes.

‘ Suppose this same sensible being, in relation with beings with whom he can completely communicate and form conventions, he has still the same rights unlimited in themselves, and the same sole duty.

‘ These rights are not bounded, this duty is not modified by the conventions established; but because these conventions are so many means of exercising these rights, of fulfilling this duty better and more fully than before.

‘ The possibility of explaining ourselves and not agriculture, grammar and not Ceres, is our first legislator.

‘ It is at the establishment of conventions that the *just* and *unjust*, properly speaking, commence.

‘ Section 7.—Conclusion.—The general considerations just read, begin to diffuse some light over the subject with which we are occupied, but they are not sufficient. We must see more in detail, what are the numerous results of our actions; what are the different sentiments which arise from our first desires; and what is the best possible manner of directing these actions and sentiments. Here will be found the division which I have announced. I shall begin by speaking of our actions.’

To us, this connexion appears forced, and the language of the translator harsh. We would also remark, that the translator uses the French original word *sensibility*, to denote, what our English metaphysical writers usually express by the word *sensation*; a motion occasioned in the nervous fibres of the sensorium, perceived. But we are not to take for granted, that these are fair specimens of the character of the book. However forced and strange the connexion between the nature of the human will, and the doctrines of political economy, when we arrive at the part where the author commences the true subject of the work before us, the language even of the translation becomes more clear, and we

feel at once that this is a book worth perusal, and deserving of commendation: but before we arrive at political economy, we are required to travel over ninety pages of metaphysics; we then come to the first chapter *On society*. In this chapter he contends, that society arises from, and consists in a series of mutual conventions or exchanges, tacit or expressed, into which human beings in the vicinity of each other, are by necessity of nature compelled, either for the purposes of security, existence, or comfortable subsistence. Hence society is the natural state of the human species; whose wants arising from their physical constitution, do not permit them to live insulated, and unconnected with their fellow creatures. Hence, exchange, or commerce, constitutes the whole foundation of human communities, as labour constitutes the foundation of wealth.

Chapter 2. *Of production or the formation of riches*. The author sets out with the axiom of Lucretius—*Ex nihilo nihil fit: in nihilum nil posse reverti*. Production does not create: it produces only change of *form*, or change of *place*. The one constituting the element of manufacture, the other of commerce. Agriculture itself produces nothing but change of form: it is nothing more than a branch of manufacture. It is not as the economists taught, the only productive occupation, as producing the means of existence. It only changes the form of the seed sown by the manufacturing processes of the farmer. All labour is *productive* whose result is utility.

Chapter 3. *Of the measure of utility or value*. Every produce of labour is useful that adds to the means of our existence, our comforts, or even our enjoyments. All labour is useful whose result is something, which, though not useful in itself to us, is so to others, and which we can exchange for what is useful to us. The produce of all labour is useful in, proportion as it enables society to comprise within its bosom a greater number of human beings, by finding for them the means of subsistence—or as its utility is less of a transient, and more of a durable nature. Labour is worse paid, as it is more necessary to human existence; for 1st, it is generally more easy, requiring less skill in the performance; and 2d, more persons engage in it. Hence agricultural labour is low, and agricultural profits small in all countries. Value is of two kinds, real value founded on utility—and conventional or market value, modified by plenty, or scarcity, or fancy, or fashion.

Chapter 4. *Of change of form, or manufacture including agriculture*. This is carried on by, 1st, capitalists or undertakers, who possess the surplus of former production over consumption; and 2d, hirelings. Here also, the most necessary and really useful manufactures will be worst recompensed, because the competitors will be more numerous, and skill more common. All manufactures can be carried on to a greater extent by means of capital than agriculture; wherein the employment of small capital, comparatively demands the whole attention of the capitalist. Landholders, who

rent land, or let it out to hire, are exactly of the same description with money lenders, who hire out money: neither class are contributors directly to national wealth. They live on the labours of the useful producers, themselves being idle consumers of the common stock of useful produce. Hence the tenants and hirelings among agriculturalists, especially on poor land, are usually among the poorest of the community. Rents, swallow up their labour.

Chapter 6. *Of money.* Nothing is properly money, or a permanently useful medium of exchange, but what has in itself intrinsic value, independent of the impression upon the coin made out of it. Hence the general consent that silver shall be the medium of commerce. It is fraud in a government to depreciate the current coin by lessening the intrinsic value either in quantity or in quality. It is a continued series of frauds, to issue in lieu of coin, which ought to have intrinsic value as the national medium of commerce, paper, which has none. (In page 86, of this part of the work, the author speaks of the system of *Law*, the famous French Mississippi schemer; the translator says, 'politicians gravely give us an account of the system of *Law*, and discuss it at full length.') The following reflections on paper money are very just.

'Paper, like every thing else, has no necessary value, but that which it has cost to fabricate it; and no market value, but its price in the shop as paper. When I hold a note, or an obligation of any kind, of a solvent person, to pay me at sight an hundred ounces of silver, this paper has only the real value of a piece of paper. It has not that of the hundred ounces of silver which it promises me. It is for me only the sign that I shall receive these hundred ounces of silver when I wish; in truth, when this sign is of an indubitable certainty, I am not anxious about realizing it. I may even, without taking this trouble, pass it by agreement to another person, who will be equally tranquil with myself, and who may even prefer the sign to the thing signified; because it is lighter and more portable. We have not yet either the one or the other any real value, (I count for nothing that of the piece of paper) but we are as sure of having it when we wish, as with the money we are sure of having a dinner when we shall be hungry. It is this that induces us both to say, that this paper is the same thing as the silver.—But this is not exact; for the paper only promises, and the silver alone is the value itself.

'Proceeding on this equivoue, the government comes and says, you all agree that the paper of a rich man is equal to silver. Mine, for much stronger reasons, should have the same property, for I am richer than any individual; and moreover, you agree that it is my impression alone which gives to silver the quality of being the sign of all values; my signature communicates to this paper the same virtue. Thus it is in all respects a real money. By a surplus of precaution, they do not want inventions to prove that the paper about to be emitted really represents immense values. It is hypo-

thecated, sometimes on a considerable quantity of national domains, sometimes on the profits of a commercial company, which are to have prodigious success; sometimes on a sinking fund, which cannot fail to produce marvellous effects; sometimes on all these together. Urged by arguments so solid, all who hope that this operation will enable government to grant them gifts, and all its actual creditors, who fear that without this expedient they will not be paid at all,—who hope to have this paper among the first, and to pass it away very soon, before it is discredited; and who, moreover, calculating that if they lose something by it, they may amply indemnify themselves by subsequent affairs,—do not fail to say they are fully convinced that the paper is excellent; that it is an admirable invention, which will secure the safety of the state; that they are all ready to take it; that they like it as well as silver; that their only embarrassment would be, if they should meet with persons stubborn and distrustful, as there will always be, who would not be willing to receive it; that to prevent this inconvenience, it will be necessary to compel every body to do as they do, and that then all difficulties will have vanished. The public itself—prejudiced by so many sophisms, which have such numerous supporters,—at first relishes the measure, then desires it, and persuades itself that one must be absurd or evil-intentioned not to approve it. Thus they make a real *paper money*; that is to say, a paper which every one has a right to give, and is obliged to take as good money; and it is not perceived that it is precisely the force they employ to render this paper better, which radically vitiates it.’

The whole of this chapter is full of important good sense. It well explains the nature of banking, and exchange, agencies, lenders, and discount. It is a brief outline indeed, without needless words, but well worth reading.

Chapter 8. *Of the distribution of wealth.* Society is not divided into proprietors and non-proprietors. There are no non-proprietors. Every man capable of labour of any kind, is a proprietor of a valuable commodity, and entitled equally to the protection of the laws, with the richest member of the community. Many persons very rich, even in common acceptance, are not land-proprietors. Society consists of capitalists and undertakers, who hire, and the hirelings who are hired. There is a perpetual conflict between these two, the former requiring wages to be low, the latter to be high. When agriculture is filled, other manufactures begin, and new branches of commerce arise. In process of time, all means of earning become overstocked, and the community declines: agriculture is the most apt to be overstocked, and the profits and the wages are less than in other branches of manufacture.

Chapter 9. *Of the multiplication of individuals or population.* The author herein embraces generally the ideas of *Malthus*, against which, in truth, we see no resource but emigration and colonization. Nothing seems better established, that except in new coun-

tries, there is every where, in every state of society, a tendency to over population, that requires to be thinned, by want and misery, by disease, by war, by emigration and colonization, or by abstinence from matrimony. We are seriously of opinion, that this view of society, gives a much higher character to the art of cookery, by which food can be prepared so as to afford the utmost of its nourishment, than a slight view of the subject would ascribe to it.

Chapter 10. *Consequences and developments of the two preceding chapters.* Population depends greatly on the quantity and prudent use of surplus capital; for the hired are limited by the capitals that employ them. Hence luxurious consumption is a national misfortune; meaning by luxury, that employment of wealth which consists of needless and expensive sensual indulgencies, which leave no trace of utility behind; quæ ipso user consumuntur. These are proper objects of taxation. It is not advantageous to the capitalist that labour should be very low, so as not to supply fully the necessaries of life: hence all slave-labour is extravagant. The poor are proprietors as well as the rich, and their pittance—their *all*, is as of much consequence to them, and needs as much, and claims as much the protection of society, as the *all* of the richest member of the community.

Chapter 11. *Of the employment of wealth: i. e. of Consumption.* Every human creature is a consumer. It is the common interest of all consumers, that articles of consumption should be cheaply produced. Hence labour-saving machines are useful to the poorest. Society ought to provide a remedy for the temporary evils arising from their introduction.

Consumers are either, producers, as those who labour; those who employ capital in productive labour; mechanists; men of science—or those who live idly without producing upon their incomes levied on the industry of those who labour: fruges consumere nati. Those are, therefore, in the wrong, who consider consumption as the source of wealth. No consumption is so, but that which more than replaces its own expenditure. Luxury is well treated of in this chapter.

Chapter 12. *Of the revenues, expenses, and debts of government.* Government is an unproductive consumer, who lives upon revenues drawn from those who labour. All taxes are therefore evils; submitted to, that we may avoid greater. (Perhaps where government is the undertaker of roads and canals, it may rank so far among the productive class.) The author thinks, for reasons of which we do not see the force, that government may be advantageously a land-proprietor.

All taxes are laid, 1, on rent of land; 2, on houses; 3, on state salaries and annuities; 4, on persons; 5, on patent rights, corporations, and monopolies; 6, stamps; 7, merchandize, imported or exported; 8, excises. This is not exactly count Tracy's distribution, but we have subdivided, for evident reasons of convenience, some

of his heads of taxation. All these are discussed in this chapter, as to their relative expediency. The subject of loans, or national debt, is agitated in pages 236, et sequentibus. We agree with him, that the *right* of burthening the industry of our children, which does not belong to us, is extremely equivocal—that it is not advantageous to a nation that its government should be enabled to borrow—and we add, that a purchaser of national stock, who buys a risk, at a risk-price, has no right to *demand* that it should be converted into a certainty, at the expense of all the rest of the community. This subject requires more discussion than it has received. So does the subject of the expedience of taxing the funds: for the mere right will admit of little dispute. The following passage of count Tracy, on the right of borrowing and funding, will exhibit his ideas on the point.

‘ This circumstance, in my opinion, gives room for a great question; which I am astonished to have seen no where discussed. A government of any kind, whether monarchical or polyarchical, in a word of men now existing, has it a right thus to burden men not yet in existence, and to compel them to pay in future times, their present expenses? This is not even the case of a testament; against which it has been said, with reason, that no man has the right of being obeyed after his death. For, in fine, the society which, for the general good, take so many different powers from its individual members, may well grant them this, and guarantee it if it is useful to them; and the heirs of the testators are always at liberty to accept or to refuse their inheritances, which at bottom belong to them only in virtue of the laws which give them, and under the conditions prescribed by the laws. But when there is a question of public interest, the case is quite different. One generation does not receive from another, as an inheritance, the right of living in society, and of living therein under such laws as it pleases. The first has no right to say to the second, if you wish to succeed me, it is thus you must live and thus you must conduct yourself. For from such a right it would follow, that a law once made could never be changed. Thus the actual legislative power, (whatever it be,) which is always considered as the organ of the actual general will, can neither oblige nor restrain the future legislative power, which will be the organ of the general will of a time yet to come. It is on this very reasonable principle, that it is acknowledged in England, that one parliament cannot vote a tax but until the commencement of another, or even until a new session of the same parliament. I know well that to apply this principle generally to the debts of a country where it is not admitted, and where prior engagements have been entered into *bona fide*, would be to violate public faith; and I have heretofore sufficiently manifested my profound belief, that such an act can never be either *just* or *useful*, two terms for me absolutely equivalent to *reason* and *virtue*. But it is not the less true, to return to

the example of England, that it is contradictory, and consequently absurd that a parliament should think it could not vote taxes but for one year, and should think it could vote a loan on a perpetual annuity or on long reimbursements: for this is to vote a necessity for taxes sufficient to pay these annuities or these reimbursements, without a right to refuse them. I find the principle formerly admitted in Spain, much more sensible and honourable, that the engagements of one king are not binding on his successor. At least those who contract with him know the risks they run, and have no room for complaint of what may happen to them. We shall soon see that this principle, put in practice, is as beneficial as it is reasonable.

‘For the present, I only maintain, that, since definitively the principal and interest of a loan can never be paid but by taxes, the funds which government procures by this mean end always in being involuntarily taken from individuals; and, what is worse, from individuals not obliged, because they have never engaged either by themselves or by their legitimate or *legal* representatives. I call *legal*, those whom the existing law authorizes; and whose acts are valid, even if the law is not just.

‘The second advantage which is found in loans, is that the sums they furnish are not taken from productive consumption: since it is not undertakers of industry who place their funds in the hands of the state; but idle capitalists only living on their revenue, who choose this kind of annuity rather than another. I answer, that this second advantage is not less illusory than the first. For although it be true that those who lend to government are not, in general, the men who have joined their personal industry to their capital, to render them more useful in productive employments; yet it happens that there are many of these lenders whom the facility of procuring a sufficient existence, without risk or fatigue, has alone disgusted from labour and thrown them into idleness. Besides, even admitting that all were equally idle if the state had not borrowed, it is certain that if they had not lent it their money, they would have lent it to industrious men. From that time these industrious men would have had greater capitals to work on, and, by the effect of the concurrence of lenders, they would have procured them at a lower interest. Now these are two great goods of which the public loans deprive them. In fine, it cannot be denied that without a bankruptcy, when a sum is borrowed it must be repaid; and, to repay it, it must be levied on the citizens. Thus, sooner, or later, it affects industry as much, and in the same manner as if it had been levied at first. Moreover, there must be added to this, all the interest paid by the state, till the moment of reimbursement; and it is easy to see that in a few years, these interests have doubled the capital, and consequently the evil.

‘But at this day, in Europe, we are so habituated to the existence of a public debt, that when we have found the means of bor-

rowing money on perpetual annuities, and of securing payment of the interest, we think ourselves liberated, and no longer owing any thing; and we do not, or will not see, that this interest, absorbing a part of the public revenue, (which was already insufficient) since we have been obliged to borrow, is the cause that this same revenue still less suffices for subsequent expenses; that soon we must borrow again to provide for this new deficit, and load ourselves with new interest; and that, thus in but a short time it is found that a considerable portion of all the riches annually produced is employed, not for the service of the state, but to support a crowd of useless annuitants. And to fill the measure of our evils, who are these lenders? Men not only idle, as are all annuitants; but also completely indifferent to the success or failure of the industrious class to which they have lent nothing: having absolutely no interest but the permanence of the borrowing government, whatsoever it be, or whatsoever it does; and at the same time having no desire but to see it embarrassed, to the end that it may be forced to keep fair with them and pay them better. Consequently natural enemies to the true interests of society, or at least being absolutely strangers to them. I do not pretend to say that all the annuitants of the state are bad citizens; but I say that their situation is calculated to render them such. I add further, that life annuities tend moreover to break family ties; and that the great abundance of public effects cannot fail of producing a crowd of licentious gamblers in the funds. The truth of what I advance is manifested in a very odious and fatal manner in all great cities without commerce; and especially in all the capitals in which this class of men is very numerous and very powerful; and has many means of giving weight to their passions, and of perverting the public opinion.

‘It is then as erroneous to believe that the loans of government are not hurtful to national industry, as it is to suppose that the funds which they produce, are not taken from any individual involuntarily. In truth these are not the real reasons which cause so much importance to be attached to the possibility of borrowing. The great advantage of loans, in the eyes of their partisans, is, that they furnish in a moment, enormous sums, which could only have been very slowly procured by means of taxes, even the most overwhelming. Now I do not hesitate to declare, that I regard this pretended advantage as the greatest of all evils. It is nothing else than a mean of urging men to excessive efforts, which exhaust them and destroy the sources of their life. Montesquieu perceived it well.’

We have made this long extract, because the subject is of urgent importance to ourselves; and the questions, both of right and expedience, ought to be fully discussed *amongst us, and for our own sakes.*

Chapter 13. *Conclusion.* We have thus given an outline of the contents of a book, interesting to us, from the high standing and



great respectability of the gentleman who edits it: for the importance of the subjects treated; and the ability with which they are discussed. It is indeed but a sketch, but it is not inferior in utility to the most celebrated of this class of writings. T. C.

ART. II.—*Narrative of a Tour through Scotland in the Year 1817*, chiefly with a view to the State of its Harbours and Public Works. By Charles Dupin, Corresponding Member of the French Institute.

[From Constable's Edinburgh Magazine.]

M. Dupin, a learned native of France, who occupies an important place in the marine engineer department of that country, was lately engaged in a tour through Great Britain, with the view of examining the state of national industry, particularly in regard to every thing connected with navigation and public works. He has since published a work entitled 'Memoir upon the Marine, and the Bridges and Public Works of England and France.' In this he includes a Narrative of his Tour through Scotland, which we with pleasure translate for the use of our readers, to whom we think it will, be generally interesting.

'After leaving Newcastle for Edinburgh, I passed by Berwick, where a long pier is constructing to diminish the effects of a bar at the mouth of the Tweed. A bridge of iron chains has been thrown over the river, upon a plan as I believe of Mr. Telford.

'Edinburgh, and Leith its harbour, present a crowd of important objects in the sciences, letters, and arts. Edinburgh is the Athens of the North, and the Scottish people combine the urbanity of the Greeks with the hospitality of the Arabs.

'It is a literary phenomenon, extremely remarkable, and worthy of the attention of the philosopher, to see, at the remotest extremity of a great empire, and almost under the frozen zone, a city which, ceasing to be a capital, and left wholly to itself, rises by the genius of its inhabitants, seizes the sceptre of history and political economy, produces talents of the first order in mineralogy, chemistry, the medical and surgical sciences, and, not content with so many claims to receive from other nations the palm of celebrity, erects in its bosom a literary tribunal, which makes despotism tremble, and the decrees of which suffice to exalt or to sink many a reputation in Europe.

'At Leith they are forming basins, docks for the construction of vessels, entrepots, &c. These labours, at the point where they now stop, are more remarkable for their perfect execution, than their magnitude. In case of realizing the projects formed a few years ago, that is, at the moment when British commerce was in its highest prosperity, they would add to the floating basins already finished, a new basin still larger, and the entry of which, opening into a deep and unobstructed part of the bay of Forth, would admit vessels of considerable burden, even at ebb tide. I am persuaded that scarcely will the Scots have ceased to dread

the stagnation of their commercial prosperity, when they will resume their projects of aggrandizement, and will pursue them through every obstacle with that constancy which characterizes them.

‘ Mr. Jardine, a learned civil engineer, who communicated information to me in the most liberal manner, took me into the yard of a ship-builder at Leith, to show me the very ingenious application of iron railways in the launching of vessels. I examined a fine steam boat, which is destined to tow the vessels from Leith to the mouth of the great canal which joins the Clyde near Glasgow. It appears that this operation, not hitherto attempted, has completely succeeded.

‘ I crossed the bay of Forth, and visited the little port of Kirkcaldy. Not far from thence is the fine domain of Raith, the possessor of which, Mr. Ferguson, has a magnificent cabinet of mineralogy. Quitting Raith, I reached the banks of the Tay, and crossed to Dundee, where they are digging a new harbour, partly excavated in the rock. Mr. Logan, the engineer who conducted these works, and who has been employed also in constructing the pharos of the Bell Rock, communicated to me his plans, and all his practical knowledge, with a liberality which I can never sufficiently acknowledge.

‘ From Dundee I went to Arbroath, in front of the new and celebrated pharos of the Bell Rock. Contrary winds, and the violence of the sea, did not allow us to go immediately to the rock where it is built, twelve miles from shore. I lodged two nights in a farm-house on the coast, observing every night the intensity of the fires, and the perfect distinction of their colours, which are alternately white and red,

‘ I was conveyed to the Bell Rock in the vessel of the Commissioners for the Northern Lights. I studied the construction of this light-house, which is the design of Mr. Rennie, executed under the care and immediate direction of Mr. Stevenson. I particularly remarked the mechanism of the lamps, and the disposition of the glasses, which produced the coloured flames.

‘ The keepers of the light-house have a library, not large, but composed of useful books upon literature, morality, and natural science; they are subscribers to one of the monthly journals which treat of these subjects. Thus simple workmen, in the midst of the sea, charm the leisure of their solitude by attempting to follow the progress of reason and of the human mind. It is by much local observation of this nature that I have been able to satisfy myself of the general diffusion of knowledge among the Scottish people.

‘ The keepers of the light-house keep a register, where they beg the persons who visit this edifice to inscribe their names, and to add some lines expressive of their ideas on the subject of this fine edifice. I found nothing remarkable in this album, except six improvisatory lines of the celebrated Walter Scott, when he visit-

ed the light-house. Walter Scott, is well known as the modern bard of Caledonia, and the finest scenes of this picturesque country owe to his genius a celebrity, which their solemn or savage grandeur would of itself never have given them. The following are the verses, which I was permitted to copy:

“ Far in the bosom of the deep  
O'er the wild shelves my watch I keep,  
A ruddy gem of changeful light  
Bound on the dusky brow of night;  
The seaman bids my lustre hail,  
And scorns to strike his timorous sail.”

‘ Continuing my route towards the north, I visited the harbours of Montrose, of Bervie, of Stonehaven, and of Aberdeen. Immense operations have begun to render Aberdeen a great commercial port; superb piers have been constructed at its entrance. The river Dee, forced by those artificial dikes to accelerate its course, has almost destroyed the bar, which, not more than twenty years ago, allowed only vessels of small burden to enter the harbour. The floating basins, projected in the interior of the port, are abandoned, because the company which undertook was not rich enough to finish them.

‘ When I passed through Aberdeen, I met Dr. Olinthus Gregory returning from the Shetland isles, where he had gone to meet M. Biot and captain Colby, to continue the triangulation of Great Britain, and to prolong thus far north the measure of the meridian, extended by the French southward to the Balearic isles. Dr. Gregory showed me, at the university, an observatory very rich in instruments, but, if I mistake not, very poor in observations. Another thing interested me much more, because it shows a talent and natural vocation for the sciences; the same gentleman took me to a shoemaker, who, in the intervals left to him by his humble employment, makes barometers, thermometers, and large reflecting telescopes, which appeared very perfect; he can push them up at will out of his roof upon a platform of a little wooden turret, which is reached by a window. There he shows to the curious the sun and the moon, as well as in an observatory of the first order. But it may be supposed, that upon so unsteady a base as that on which the instruments are thus perched, it must be impossible to make observations which require a perfectly immoveable ground.

‘ Departing from Aberdeen, I plunged into the mountains of higher Scotland as far as the mouth of the gulf of Murray, where the army of Agricola, stopped, deterred by the rugged and mountainous aspect of the opposite coast.

‘ From Inverness, at the bottom of the gulf of Murray, to fort Augustus, and from thence to fort William, I coasted the Caledonian canal; an immense work, which will allow frigates and vessels of five or six hundred tons to pass from the Atlantic to the German ocean, without making the dangerous circuit of the north of Scotland, and of the Orkney isles. Wood was wanted for the construction of the sluice-gates; they have been made of

wrought iron. I have examined gates which weighed twenty tons; they were opened and shut by two men only.

‘Departing from fort William where the Caledonian canal ends, and traversing anew chains of mountains almost completely arid and barren, I gained the banks of the lake Lomond, then the port of Dumbarton, and finally Glasgow.

‘Glasgow is one of those cities which show all that activity, perseverance and industry can produce. In the space of a century only, its population, its wealth, its commerce, and its manufactures, have increased tenfold.

‘It is easier to visit the establishments and manufactories of Glasgow, than those of any other city of the British empire. The liberal spirit of the inhabitants is in this respect carried as far as possible among a manufacturing people, who must naturally dread and seek to prevent, not only the loss of their preponderance, but every foreign rivalry.

‘The rich inhabitants of Glasgow have founded the Andersonian institution, where they teach, in the evenings of winter, the elements of geometry, of mechanics, of physics, and of chemistry applied to the arts. These courses are specially designed for young artizans, who have only to pay about 5s. in the season. This trifling fee is exacted in order that the students may include only persons actuated by the love of instruction, and willing to make some small sacrifice for it.

‘The Andersonian institution has produced astonishing effects. It is an admirable thing now to see in many Glasgow manufactories, simple workmen who understand and explain, when necessary, the principles of their operations, and the theoretical means of arriving at the most perfect possible practical results.

‘Dr. Ure, the principal professor of the Andersonian institution, well known by his kindness to foreigners, and particularly to the French, conducted me himself through all the important manufactories, the principal of which are now directed by his pupils.

‘If the simplicity of the details, which exhibit the spirit of a people, and the intelligence of the lower classes of society, do not alarm delicate readers, I shall give them an example of the information of plain Glasgow artizans, in two brothers, who are bakers, and who, in the interval between one batch and another employ themselves in making philosophical instruments and machines.

They have fashioned and put together all the parts of a small steam-engine, the modest boiler of which stands beside the pastry oven. The machine has the power of about two men, the movements are ingenious, it puts in motion machinery, by the aid of which our two artizans turn metals, and form lenses for optical instruments. They have constructed a small apparatus for lighting their shops and apartments with gas. These young persons know well the physical and mathematical principles of the instruments and machines which they construct. One day, if I may hazard a prediction, they will quite their trade to cultivate with success the natu-

ral sciences. But their fortune depends upon an uncle, who greatly prefers baking and pastry to gasometry and astronomy, and who jealous of the hereditary title of his family, wishes to transmit to his future nephews the kneading-trough of his ancestors. Alas! how many among us resemble, without knowing it, the uncle of the two pastry cooks.

‘There is preparing at Glasgow an immense apparatus to light with gas all the streets of that great city. When I was at Glasgow, the tubes for conducting it were already cast, and they were preparing a place for the gasometer and furnaces.

‘In supplying the inhabitants with water, a system has been followed which I have not seen practised in any other city. The water of the Clyde, brought by a subterraneous canal to the foot of a vapour pump, is first raised to eighty feet above the level of the river, and received into a great reservoir; thence the water passes into subterraneous conduits, which have a parallel direction. These conduits have for their bed two faces of equal declivity, and paved like a gutter; they are covered with large stones forming an arch, and leaving between them interstices not filled up. Smaller stones are placed irregularly over the first, and finally sand covers the whole parallel to the conduits thus formed; and on a level with the middle of their intervals, are ditches in the sand. The water descending from the reservoir into the conduits, tends to rise again across the great and small stones and the sand, to place itself on a level with the water which remains in the reservoir; thus it comes into the long parallel ditches, after having been perfectly purified. It appears to be a filter which differs from our ordinary household filters, only by being prepared for a hundred thousand persons. The purified water is then conducted by common tubes into the different houses of the city, which it supplies by pipes, even to the highest floors.

‘A work which contributes much to the prosperity of Glasgow, is the canal which joins the two seas, extending from the Clyde, a little above that city, to the bay of Forth, a little above Sterling.

‘I was invited to visit this canal along with the council of the company of proprietors. I had the pleasure of making this instructive excursion along with the celebrated Mr. Watt, an old inhabitant and civil engineer of Glasgow. By a favour too little merited, the first class of the Institute of France named me corresponding member in the room of Mr. Watt, when he was named foreign associate. To this honour, and to the kind recommendation of M. Berthollet, I owe the acquaintance and friendship of Mr. Watt. With mingled respect and admiration, I saw this fine old man of eighty-three, retaining the vigour of his mind as well as body, who instructed me in the multitude of particulars relative to the progress of English industry, which has been accelerated by him more than by any other inventor. To Mr. Watt, England owes in a great measure the immense increase of her riches during the last half century.

‘ He invited me to go down from Glasgow to Greenock upon the Clyde on board the steam-boats, and to communicate my observations on them, which he said would be particularly interesting, because his son was then making, on a great scale, very careful observations upon the *Caledonian* steam-boat.

‘ Not long ago, the Clyde was navigable to Glasgow only for very small vessels. At present ships of 150 tons ascend it with ease. Immense dikes have given to agriculture vast spaces of land, formerly inundated every day by the tides of the river; the bed, rendered more narrow, has become deeper; and cleansing machines, moved by the fire-pump, have finished this great work in the points where the natural course of the waters does not tend to produce this effect.

‘ I would wish that the example of the Clyde and of Glasgow should lead to the same efforts and the same results for the Seine and for Paris.

‘ Every day sixteen steam-boats go up and down the Clyde from Glasgow to Dumbarton, to Port-Glasgow and to Greenock. Some extend their voyage much farther; they sail along the coast, and in the numerous circumjacent gulfs. They go already 120 miles from the point of departure; this great distance is performed in one day.

‘ Port-Glasgow is a vast quadrangular basin, containing the large vessels employed in the commerce of the two Indies, and which draw too much water to come up to Glasgow. This port is little more than three miles above Greenock, on the left bank of the Clyde.

‘ At Greenock, the Clyde extremely broad, surrounded on all sides by high mountains, presents a spacious, deep, and safe road. They are improving, enlarging, and renewing in a manner the basins at Greenock. From Greenock to Port Glasgow the coast is bordered by docks for ship-building.

‘ At Greenock, I visited a manufactory of ropes, having the fire-pump as the moving power. This manufactory is carried on according to the principles of captain Huddart; but it is here reduced to its simplest elements, which allows its mechanism to be better perceived.

‘ Before quitting the environs of Glasgow, I had particularly at heart to visit the famous foundry of Carron, near Sterling; I wished at least to attempt to see it, for I knew, that very few English and no foreigners were admitted. Thus prince Nicholas, notwithstanding all the royal recommendations with which his highness was provided, had not been able to obtain admission, I myself was modestly, but warmly recommended as a amateur, *un dilettante, di belle cose*. I underwent first an interrogatory in form. Are you a merchant, or manufacturer? No, and not even concerned in the smallest enterprise. In what view do you travel? As a friend of the sciences and arts, for my instruction. Let this gentleman enter.

‘The works of Carron are immense, particularly during war. In this foundry are manufactured almost all the artillery used in the English navy, bullets, bombs, &c. Carronades are called by that name, because the first pieces of that kind were made at Carron.

‘Independent of artillery, I saw iron manufactured into many articles equally various in their form and use, from those vast boilers employed in the colonies for the preparation of sugar, to those light and delicate vessels, which are turned with great ease, and which it has never yet been found possible to manufacture with any iron, except that of Great Britain. I remarked also objects of luxury, such as grates, &c.; they are embellished by sculptures modelled with a great delicacy of execution, and even with a good deal of taste in the design.

‘Immense cylindrical bellows, with a reservoir of air to render the action of the wind constant, appeared to me very deserving of observation. Steam-engines of great power, streams of water that are very abundant in autumn, in winter, and in spring, are the moving powers employed to execute the principal operations.

‘Nature has placed the mines of iron and coal very near the establishment. These primary substances are brought partly by iron railways, partly by the canal, which communicates with the foundry by a branch. The products of the manufacture may thus, by a very short passage, be transported by water, either into the Atlantic or German oceans.

‘To avoid the winding navigation of the Clyde below Glasgow; and particularly below Greenock, where the river terminates between high promontories, lord Eglinton has formed the plan of building a harbour at Ardrossan, and of joining it with the harbour of Glasgow by a canal already finished as far as Paisley. Part of these works are in full activity.

‘A vast bay, in the form of a crescent, presents, at its northern point the harbour of Ardrossan, and at its southern, the harbour of Troon, destined for the exportation of coal. An iron railway, ten miles long, brings the coal from the mines near Kilmarnock, to the vessels that are anchored in Troon bay: these vessels generally carry their cargo to Ireland, where there are scarcely any coal-mines worked.

‘I have seen diligences established on the iron railway from Kilmarnock to Troon bay; they give the idea of an enormous nomadic vehicle, and yet are drawn without effort by a single horse.

‘I examined the port of Ayr, which, like all those placed at the mouth of a river, can receive only vessels that draw very little depth of water, unless the entrance be deepened by immense works; this has not yet been done for Ayr.

‘After having examined these different harbours, I quitted Scotland crossing the river Esk on my way to Carlisle.

‘If I had been able, in so short an exposition, to give but a general idea, of all the institutions, all the works, undertaken within

these few years for the prosperity of Scotland, I should have presented one of the pictures most calculated to excite the admiration of all men, and a worthy object for the meditation of the sage. It is a noble spectacle to see a people, naturally poor, employ their activity, their constancy, and their genius, in triumphing over a stubborn nature,—in rendering sterility itself productive; a people who, thinking of the riches of the mind as well as those of the senses, make agriculture, commerce, manufactures, instruction, morality, and liberty, flourish at once.'

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ART. III.—*On the Introduction of the Steam Engine to the Peruvian Mines.*

[From the first volume of the 'Transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall.]

**A**S the introduction of Cornish machinery and Cornish intellect, to the Spanish American mines, hitherto interdicted to foreigners, will probably form a remarkable epoch in the history of mineralogy, some notices of that singular event may, perhaps, be deemed worthy of record in the annals of the Cornwall Geological Society.

Occurrences trivial in themselves, and apparently fortuitous, sometimes lead to important results. Among the captains or foremen, of our Cornish mines, there are not a few, who, in addition to great skill in practical mining, attain to much mechanical knowledge and ingenuity. Captain Richard Trevithick, of Camborne, is one of that superior class of miners, and one whose talents and attention had been long employed in plans to increase the power of the steam engine. He so far succeeded as at length to obtain a patent for his invention. In the mean time he had constructed a working model of his high pressure engine, which was so perfectly finished, that it found its way to London as a cabinet curiosity.

About the same period, a native of Switzerland, M. François Uvillé, had found in Peru, some of the richest mines falling into decay, or totally drowned, from the impossibility of draining them by manual labour; and hearing also that these mines were richer in silver ore than those of Mexico, he conceived the idea of introducing the steam engine, and determined to make the requisite inquiries when he returned to Europe. It appears that he came to London in the year 1811, but met with no encouragement to pursue his plan, on account of the impossibility, as it was thought, of transporting such ponderous materials several hundred miles over mountains, inaccessible to any species of wheel carriage; and also from the inefficacy of steam in an atmosphere so rare as that on the elevation of the Peruvian Cordilleras. About to leave England, in despair of accomplishing his great object, and passing by Fitzroy-square, he accidentally saw the model of a steam engine exposed for sale in the shop of a Mr. Roland. He examined it, and being struck with the simplicity and excellence of the prin-



aple and construction, he purchased it at the price of twenty guineas. This was the Trevithick model. Mr. Uville took it to Lima, and hastened to try its effects on the highest ridges of Pasco. The experiment so convinced him and others of the adequacy of its powers, and the practicability of conveying the machinery in parts, that on the 17th July, 1812, he formed an association with don Pedro Abadia, and don Jose Aresmendi, opulent merchants of Lima, for the purpose of contracting with the proprietors of the flooded mines. The marquis de Concordia, then viceroy of Peru, approved the plan, and, under his protection, the new company entered into contracts to draw several of the principal mines, for certain shares of the gross produce of ores; making an average ratio of 25 per cent. or one fourth part of the whole. These contracts were made in the month of August, 1812; and in pursuance thereof, Mr. Uville again embarked for Europe, and reaching Jamaica, he took his passage to Falmouth, in the Fox packet, captain Tilley, which arrived in the early part of the summer, 1813. Mr. Uville's mind was too full of the flattering expectations which his scheme inspired, not to be making frequent inquiries among his fellow passengers about mines and engines. One day conversing on this favourite subject with a Mr. Teague, and expressing an anxious wish to find out, if possible, the author of the model he carried to Lima, he was most agreeably surprised to hear Mr. Teague reply, 'Mr. Trevithick is my near relative, and within a few hours after our arrival at Falmouth, I can bring you together.' It so happened accordingly, and in consequence, Mr. Uville resided several months with captain Trevithick, at Camborne; and was by him instructed in the practice of mining, and in the management of machinery.

After acquiring much practical information in Cornwall, Mr. Uville, accompanied by Mr. Trevithick, visited other mining districts, and London. He was introduced by a scientific gentleman, Mr. Campbell, of the East-India house, to Messrs. Bolton and Watt, as being the first steam engineers in the universe. He explained to those gentlemen the elevation of the mines, and the mountainous precipices to be surmounted, and they were of opinion that it was not possible to attain the object in contemplation.

Notwithstanding the weight of a decision from such high authority, captain Trevithick was not deterred from the pursuit. He applied his mind intensely to some improvement of his high pressure engine, and, having succeeded, he entered into an engagement with Mr. Uville, on the 8th of January, 1814, to provide the apparatus for nine engines, which cost about 10,000 pounds, and were despatched by the ship Wildman, which sailed from Portsmouth on the 1st of September, 1814, accompanied by Mr. Uville, and three Cornishmen, namely, Thomas Trevarthen of Crowan, Henry Vivian of Camborne, and William Ball of Chase-water, to direct the erection of the machinery; permission having been granted by the British government. They arrived safely at

Lima, and were welcomed by a royal salute, and public rejoicings. Such, however, are the almost insurmountable difficulties to the transport of such heavy materials, that it was not till the middle of the year 1816, that the first steam engine, ever seen in South America, began to work.

Great ceremony, it appears, was observed on the occasion, and the most distinguished honours vouchsafed by the viceregal government. The official deputation appointed to superintend this new and very extraordinary operation, made a report to his excellency the viceroy, conceived in the high sounding style of Spanish diplomacy. This report was published by authority in the Lima Gazette, of the 10th of August, 1816. 'Immense and incessant labour,' (they say) 'and boundless expense, have conquered difficulties hitherto esteemed altogether insuperable; and we have, with unlimited admiration, witnessed the erection, and astonishing operation of the first steam engine. It is established in the celebrated and royal mineral territory called the mountain of Yaurichocha, in the province of Tarma; and we have had the felicity of seeing the drain of the first shaft in the Santa Rosa mine, in the noble district of Pasco.' 'We are ambitious' (they continued) 'of transmitting to posterity, the details of an undertaking of such prodigious magnitude, from which we anticipate a torrent of silver, that shall fill surrounding nations with astonishment.' They then go on to name a number of individuals on whom the 'eternal gratitude of all good Spaniards is invoked;' and it is somewhat remarkable that the only Englishman mentioned by name in this list of worthies is Mr. *Bull!*

In the meantime, Mr. Trevithick had been employed in providing further supplies of engines, considerable quantities of coining apparatus for the royal mint of Peru, and also furnaces for purifying silver ore by fusion; an experiment which will be, if it succeeds, of incalculable advantage to the American mines, as amalgamation becomes more and more expensive and limited by the want of quicksilver. This second cargo of machinery was sent by the ship *Asp*, a South sea whaler, which sailed from Mount's bay on the 20th of October; and after a quick voyage, arrived at Lima on the 6th of February. Mr. Trevithick went out in this vessel accompanied by Mr. Page of London, attorney-at-law, and James Sanders, an engine-maker. He was immediately presented to the viceroy, was most graciously received, welcomed by the most flattering attention of the inhabitants; and his arrival was officially announced in the Lima gazette, of the 12th of February. By this gazette public notice was given of the completion of the second engine, said to be far superior in size and beauty to the first, with a detail of the wonderful effects produced, and announcing the reception of some parcels of ore of extraordinary richness, raised from the mines thus restored by the operation of the steam engines; and continues thus—'To this agreeable intelligence we have the happiness to add, that of the arrival of the British ship

Asp, from London, having on board a large quantity of machinery, consigned to the royal mint of this city, and for constructing eight engines equal to those already erected on the Santa Rosa, and Yauriacocha mines in Pasco, with this advantage, that they are of the latest improvement. But that which is of still greater importance, is the arrival of don Ricardo Trevithick, an eminent professor of mechanics, machinery, and mineralogy, inventor and constructor of the engines of the last patent, and who directed in England the execution of the machinery now at work in Pasco. This professor, with the assistance of the workmen who accompany him, can construct as many engines as shall be wanted in Peru, without the necessity of sending to Europe for any part of these vast machines. The excellent character of don Ricardo, and his ardent desire to promote the interests of Peru, recommend him to the highest degree of public estimation, and make us hope that his arrival in this kingdom will form the epoch of its prosperity, through the enjoyment of its internal riches, which could not be realised without such assistance, or if the British government had not permitted the exportation from England, an object hitherto deemed unattainable by all who know how jealous that nation is of all her superior inventions in the arts or industry.'

It is to be observed, that the engine which has obtained such singular celebrity in South America, is on the principle of captain Trevithick's improvement; whereby he sought, through intense heat, to impart a greater elastic force to the steam; and which is necessary to its application in the rare atmosphere of very elevated regions; a result, however, not at all in contemplation when he was studying the improvement.

So much importance was attached to Mr. Trevithick's personal superintendence, that the viceroy ordered the lord warden of the mines to escort him with a guard of honour to the mining district, where the news of his arrival in America caused the greatest rejoicings; and many of the chief men came to Lima, a distance of many days' journey over the mountains, to welcome him. Mr. Uvillé wrote to his associates, 'that heaven had sent him out for the prosperity of the mines; and that the lord warden proposed to erect his statue in massy silver.' In this narrative of incidents, almost romantic, it is not the least to be remarked, that a Cornish miner should be found superintending the royal mint of Peru. Such, it appears, is the fact; and that Mr. Trevithick had also been directed to use his endeavours to increase the powers of the coining machinery six fold: a circumstance which shows the confidence of the government in obtaining a vast increase of the precious metals. It was necessary to augment the power of a water wheel; but the means of so doing, were to be found only within the inclosure of a convent, of one of the strictest orders, into which it was not permitted for any male, (except the father confessor) on any pretence, to enter. The officers of the mint, having before made every effort to obtain access, were so convinced of the utter impossibility

of succeeding, that they could not be induced to renew the application. That which the strong arm of power had failed to do, Mr. Trevithick accomplished; and the triple doors were unbarred to a layman, a foreigner, and a heretic. Probably he had not yet learnt the fearful respect with which these consecrated retreats are regarded by the natives; and accustomed not to shrink from difficulties, he resolved to go straight forward, and boldly ask admission. Whether the novelty of such a visit, or a curiosity to see the celebrated stranger, removed the interdict, does not appear: entrance, however, was obtained; and the manner and result cannot be so well told as in his own words.

‘Without the knowledge of don Abadia, or any one except Mr. Page and my interpreter, I walked up, without seeming to know there was any objections to admit men, and rung the bell at the outer door. A female slave came to the grate, to whom the interpreter told my name and business, which she carried in. Presently three aged nuns appeared, and said I could not be admitted. I informed them that I had come from England for the purpose of improving the royal mint, and could not proceed without examining and measuring the water-courses. They then retired, and, after consultation, were admitted, conducted over the premises, and shown the chapel and other places without reserve.’

The latest accounts left captain Trevithick in the enjoyment of increasing distinction, and a flattering prospect of great wealth: having in addition to his emoluments as patentee and engineer, one fifth part or share in the Lima company, from which, it is said, on a moderate computation, 100,000 pounds per ann. may be expected. His great influence in the country, his zeal for the prosperity of this society, and the promises, repeated since his arrival in Peru, joined to his knowledge of mineralogy, will enrich our cabinets with a more splendid and instructive series of South American specimens than has yet reached Europe.

These notices of the extraordinary fact, of Cornwall stretching out the beneficent hand of science, to the remotest regions of the earth, will excite, perhaps, different feelings and anticipations in the mind of the statesman, the miner, and the merchant; but the philosopher will rejoice in the diffusion of useful knowledge. He will hail with pleasure every approach to that free international communication of the benefits peculiar to each, which the best of men have wished, and the wisest recommended. In this instance we see the barriers of national jealousy and religious bigotry yielding to the force of truth. We have seen the unprecedented phenomenon of a Lima gazette extolling the superior attainments of foreigners, and the liberality of the British government, for imparting the benefits of our improvements.

Whether ‘the torrent of silver,’ which the Peruvian viceregal deputation so confidently anticipate, will produce effects analogous to those experienced in Europe by the great influx of the precious metals in the 16th century, and accelerate the march of improvement

in art and science, may form a subject of curious speculation. To a scientific society, it must always be pleasing to contemplate the progress of instruction: but at the same time it will be the cause of regret to the members of this institution, that it may still be said, 'Cornwall has no school of mines—no professor's chair—no suitable encouragement to promote the pursuit of mineralogical science.' Shall we wait to be taught the value of such establishments by the half-peopled, half-civilized wilds of America?—I hope not.

#### ART. IV.—*Plan of the New Bank of the United States.*

[The engraved plate accompanying this number, represents the front elevation of the new Bank of the United States, according to the design of Mr. Strickland, which has been adopted by the directors. It is to be built of Pennsylvania marble, on the site lately purchased for the purpose, in Chesnut street, between Fourth and Fifth streets.]

**I**N the design and proportions of this edifice, we recognize the leading features of that celebrated work of antiquity, the Parthenon at Athens. In selecting this example as a model for a building such as a Bank, requiring a peculiar internal arrangement and distribution of space and light, it becomes a difficult task for an architect to preserve *all* the characteristics of a Grecian temple, whose original design and appropriation was solely for the worship of the gods, and for the depositories of public treasure. The peripteros or flanking columns of a Grecian building, produce a decidedly beautiful feature in architecture. But they cannot be applied with their proper effect to places of business, without a consequent sacrifice of those principles which have a constant application to internal uses and economy. The design before us is of the Grecian Doric—characterised as *Hypaethros*, having eight fluted columns, 4 feet 6 inches in diameter, embracing the whole front, taken from the Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, hecatompedon at Athens, being divested of the columns of the peripteros and pronaus, of the sculptured metopes, of the freize, and the basso-relievo figures in the tympanum of the pediment.

The columns rise from a basement 6 feet in elevation, supporting a plain entablature, extending along the sides of a parallelogram 86 by 160 feet, including the body of the building and porticos that project 10 feet 6 inches from each of the fronts. The vertical angle of the pediment is  $152^{\circ}$ , forming an uninterrupted line from end to end of the ridge or apex of the roof.

The ascent to the porticos from the street, is by a flight of six steps, to a terrace or platform, extending 16 feet on each flank, and in front of the edifice.

It is on this terrace that the building is reared, and from which it derives a great portion of its effect. The gateways on the right and left, open into paved avenues, which extend from Chesnut to Library streets, along each of the flanks, serving to insulate the

building from surrounding objects, it being inclosed along these avenues by a return of the iron railing exhibited in the front elevation.

The door of entrance opens into a spacious pronasus or vestibule, leading to the banking-room, which is placed immediately in the centre of the building. On the right and left of the vestibule is the loan office and transfer office, which are entirely distinct from the rooms appropriated to banking purposes. The banking-room *in plan*, is a spacious parallelogram of 45 by 80 feet, containing twelve polished marble pillars, of the Ionic order, copied from the temple of Minerva Polias, at Priene, these pillars are placed at a distance of 8 feet from the sides of the room, and support a vaulted pannelled ceiling, across its shortest diameter. The desks, and counters, range throughout the intercolumniations, forming a capacious area in the centre and along their sides, for the transaction of business. The president's and cashier's rooms, on the north, together with the vaults and private stairways on the south, are adjacent to the sides of the banking-room, and can only be approached by doors of communication from this room. The stockholders', directors', and committee rooms, are situated on the southern front of the building, having passages of communication with each other and with the banking-room. It is to be remarked that in the plan all the rooms are bounded by parallel walls, at right angles from the fronts and flanks; that these rooms are lighted exclusively from the flanks of the building, which are at a distance of 33 1-2 feet from the boundary lines of the lot, affording ample space for the circulation of light and air in every direction.

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ART. V.—*Outlines of the Mineralogy and Geology of Boston and its Vicinity*; with a Geological Map. By J. Trueman Dana, M.D. and Samuel L. Dana, M.D. Boston, 1818. Pages 108.

**T**HE increasing attention paid to the study of mineralogy and geology, from the manifest utility of such researches, renders every publication of this kind, that promises to add to the stock of real knowledge, very interesting. Accurate accounts of the mineralogy and geology of particular districts are peculiarly desirable: for the fabulous age of geology has passed by; and we find it more necessary at present to record facts than to frame theories. Hence, although M. Godon had gone over the same ground with Messrs. Dana, we were rejoiced to see a book that promised a more full, and a more accurate account of the district under observation than he had presented to us. Not that M. Godon's name is mentioned by the present writers, or his memoir even alluded to in the list of authors and works consulted: but we took for granted that we should be amply repaid in the present work, from its correcting the mistakes, or supplying the omissions of the very ingenious and well-informed observer who had preceded Messrs. Dana.

The works 'consulted in prefacing' the present outlines, are the mineralogies of Cleaveland, Kirwan, Jameson, and Aikin, and

Werner's Nomenclature of Colours, by Patrick Syme. These works have indeed been consulted to much advantage by the present compilers, for at least three fourths of the volume now under review, has been borrowed for the mere purposes of eking out the matter to the proper size of a *justum volumen*—of borrowing the most elementary ideas of the most common authors.

'We presume (say these gentlemen, in the preface, p. 5,) that the student is well acquainted with the introduction to professor Cleaveland's work, before he attempts practically to pursue mineralogy; if he is not, we would advise him to lay aside these pages, till he is master of those.' Now we may assert without fear of contradiction, that a student who has read either Cleaveland, Jameson, or Aikin, will find not a sentence that is new in at least nine tenths of the present book; which is in fact a disgraceful example of literary book making, as it respects both the matter and the manner.

First we have a synoptical table of the minerals described in the work, which table comprises also a brief description of some of the leading characters of the minerals mentioned. This does not contain one sentence of information, not to be found in the elementary authors who have supplied it. Nineteen pages, with the preface, next comes phosphat of lime, by Messrs. Dana called apatite, which we apprehend from its colour and other properties, to be moroxite. This occupies above a page. Then the limestones occupy seven pages, of which the localities only, can be said to be new, and these may occupy about a quarter of a page if put together. Then the mineral quartz occupies four pages, mica and felspar three: with not one circumstance of peculiarity attached to them, geological or mineralogical: and so on, during seventy-six pages, of which the real information might be most easily compressed in six; especially if we were to use a moderate page, instead of one where 'a rivulet of text meanders through a meadow of margin.' We looked in vain for some interesting fact or observation under the heads Amygdaloid and Basalt—for some thing that might lead us to draw a conclusion, whether these minerals in the neighbourhood of Boston had a right to be considered as volcanic; that there is room for such an opinion, we know from the specimens in our own collection; but we looked in vain. It will be difficult to point out one sentence of interest or of novelty in these seventy-six pages, except that the schoalstone, found, as it is supposed, at Chelmsford, is called Chelmsfordite by Messrs. Dana; who, if they have added nothing to our knowledge of minerals, are willing to contribute to the burthen of nomenclature. As a proof that we have reason thus to find fault, we will take a whole page at hazard; for it may truly be said of these pages, 'ex uno disce omnes.'

'Order 11. Steatite.

'Species XV. STEATITE.

'Common Steatite. *Cleaveland*, p. 350. Steatite, *Jameson*, vol. 1, p. 418.

‘Semi-indurated steatite, *Kirwan*, vol. 1, p. 151. Soapstone, *Aikin*, p. 249.

‘*External Characters.*

‘Its colours are gray and green. Of gray, it occurs greenish gray; of green, asparagus green, and blackish green.

‘Its lustre is faintly glimmering and dull.

‘It is translucent at the edges.

‘It is amorphous.

‘It has a very unctuous feel.

‘It gives a slight argillaceous odour, when breathed on.

‘It adheres slightly to the tongue.

‘The streak is white.

‘It is soft and very soft.

‘The fracture is uneven and splintery.

‘It is brittle.

‘It is easily frangible.

‘The fragments are indeterminately angular and blunt edged.

‘The specific gravity is about 2,750.

‘*Chymical Characters.*

‘Before the blowpipe it loses colour, and fuses into a white enamel.

‘*Geological Situation and Locality.*

‘It occurs massive and disseminated in carbonat of lime, at Chelmsford.’

Thus are the pages for the most part made up of the commonest descriptions of the commonest minerals, so printed, as to occupy the greatest possible space.

Upon the geological part of this treatise, every reader will remark the inclination to multiply denominations of the same substance.

Werner’s arrangement of rocks is adopted, to wit, granite, argillite, primitive trap, porphyry, sienite. Amygdaloid, gray wache. Sand, pebbles, clay, peat.

Then we have graphic granite, and porphyrite granite, common greenstone, greenstone porphyry, and green porphyry: sienitic porphyry, and porphyritic sienite. Now, all these, although well enough to be distinguished in a lady’s cabinet of minerals, are hardly distinguishable *geologically*. They are merely varieties of the rock granite, or the primitive trap, which includes hornblende and its mixtures with felspar. But we looked at the map, for these varieties in vain. Even granite is not to be found on it.

We see little added to the account given us by M. Godon, in the third volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, although Messrs. Dana do not condescend to mention his name. He notices and describes, eight varieties of primitive trap or hornblende rock, four varieties of felspar rock, petrosilex, porphyry, argillite, wache, and amygdaloid geologically.

Of the minerals in the neighbourhood of Boston, he notices limestone, quartz, felspar, hornblende, epidote, actynolite, mica,



asbestos, talc, chorite, garnet, schorl, buyll, peat, copper, iron with its varieties, specular, oydulated, arsenical, sulphuretted, carbonated, and manganese.

The *geological* description of the district in question, as given by Messrs. Dana, would admit of many remarks of doubt: but it is not of sufficient importance, or drawn up with sufficient knowledge of the subject, to require further notice on our part. After the very commendable example of condensation, which professor Cleaveland has given us, in his valuable compilation on mineralogy, we should have expected from writers acquainted with his book, and living in his neighbourhood, more information and fewer words. And we hope the next treatise on mineralogy, from our fellow-labourers in New England, who understand the subject so well, will imitate in this respect the praise-worthy example of the professor at Bowdoin.

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ART. VI.—*Memoir of the late Warren Hastings*, Governor General of Bengal from 1774 to 1785.

[Extracted from the Asiatic Journal, for December 1813.]

**THE** Rt. Hon. WARREN HASTINGS, late Governor-general of British India, one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, LL. D. and F. R. S. traced his descent from a very ancient and respectable family at Daylesford, in the county of Worcester, where his remote ancestors had for many ages held a considerable landed estate. This estate had been alienated in 1715, continued out of the family for two generations, and was repurchased by Mr. Hastings in 1789. He was born in the year 1733. His father, who was a clergyman and enjoyed a benefice at Churchill, a village near Daylesford, in Worcestershire, seems neither to have inherited affluence, nor to have amassed a fortune; and dying while Warren was of tender years, left him unprovided for. The care of his edutation devolved on an uncle, Mr. Howard Hastings, who sent him to Westminster school. At this seminary he exhibited marks of superior genius, and won the friendly regard of Dr. Nichols, the head master. His great proficiency in literature did credit as well to the preceptor as the pupil; and when he left Westminster, he was esteemed one of the best scholars of that foundation. He was removed to Oxford at sixteen, but had scarcely become a resident there, when the death of his uncle consigned him to other guardians. Dr. Nichols generously offered to furnish money to complete his education at the university; but Mr. Creswick, an India director and executor to his uncle, proposed to send him to Bengal with a writer's appointment.

Young Warren availed himself of Mr. Creswick's patronage, and sailing from England in the winter of 1749, arrived at Calcutta in the ensuing summer. His course of education for public business, answering to the preparatory interval consumed in studying one of the learned professions, may be dated from this period.

Mr. Hastings says of himself, in his defence during the impeachment, 'With the year 1750, I entered the service of the East India Company; and from that service I have derived all my official habits, all the knowledge which I possess, and all the principles which were to regulate my conduct in it.' This early initiation into habits of business may have its advantages in a few rare instances, i. e. when the youth has already a manly intellect; when the value of every redeemable opportunity for improvement is perceived by native sagacity, and the premature separation from compulsory studies is compensated by voluntary application. Mr. Hastings was first attached to one of the factories in Bengal. In affairs which depended on industry, he was indefatigable; where genius could shorten the way to a successful conclusion, he showed acuteness and invention. After the daily requisitions of office were satisfied, he had some hours which he might either waste or improve. In these he gave himself assiduously to the study of the Persian and Hindustanee languages, and to the cultivation of those attainments which increased his qualifications for the Company's service. At the same time, he began to observe the relations of the native powers with the eye of a statesman. His application was crowned with such rapid advances in commercial and political knowledge, that he was selected by the presidency to attempt the establishing of a factory in the interior parts of Bengal, where no European had hitherto penetrated; and though the design was then defeated by the sudden intervention of a turbulent period, he conciliated the esteem of the natives among whom he had resided.

In 1756, Surajah Dowlah having made himself master of Calcutta, issued orders for the seizing of all the English in Bengal, and Mr. Hastings was one of those who were carried prisoners to Moorshadabad, that tyrant's capital. Even at that court he had already inspired with personal respect, men who had the power to protect him. He was treated with humanity, received many distinguishing attentions, and was permitted to reside at the Dutch factory of Calcapore.

When Col. Clive retook Calcutta, Mr. Hastings served as a volunteer in his army. Surajah Dowlah, who had aimed at the expulsion of the English, exhibited a striking instance of the mutability of human affairs. His defeat at Plassey by Col. Clive was followed by his dethronement, and the substitution of Meer Jaffier. This revolution took place in 1757, and made it expedient to have a resident at the court of the Nabob. Col. Clive showed that discernment of men which marked his character by selecting Mr. Hastings to act as the honourable Company's minister. As his zeal and fidelity in previous duties led to this appointment, so his able conduct as resident recommended him to a still higher office; and in 1761 he became a member of the council at Calcutta. At the council board he distinguished himself by the elegant composition of the minutes which he delivered, according to the custom

of the service, on the subjects for deliberation; and he was held in high consideration by his colleagues for the soundness of his judgment.

In 1765 Mr. Hastings returned to England in H. M's. ship the *Medway*, with his friend Mr. Vansittart, at that time governor of Bengal. The fortune with which he had retired, after a service of upwards of fourteen years, was originally moderate; and an unexpected diminution made his income very small. He had brought with him only a part of his acquisitions; and by some casualty the remittance of the remainder failed. To repair this deficiency, he exerted his interest for a reappointment in India; and it is a curious fact, that the same individual who afterwards became all-powerful with the Company, could not at that time obtain permission to return.

Mr. Hastings now lived in England, cultivating literature and enjoying the society of men of genius; among whom were the great lord Mansfield and Dr. Samuel Johnson. Three letters to him from the doctor have been preserved by Mr. Boswell; who, speaking of the condescension with which Mr. Hastings communicated to him these letters, delineates the following short sketch of his character: 'Warren Hastings, whose regard reflects dignity even upon Johnson; a man the extent of whose abilities was equal to that of his power; and who, by those who are fortunate enough to know him in private life, is admired for his literature and taste, and beloved for the candour, moderation, and mildness of his character. Were I capable of paying a suitable tribute of admiration to him, I should certainly not withhold it a moment when it is not possible that I should be suspected of being an interested flatterer. But how weak would be my voice, after that of millions whom he governed.'

In 1766, the year after his return, he had, in concert with Dr. Johnson, formed a plan for instituting a professorship of the Persian language at Oxford, with a view of undertaking the office; but a surprising revolution was preparing in his fortunes. In the winter of the same year, Mr. Hastings being examined at the bar of the House of Commons, during an inquiry into the affairs of the Company, attracted general notice by his prompt, masterly, and intelligent expositions. In consequence of this unsought display, his talents were soon after called into action. The court of directors were desirous to have a person of eminent ability to succeed to the presidency of Madras; he was accordingly appointed second in council at that settlement, with a provision that he was to succeed Mr. Dupre, their then governor. Mr. Hastings was recommended to this appointment by some of the very men whose opinions in politics the tenor of his own uniformly opposed; a circumstance which we can only attribute to a disinterested choice on one side, and singular merit on the other. He continued in that station until February 1772, when his great talents were required in Bengal. Owing to mismanagement abroad, and the

want of adaptation to circumstances not anticipated in orders sent from home, the affairs of Calcutta and its dependencies had become much embarrassed, and reduced to an alarming state of distress. The court of directors thought no person so capable of retrieving them as Mr. Hastings. They accordingly sent a despatch to Madras, enjoining him to proceed immediately to Bengal, to assume the administration at a fixed day to which they had limited the stay of the present governor, Mr. Cartier.

Mr. Hastings succeeded to this arduous charge in April 1772. He found the funds of that settlement loaded with a debt of near three millions sterling, bearing a heavy rate of interest; but in less than two years he had discharged that debt, and had replenished the treasury with a sum in specie to the same amount.

Unfortunately for the interest of the British nation in India, the gentlemen who were joined with Mr. Hastings in the council, Mr. Barwell excepted, entertained habitual prejudices against his system of administration with a corresponding attachment to their own views. Hence they commenced an opposition to his plans; and three votes gave them the ascendancy until the death of Col. Monson, which happened in Nov. 1776, when the equal division of members gave the governor general the casting vote. General Clavering died in August 1777. Mr. Wheeler had been appointed early in that year to succeed Col. Monson; he commonly voted with Mr. Francis. The force of talent in the council being no longer almost neutralized by pertinacious obstruction, the first effect was, that the fruits of the measures originating with Mr. Hastings were more decisive and apparent; the second was, that the leading men of this country reposed in his talents a higher confidence; and the legislature, who had twice before continued his appointment for short, and as it were probationary terms, extended it to ten years.

In 1774 parliament changed the whole system for governing British India, and managing the political affairs of the Company at home; and appointed a supreme council at Calcutta, which was to control all the other settlements. Under this new arrangement the legislature appointed Mr. Hastings the first governor general for a term of five years. In 1778 he was continued for one year more; in 1779 again for one year more; in 1781 for ten years; and in 1784 his appointment was confirmed by the act of parliament that formed the present government of India.

The purport of his commission given by the court was, 'that the directors of the East India Company appointed Warren Hastings, Esq. governor general of all their possessions in India, and invested him with the whole government, civil and military.'

From 1765, when this country acquired the sovereignty of Bengal, it had been the custom to entrust the departments of the revenue and of judicial proceedings to native ministers. Under that system of collection, the annual revenues were a million below the sum they were calculated to produce. Mr. Hastings effected

a great revolution. He changed the whole face of the interior administration in the departments of finance and judicature.

The year preceding, the total annual resources of the Bengal government were £3,132,319. He left it in 1785, when its annual resources were £5,218,815 in English money, being an increase of more than £2,000,000 a year. These revenues had in 1795 increased to £5,500,000, from the successful operation of a system adopted by Mr. Hastings; a system for which he was impeached.

The following branches of resource were created by Mr. Hastings, and have produced, in the year 1785:—

Post-office collection	£14,340	0s.
Oude subsidy - -	535,665	10
Benares revenue - -	433,341	10
Salt - - - - -	964,971	12
Opium - - - - -	182,263	10
<hr/>		
	£2,130,592	2
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His arrangements for Oude and its dependencies furnished matter for sixteen articles of impeachment; and the result of those arrangements is simply this: that between 1773 and 1794, the Company had actually received £16,000,000 sterling into its treasury more than it would have done, if Mr. Hastings had not concluded that engagement with Surajah Dowlah, in 1773, which is known by the name of the treaty of Benares.

Such have been the consequences of Mr. Hastings having disobeyed orders; for he was charged with disobedience of orders, in marching a brigade beyond the bounds of Surajah Dowlah's dominions.

From 1765, when lord Clive acquired the Duannee, to 1772, when Mr. Hastings came to the government, nearly a third of our military force was either in Oude or Corah, and paid by the extraction of specie from Bengal. But from 1772 a third of our army was paid by the sovereign of Oude, independant of the very large sums in specie brought from Oude into Bengal, in consequence of the Rohilla war, and the sale of Corah and Allahabad.

Never was there a man eminent in public life whose conduct had been more rigidly inquired into, or more freely commented upon; and no character has come out more bright from a fierce crucible. If he was powerfully attacked, he was ably defended, and the warmth of his friends and the candour of the public, at least kept pace with the malice of his detractors, and the exertions of the more honourable assailants who were misled by gross misrepresentations. In 1776, the weight of government was exerted against him, and the influence of his Majesty's ministers personally exercised at the India House to effect his recall; but the majority of the proprietors defeated the attempt, and fixed him in

**Bengal.** On May 28, 1782, the House of Commons voted, on the motion of Mr. Dundas (then lord advocate, afterwards secretary of state, ultimately lord Melville), that it was the duty of the Court of Directors to displace Mr. Hastings from his government. This happened during the Rockingham administration: but it is an important point to remark, that Mr. Fox, Mr. Dundas, and the other gentlemen who spoke in support of the resolution for Mr. Hastings's removal, acknowledged that his abilities were of the most splendid kind, and his integrity unquestionable. The resolution was in these terms:

‘That Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor general of Bengal, and William Hornby, Esq. president of the council of Bombay, having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expenses on the East India Company, it is the duty of the Directors of the said Company to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said Governor general and President from their respective offices, and to recal them to Great Britain.’

In consequence of this vote, the Court of Directors again took into consideration the state of their affairs, and on the 22d of October determined, by a majority of thirteen to ten, that Mr. Hastings should be recalled. The propriety of this measure was most ably and fully discussed by the proprietors on the 24th and 31st of the same month, when it was determined by ballot that Mr. Hastings should remain in his station: the numbers for his continuance being four hundred and twenty-eight against seventy-five. In consequence of this resolution, the next day the vote of recall was rescinded by the Court of Directors. In the month of June 1785, Mr. Hastings returned from India to England, having been at the head of the government of Bengal more than thirteen years.

On the 20th of June 1785, the day Mr. Hastings arrived in England, Mr. Burke gave notice of his intention to move an impeachment of him in the ensuing session. On the 4th of April 1786, he exhibited twenty articles, to which he afterwards added two more; but it was not until 1787, April 10, that the impeachment was voted; it was then carried without a division. The twenty-two articles occupy an octavo volume of four hundred and sixty closely printed pages. The following are their substance; they charge the late Governor general—

‘1. With great injustice, cruelty, and treachery against the faith of nations, in hiring British soldiers for the purpose of extirpating the innocent and helpless people who inhabited the Rohillas.

‘2. With using the authority delegated to him through the East India Company, for treating the king Shah Allum, emperor of Indostan, or otherwise the Great Mogul, with the greatest cruelty, in bereaving him of considerable territory, and withholding forcibly that tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees, which the Company

engaged to pay as an annual tribute or compensation for their holding, in his name, the Duannee of the rich and valuable provinces of Bengal, and Bahar, and Orissa.

‘3. With various instances of extortion, and other deeds of mal-administration against the Rajah of Benares. This article consisted of three different parts, in each of which Mr. Hastings was charged with the most wanton oppressions and cruelties. Mr. Burke annexed to this article papers concerning the rights of the Rajah, his expulsion, and the sundry revolutions which have been effected by the British influence, under the control of the late Governor general, in that zemindary.

‘4. With the numerous and insupportable hardships to which the royal family of Oude had been reduced in consequence of their connexion with the Supreme Council.

‘5. With having, by no less than six revolutions, brought the fertile and beautiful provinces of Faruckabad to a state of the most deplorable ruin.

‘6. With impoverishing and depopulating the whole country of Oude, and rendering that country, which was once a garden, an uninhabited desert.

‘7. With a wanton, an unjust, and pernicious exercise of his powers, and the great situation of trust which he occupied in India, in overturning the ancient establishments of the country, and extending an undue influence, by conniving at extravagant contracts and appointing inordinate salaries.

‘8. With receiving money against the orders of the Company, the act of Parliament, and his own sacred engagements; and applying that money to purposes totally improper and unauthorised.

‘9. With having resigned by proxy for the obvious purpose of retaining his situation, and denying the deed in person, in direct opposition to all those powers under which he acted.

‘10. Accuses him of treachery to Muzuffer Jung, who had been placed under his guardianship.

‘11. Charges him with enormous extravagance and bribery in various contracts, with a view to enrich his dependants and favourites.’

These are the principal; the other eleven are chiefly connected with, and dependant upon, the foregoing.

A committee was appointed to manage the prosecution, in the name of the Commons:—

Edmund Burke, Esq.; Right Hon. C. J. Fox; R. B. Sheridan, Esq. Right Hon. T. Pelham; Right Hon. W. Windham; Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart.; Charles Gray, Esq.; William Adam, Esq.; Sir John Anstruther; M. A. Taylor, Esq.; lord viscount Maitland; Dudley Long, Esq.; General J. Burgoyne; Hon. George A. North; Hon. Andrew St. John; Hon. A. Fitzherbert; Col. Fitzpatrick; John Courtenay, Esq.; A. Rogers, Esq.; and Sir James Erskine.

On the 13th of February 1788, the trial commenced in Westminster Hall; and seven years afterwards, on the 23d of April

1795, judgment was pronounced by the Lords on the charges, most of them severally, and Mr. Hastings was acquitted of them all. Twenty-nine was the greatest number of peers who voted on this occasion. On the first article of the impeachment, twenty-three voted not guilty, and six guilty. On two of the articles the vote of not guilty was unanimous. The lord chancellor pronounced the judgment:—

‘Warren Hastings, Esq, I am to acquaint you that you are acquitted of the articles of impeachment, &c, exhibited against you by the house of Commons, for high crimes and misdemeanors, and all things contained therein, and you are discharged paying your fees.’

The unprecedented duration of the trial was an enormous evil, both as it bore upon the public and Mr. Hastings; but it was disproportionately grievous to the latter. The expenses to the public of this trial amounted to more than £100,000, and Mr. Hastings’s law expenses to £71,000. In consideration of the weight of this fine for acquittal, and of his services, the East India Company contributed £42,000 towards the payment of his law expenses, and voted him an annual pension of £4000 for twenty-eight years and a half; they afterwards lent him £50,000 without interest. When £16,000 of this loan had been repaid, they relinquished the remainder. In May 1814, the term of his annuity having expired, they voted a renewal of it for his life.

Except a short recess from 1765 to 1767, Mr Hastings was thirty-three years in the service of the East India Company, eleven of which he was governor general of Bengal. One of his collateral measures has been annulled, the communication which was established between this country and India by way of Suez. The trade from Bengal to the Red Sea promised to be highly advantageous, and could never have affected the Company’s sales in England. A contrary opinion however prevailed, and English vessels are no longer permitted to navigate to Suez. The communication was open long enough to convey the Company’s orders for the attack of Pondicherry, an event of high importance.

He brought from India a quantity of precious jewels which the revolutions in that country threw into his hands: these were principally presented to her late Majesty; and there is to be seen at this day in Buckingham House, the throne of the Bengal sovereign, almost covered with diamonds. These offerings inspired the belief that the governor general himself was possessed of inexhaustible wealth—a belief which subsequent events showed to be unfounded.

When the last renewal of the Company’s charter was under discussion in the House of Commons, a desire to make his knowledge and experience in Indian affairs useful to the country induced him to come forward as a voluntary witness. When he retired, the house spontaneously rose, as if by this mark of respect to atone for the injury which their predecessors had committed.



Mr. Hastings married a widow lady, with some family, but has left no children to succeed him. During the latter years of his life he was much attached to horticultural amusements. He died at his seat, Daylesford House, Worcestershire, on the 22d Aug. 1818, in the 86th year of his age, beloved and venerated.

‘In private life, Mr. Hastings was one of the most amiable of human beings. He was the most tender and affectionate husband; he was the kindest master; he was the sincerest friend. He had a “tear for pity, and a hand open as day for melting charity;” his generosity was unbounded in desire, and he did not always calculate on his means of indulging it. He had that true magnanimity which elevated him above all selfish considerations or personal resentments; to those who had been his most implacable enemies, he was ever ready to be reconciled, and to forgive. In his domestic intercourse, he was the most endearing partner, and in his social hours, the most pleasing companion, instructive, affable, cheerful, and complacent; his “nature was full of the milk of human kindness,” without a tincture of gall in its composition. All who knew him loved him, and they who knew him most, loved him best.’

I do not know whether the fact belongs to his private or his public character, that at one time, while Governor general, he paid a very large sum out of his own pocket, to satisfy the demands of some of the natives against another body of natives; a dispute which, had it not been for this liberal and public-spirited act, might have produced a civil war. The above is but an outline. History must say the rest.

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ART. VII.—*Anecdotes of Illustrious Females.*

[From *La Belle Assemblée.*]

MARIA LOUISA.

TO a native dignity of mind, and a high sense of her illustrious birth, Maria Louisa united great sweetness of disposition and real tenderness for the feelings of others. One day while she was dressing for a grand court-party, she asked for her diamonds. The lady who had the charge of her jewels searched in vain for the key of the casket in which the diamonds were kept, and she, at length, confessed she could not find it. ‘Well, well,’ said Maria Louisa, in a tone which expressed some degree of displeasure, ‘let me have my pearls then.’ The pearl ornaments were no sooner put on than the emperor entered. He asked her why she did not wear her diamonds? The little feeling of ill humour was over, and the empress instead of returning a direct answer, said, ‘do I not look well as I am?’—‘Oh! very well; you always look well,’ and the conversation was changed to another subject. Maria Louisa knew but too well the irascible temper of her husband, and was fearful of what might happen to the lady for this neglect. Maria Louisa possessed every amiable quality to endear her to

those who intimately knew her, but she wanted that easy familiarity which, in France, serves to seduce the multitude. One evening when she was at the *Theatre Francais*, a lady ventured to tell her that the audience was disappointed at not seeing her, as she remained at the back of her box.—‘What signifies that?’ exclaimed Madame de Montebello, and continued to remark that her majesty did not come there to be exhibited like a curiosity at a fair. These counsels caused the young princess to appear in public with an air of lassitude and restraint: and to use the expressive sentence from the interesting publication from whence we have partly gleaned and abridged these anecdotes, ‘she froze the hearts which would have burned for love of her.’—She conceived a sort of jealousy for Josephine, because she heard her unceasingly extolled for her charity and benevolence, and she was displeased whenever she heard her name mentioned. Yet the young empress was very charitable; but she suffered herself to be deceived in the objects of her bounty. Josephine’s lady of honour always superintended the application of her mistress’s charity, and a small sum of money restored many families to life and happiness. Maria Louisa deducted from the allowance made her for her toilette, a monthly sum of ten thousand franks for the poor: this was double the amount of what Josephine devoted to the same purpose; but unfortunately the business of dispensing it was left to Madame de Montebello’s secretary, who was devoid of principle, delicacy, or prudence, and therefore appropriated to his own use a large portion of the money intrusted to his charge. One day when Maria Louisa had been to visit the *Jardins des Plantes*, she desired Madame de Montebello to present five hundred franks to the gardener; the secretary had orders to deliver them. A few days afterwards, as the duchess was walking in the *Jardin des Plantes*, the gardener came up and returned thanks for the two hundred franks he had received from her majesty: this fraud was overlooked, like many others, and thus the poor were deprived of the bounty the empress intended they should enjoy.

Yet the coldness of Maria Louisa’s character, when not among her intimate friends, was so notorious that she has been reproached with extending it to her own child.

Napoleon once complained to Maria Louisa of the conduct of her mother-in-law and the archdukes towards him: ‘As to the emperor,’ added he; ‘I say nothing of him; he is a *ganache* (a stupid fellow).’ Maria Louisa was not sufficiently versed in modern French to understand him, and asked her attendants what it meant? None of them durst venture to explain, and they told her it meant a serious reflecting man. She did not forget the term, and often used it in a very diverting way. Having once remarked in council, that Cambaceres did not utter a word, she said, ‘I should like to have your opinion on this business, sir, for I know you are a *ganache*!’—At this compliment Cambaceres stared, and repeated in a low voice, ‘*ganache*!’—‘Yes,’ replied the empress,

'a serious, thinking sort of man.'—No one made any reply, and the discussion proceeded: this was at the time when Maria Louisa was appointed regent.

Her perfidious advisers had prevented her accompanying her husband in his exile to Elba: only one of her ladies ventured to tell her that duty and honour required her not to quit him.—'You are the only person, Madame, who has told me so,' said Maria Louisa; 'all my friends, and particularly M. Caulaincourt, are of a different opinion.'—'Madame,' replied the lady; 'I am, perhaps, the only one who does not betray your majesty.' The advice, however, was not attended to.

## MADAME DE MONTEBELLO.

This female, who had risen from one of the inferior classes in France, was appointed first *dame d'honneur* to Maria Louisa on her marriage with Napoleon. To the countenance of a Madona she united extreme gentleness of manners, and was generally pleasing, though her natural character was cold and reserved. She delicately participated in the feelings of her royal mistress, sympathized with her, consoled her, and so completely insinuated herself into her confidence and favour, that the young empress seemed only to exist in her presence. Dreading the influence of the queen of Naples, Madame de Montebello put in practice every art to prejudice Maria Louisa against her, exaggerating her errors and charging her with those of which she was innocent. The most unfavourable trait in the character of the duchess was that envy, too often inseparable from vulgar minds. Whenever her mistress seemed to distinguish any one, she immediately became the object of the duchess de Montebello's calumny and scandal. The empress was young and credulous, and she was wrought upon to believe Madame de Montebello was the only youthful female of irreproachable character at court; we leave the reader to judge what that character was in reality. Though receiving continually the most costly presents from her munificent patroness, far from manifesting any sentiments of gratitude, she was presumptuous enough to complain of the slavery and confinement to which she submitted, as, she said, merely for the welfare of her children.

Such a woman could not be supposed to be without enemies in an intriguing court. Having obtained leave of absence on account of her health, her enemies availed themselves of this circumstance to propagate a report that she had retired to conceal the consequences of which Napoleon was the author.

The birth of the young Napoleon placed her character in the fairest light, as she appeared to be actuated by real attachment to the empress. She remained in her apartment for nine days, without quitting her for a moment, reposing on a couch in the chamber of her mistress, and evincing the most tender care, anxiety, and attention during the painful and protracted labour.

Bonaparte was mightily attached to etiquette; and Madame de Montebello would often laugh with Maria Louisa at what she, the duchess, called his long sermons, seldom giving him any other name than Monsieur Etiquette.

Two parties then divided the court of France, that of the old nobility, and of those sprung from the revolution: from what has already been stated of Madame de Montebello it may easily be judged that she was the very life and soul of the second party; and though her character was cold, she was warm and hasty in her temper, and on some occasions made no attempt to disguise her feelings, as may be seen by the manner in which she spoke to her royal mistress after the departure of Bonaparte for Elba; some arguments having taken place relative to the propriety of Maria Louisa accompanying her husband, Madame de Montebello exclaimed, 'I am heartily tired of all this: I wish I were once again quietly settled with my children in my little house in the Rue d'Enfer!'—'It is unkind of you to tell me that, duchess,' said the empress, bursting into tears. The duchess, however, declared, that whatever might happen she was determined not to go to Elba. And it always thought that she joined the plot for separating Maria Louisa from her husband, lest she should be, in a manner, compelled to accompany her—a sacrifice by no means accordant with the character of Madame de Montebello.

It has been remarked above that on some occasions she scorned to disguise her sentiments, and had a strange affectation of ignorance when it suited her purpose. Dining one Friday with cardinal Caprara, she refused every thing that was offered her at table. His eminence asked her if she had lost her appetite?—'No, my lord,' replied she; 'but I see only fish and eggs, and I eat nothing but *carnivorous* animals!'

THE PRINCESS OF WALES—from '*Letters of a Prussian Traveller,*' published in 1818.

You must doubtless have heard of a certain illustrious visitant, who this season has chosen Naples for her winter residence, and who, it is understood in the higher circles, is not less pleased with the society of this enchanting capital, than with the attention shown to her by his Neapolitan majesty Joachim Murat, who spares no pains to make her abode in this kingdom agreeable. The queen is said not to be on equally friendly terms with her illustrious guest, the cause of which some attribute to her majesty's want of hospitality; others to those fanciful whims in which the great are too prone to indulge themselves.

The palace of this illustrious personage is splendid, and delightfully situated at the Chiaga, and a guard of honour is stationed, by order of the king, at the entrance of her mansion. Her residence in this capital certainly contributes not a little to enliven its society, as she gives dinner parties every day, and a ball once a week. Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Maxwell, and myself had the honour

of being presented to her by the honourable Mr. Craven, who acts as her chamberlain. We were ushered into a spacious and elegant apartment, where we found a large circle, mostly composed of Neapolitan nobility of both sexes, together with some English of distinction.

I had the honour of dining with this illustrious traveller; and found the society mostly composed of English. Besides those belonging to the establishment, were the earl and lady Landaff, the marquis of Sligo, the honourable Montague Matthew, Madame Falconnet, Mr. and Mrs. Procter, Mr. Coffin, Mr. French, and Mr. Sanvayre.

The ball on the 7th of January was particularly splendid, and was attended by the whole court, as well as all the first society in the place. Many English ladies of rank excited general admiration, as well by the beauty of their persons as by the elegance of their manners, in both which particulars they formed a pleasing contrast to the Neapolitan ladies.

At ten o'clock his majesty arrived: the queen was expected, but it was reported that she was prevented from being present by indisposition. Murat was attended by a long retinue of courtiers, all decked out in embroidered coats, to whom he formed a striking contrast, being simply dressed in a plain green coat with white mother o'-pearl buttons, and a white waistcoat; his shoes were tied with ribband, and he wore no decorations; his mustachios were large and black, and his hair hung loose over his shoulders, without any powder. Such was the dress of this great sovereign, which, it must be confessed, was quite in character.

After he had kissed the hand of the illustrious hostess he walked about the saloon, and conversed with many of the ladies, particularly with the duchess de Gallo, whose husband is prime minister; lady Landaff and lady Oxford also drew a large share of his attention. Murat is considered by the ladies as graceful in his manners, and studious to please all, and appears to be quite a *chevalier Francais* till he opens his mouth, when the charm is at once dissolved. Vulgar oaths seem familiar to him, nor did he restrain himself in the use of them even when conversing with women of the first rank: so disgusting was this to many present, and even to his suite, that I heard several of them make their remarks upon it.

A Neapolitan nobleman near me was bold enough to make several ill-natured observations; among the rest he expressed his surprise that a certain illustrious personage should dress *à-la-Francaise*, and not after the fashion of her own country: he also wondered at her affability in waltzing with strangers. Being desirous of breaking off this conversation, which was neither pleasant nor becoming, I retired to the other side of the saloon, but he soon followed me, and continued his observations. 'Pray, sir,' said he, 'is it customary in England for the pages to waltz in company with the illustrious personages they attend? I am sur-

prised that the young *protégé* does not dance with a lady of his own age; instead of which he chuses one of the best dancers in the ball-room without any regard to the disparity of her years.' The loud laughter of four English gentlemen, who at that moment entered the ball-room, next drew his attention. The fact was, that these boisterous sons of mirth had just quitted a convivial party, and were rather *dans le vigne du Seigneur*, and probably not apprised of the illustrious personage being present.

We had a masked ball given not long before by the same august personage, at a garden near the Castello del Novo, which was equally splendid. The garden belongs to a branch of the royal family: it was lighted with a great variety of coloured lamps; there was also a grand display of fire-works, and every thing went off with *éclat*. The king and the queen attended in masks; his majesty appeared first in a hunting dress, but soon changed his costume to that of a British tar.

#### THE LATE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

We are told by the public and private records of the times, that a suitable marriage for his majesty was an urgent (as it was a natural) object of state policy, immediately on his coming to the crown; but his known and ardent attachment to lady Sarah Lenox, sister of the duke of Richmond, with some manœuvres of Mr. Fox, afterwards lord Holland, set on foot to foment that youthful passion, hastened the designs of the princess dowager of Wales and of the earl of Bute to bring about the royal marriage. The princess is said to have had in view a niece of her own, at least some princess of the Saxe-Gotha family; but as the house of Saxe-Gotha was supposed to be afflicted with a constitutional disease, that wish was overruled by the cabinet. Lord Bute then sent a confidential dependent, a Scotch officer, reported to be colonel Græme (who was afterwards appointed to be master of St. Catherine's, near the Tower, an excellent place, in the peculiar gift of her majesty,) to visit the inferior German courts, and to select from amongst them a future queen for England. The instructions were said to be, that she should be perfect in her form, of a pure blood, and healthy constitution, possessed of elegant accomplishments, particularly music, to which the king was very much attached, and of a mild and obliging disposition.

Colonel Græme found the reigning princess of Strelitz taking the waters of Pyrmont, and accompanied by her two daughters, with little or no appearance of parade; and where, from the freedom of communication usual at those places, and the ready means of observation, &c. it was no difficult matter to become fully acquainted with their characters and daily habits. Their serene highnesses frequented the rooms, the walks, and partook of the amusements without any distinction that should prevent colonel Græme from being an unsuspected attendant on their parties. Here, it seems, he fixed on the princess Sophia Charlotte Caro-

line, as best according with his matrimonial instructions. She was the youngest daughter of Charles Lewis, brother to Adolphus Frederick, third duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, by Albertine Elizabeth, daughter of Ernest Frederick, duke of Saxe-Hilbourghausen, and was born on the 19th of May, 1744. Her father, however, though in the immediate line of inheritance, as his brother the reigning duke had no issue, and unmarried, did not succeed to the principality; he died before his brother, and thus, upon the death of Frederick, the succession devolved upon his nephew, Adolphus Frederick the fourth, brother to her majesty. The reasons which induced the union between our venerable and afflicted sovereign and the princess of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz could scarcely have been with any political view—with any hope of strengthening the English influence on the continent, since the territory of the dukes of Mecklenburgh was extremely confined; and, indeed they had little else to boast of than an ancient name. It is, however, said, that his majesty first formed the idea of demanding the hand of the princess in marriage, in consequence of a letter, which was generally supposed to have been addressed by her about the year 1758, to the king of Prussia, who had caused contributions to be levied on her father's territories. We subjoin the letter, which does infinite credit to the feelings that dictated it, and to the taste that was consulted in its composition, leaving it to our readers to judge whether it is not more like the production of a matured understanding, than the offspring of the mind of a female, who, at the time, was scarcely fourteen years of age. The cause of the appeal was this:—In the latter end of 1757, the king of Prussia, assisted only by England, was assailed by a host of enemies. The courts of Versailles, Warsaw, Vienna, and St. Petersburg were leagued against him. The king of Sweden, Frederick's brother-in-law, thought this was a favourable opportunity to invade his dominions—and, the Russians having obtained a footing in Pomerania, he raised an army, the command of which was given to count Hamilton, in order to co-operate with them. Frederick succeeded in driving both Swedes and Russians from his territories—but as he had been informed that the duke of Mecklenburgh was to have assisted the Swedes, with all the troops he could raise, in case they had been joined by the French or Russians, and that several magazines had been formed in his country for that purpose, the moment he had driven them into Stralsund, he sent a detachment of Prussian troops into the duchy of Mecklenburgh, who not only seized the magazines, but raised contributions as if they had been in an enemy's country, the duke himself having, upon their approach, retired to Lubeck. The princess Charlotte, afflicted by the distresses of her country, is stated to have written in these terms to the king of Prussia:—

*'May it please your majesty,*—I am at a loss whether I should congratulate, or condole with you on your late victory: since the same success which has covered you with laurels, has overspread

the country of Mecklenburgh with desolation. I know, sire, that it seems unbecoming my sex, in this age of vicious refinement, to feel for one's country, to lament the horrors of war, or wish for the return of peace. I know you may think it more properly my province to study the arts of pleasing, or to inspect subjects of a more domestic nature; but, however unbecoming it may be in me, I cannot resist the desire of interceding for this unhappy people.

'It was but a very few years ago, that this territory wore the most pleasing appearance. The country was cultivated, the peasant looked cheerful, and the towns abounded with riches and festivity! What an alteration, at present, from such a charming scene! I am not expert at description—nor can my fancy add any horrors to the picture; but sure even conquerors themselves would weep at the hideous prospects now before me. The whole country, my dear country, lies one frightful waste, presenting only objects to excite terror, pity, and despair! The business of the husbandman and the shepherd are quite discontinued; the husbandman and the shepherd are become soldiers themselves, and help to ravage the soil they formerly cultivated. The towns are only inhabited by old men, women, and children; perhaps here and there a *warrior*, by *wounds*, or *loss of limbs*, rendered unfit for service, left at his door; his little children hang round him, ask an history of every wound, and grow themselves soldiers before they find strength for the field. But this were nothing, did we not feel the *alternate insolence* of either army, as it happens to advance or retreat, in pursuing the operations of the campaign. It is impossible to express the confusion, even those, who *call* themselves our *friends*, create. Even those from whom we expect redress, oppress us with new calamities. From your justice, therefore, it is, that we hope relief; to you, even *children* and *women* may complain, whose humanity stoops to the meanest petition, and whose power is capable of repressing the greatest injustice.—I am, sire, &c.'

This appeal, which soon found its way to every court in Europe, created a great sensation at the time. It was justly viewed as a very extraordinary production, coming from one so young and so inexperienced. Rumour says, that, on his majesty, it made a deep impression. On the 8th of July, 1761, his majesty caused the privy council to be specially summoned. The council was attended by all the great officers of state—and to them his majesty declared his intentions in the following words:—

'Having nothing so much at heart as to procure the welfare and happiness of my people, and to render the same stable and permanent to posterity, I have, ever since my accession to the throne, turned my thoughts towards the choice of a princess for my consort; and I now, with great satisfaction, acquaint you, that, after the fullest information, and mature deliberation, I am come to a resolution to demand in marriage the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz—a princess distinguished by every eminent vir-



tue and amiable endowment, whose illustrious line has constantly shown the firmest zeal for the protestant religion, and a particular attachment to my family. I have judged proper to communicate to you these my intentions, in order that you may be fully apprized of a matter so highly important to me, and to my kingdom—and which, I persuade myself, will be most acceptable to all my loving subjects.’

It will be remembered, that, at this period, the king was little more than twenty-three years of age, and the princess, whom he had chosen for a consort, was but a few months past seventeen. Immediately after the notification to the privy council, his majesty gave directions for demanding and bringing over the princess in a manner suitable to his own dignity, and the respect due to her serene highness.

Lord Harcourt was named to make the demand of her serene highness: the duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton (the two finest women of the British court,) and the countess of Effingham, to take care of her person: and lord Anson to command a fleet that was to convoy her over to the English shore.

The fleet put to sea on the 8th of August, and, on the 14th, lord Harcourt, and the other lords and ladies sent on this important embassy, arrived at Strelitz. The next morning, at eleven o’clock, the earl of Harcourt performed the ceremony of asking in form her serene highness in marriage for the king his master. The moment the contract of marriage was signed, the cannon fired. Her royal highness was afterwards complimented by the states of the country, and the deputies of the towns.

On the 17th, her highness, accompanied by the reigning duke, her brother, set out for Mirow, amidst the tears and prayers of all ranks of people, the poor in particular, whose zealous patroness she had always shown herself. The 18th she arrived at Perleberg, where she was complimented by the count de Gotter, in the name of his Prussian majesty.

On the 19th, her most serene highness continued her journey, by Leutzen, for Ghorde, where she dined twice in public, and walked in the afternoon in the park. On the 22d, at seven o’clock in the evening, she arrived at Stade, under a general discharge of the cannon of that place, and amidst the acclamations of a vast number of people, both citizens and foreigners. The burgesses of Stade were assembled under arms, and lined the streets through which her most serene highness passed. Some of the principal ladies of the town presented her with verses, on her majesty’s approaching nuptials, on velvet cushions. At nine o’clock the whole town was illuminated, and several triumphal arches were erected in the principal streets; on which were placed many small lamps and inscriptions, analogous to the feast. The same night their marks of public joy were reiterated. Next morning she set out for Cuxhaven; and about ten, her most serene highness embarked on board the yacht, amidst the acclamations of the people, accom-

panied by the duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton, the earl of Harcourt and lord Anson. She was saluted by the whole squadron destined to convoy her to England. They were ranged on each side of the yacht. The moment she entered her cabin she saluted the officers of the different ships, who had crowded the decks in order to have the pleasure of seeing her, and were all charmed with her affable and polite behaviour.

On the 28th, the fleet, having on board her most serene highness, put to sea, but as no despatches were received from it from that time till its arrival at Harwich, the court was in some concern lest the tediousness of her voyage might affect her health; besides, the day fixed for the coronation of his majesty, by a proclamation issued from the said council, in which his majesty had declared his intentions to demand her serene highness in marriage, was drawing near, his majesty was desirous that the ceremony of the nuptials might precede that of the coronation, so that fresh instructions, it is said, were despatched to the admiral to sail at all events, and to land his charge at any of the ports of Great Britain, where it could be done with safety. At length, after three different storms, and being often in sight of the English coast, and often in danger of being driven on that of Norway, the fleet, with her most serene highness on board, arrived at Harwich, September 6th. Her most serene highness, during her tedious passage, continued in very good health and spirits, often diverting herself with playing on the harpsicord, practising English tunes, and endearing herself to those who were honoured with the care of her person.

As it was night when the fleet arrived at Harwich, her most serene highness slept on board, and continued there till three in the afternoon the next day, during which time her route had been settled, and instructions received as to the manner of her proceeding to St. James's. At her landing, she was received by the mayor and aldermen of Harwich, in their usual formalities. About five o'clock she came to Colchester, and stopped at the house of Mr. Enew, where she was received and waited upon by Mrs. Enew and Mrs. Rebow; but captain Best attended her with coffee, and lieutenant John Seabear with tea. Being thus refreshed, she proceeded to Witham, where she arrived at a quarter past seven, and stopped at lord Abercorn's, and his lordship provided as elegant an entertainment for her as the time would admit. During supper, the door of the room was ordered to stand open, that every body might have the pleasure of seeing her most serene highness; and on each side of her chair stood the lords Harcourt and Anson. She slept that night at his lordship's house: and a little after twelve o'clock next day, her highness came to Rumford, where the king's coach and servants met her; and after stopping to drink coffee at Mr. Dutton's, where the king's servants waited on her, she entered the king's coach. The attendants of her highness were in three other coaches. In the first were some

ladies of Mecklenburgh, and in the last was her serene highness, who sat forward, and the duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton, backwards.

On the road she was extremely courteous to an incredible number of spectators on horse and foot, gathered on this occasion, showing herself, and bowing to all who seemed desirous of seeing her, and ordering the coach to go extremely slow through the town and villages as she passed, that as many as would might have a full view of her.

Thus they proceeded, at a tolerable pace, to Stratford-le-Bow and Mile-end, where they turned up Dog-row, and prosecuted their journey to Hackney turnpike, then by Shoreditch church, and up Old-street to the City-road, across Islington, along the New-road into Hyde-park, down Constitution-hill into St. James's Park, and then to the garden-gate of the palace, where she was received by all the royal family. She was handed out of the coach by the duke of York, and met in the garden by his majesty, who, in a very affectionate manner, raised her up, and saluted her, as she was going to pay her obeisance, and then led her into the palace, where she dined with his majesty, the princess dowager, and the rest of the royal family, except the two youngest. After dinner, her highness was pleased to show herself with his majesty in the gallery and other apartments fronting the park. About eight o'clock in the evening, the procession to the chapel took place.

The bride, in her nuptial habit, was supported by their royal highnesses the duke of York and prince William; her train borne by ten unmarried daughters of dukes and earls, viz.—lady Sarah Lennox, lady Ann Hamilton, lady Harriet Bentinck, lady Elizabeth Keppel, lady Elizabeth Harcourt, lady Caroline Russel, lady Elizabeth Ker, lady C. Montagu, lady L. Grenville, lady S. Strangways.

The marriage ceremony was performed by the lord archbishop of Canterbury. The duke of Cumberland gave her hand to his majesty, and immediately on the joining their hands, the Park and Tower guns were fired.

Their majesties, after the ceremony, sat on one side of the altar on two state chairs under a canopy: her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales sat facing them on a chair of state on the other, all the rest of the royal family on stools, and all the peers, peeresses, bishops, and foreign ministers (including M. Bussy,) on benches. There was afterwards a public drawing-room, but no persons presented. The houses in the cities of London and Westminster were illuminated, and the evening concluded with the utmost demonstrations of joy.

Her majesty's figure was very pleasing, but her countenance, though not without attraction when she smiled, could not boast any claim to beauty. It was, however, a well known fact, that the king declared himself satisfied with his connubial fortune. She

entered at once upon the royal offices of the drawing-room, with a most becoming grace and easy dignity. It was a singular occurrence, that the first play she saw was the *Rehearsal*, in which Mr. Garrick, in his inimitable representation of the character of *Bayes*, kept the king, the courtiers, and the audience in a continual roar: but which, from the construction of the piece, it was not possible to explain to her majesty.

She was popular when lord Bute's administration had rendered the king very much the reverse. She gave beautiful children to the country. She interested the people of England as a fruitful mother; and was considered with general regard as a domestic woman; so much so, that colonel Barre, then a violent opposition speaker, delivered a very splendid eulogium on her 'mild, tender, and unassuming virtues.'

#### ART. VIII.—*Letter from Switzerland.*

(From Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.)

LAUSANNE, AUGUST 25, 1817.

**Y**OU ask me to speak of Madame de Stael. On what other subject could I write to you? During a period of twenty-five years her friendship was the charm of my existence; my opinions and my feelings indeed grew up with her's. Regret for her loss is now all I can offer to her memory, and I have no other consolation but in my recollection of her who is departed.

Madame de Stael was distinguished, even in her childhood, by the brilliancy of her imagination, and the liveliness of her repartees. She learnt or guessed every thing. It was even necessary to restrain her application, which injured her health. Idleness was prescribed for her, but nothing could arrest the progress of a mind like her's, which fed upon itself, and which was even more affected by solitude than by society.

The temper of Madame de Stael was in all respects the opposite of that of her mother; of course there never was much confidence between them. This was unfortunate, as both had greatness of mind enough to comprehend and appreciate each other.

To make up for this, however, Madame de Stael was the delight of her father, who indeed was much more alive than could have been supposed to the influence of natural affection and gracefulness of mind. He delighted in the enthusiastic affection shown him by his daughter; and with her alone he let down the gravity of his manners to bring himself more into unison with her. I have never seen any thing so charming as their intimacy. She was witty, affectionate, and endearing. Years only added to their mutual affection, and death, which alone could separate, has again united them.

Mr. Necker was especially delighted at seeing his daughter unite so much goodness with so much wit; for from infancy she had shown herself noble and distinguished in every thing. To this

even her enemies have borne testimony. While yet in early youth, she was never intimidated by deference to established reputation, from engaging in what she conceived to be the defence of justice or innocence. Thus at the age of eighteen she wrote the *Letters on Rousseau*, because Rousseau was in his grave, and could no longer defend himself.

Nobody ever resented oppression and bad faith with more indignation than Madame de Stael. So pure indeed was her character, that even experience could never habituate her to tolerate the slightest act of injustice. On this account she was generally disposed to range herself on the side opposed to authority, because the abuse of power is more generally on the side of authority than on the other.

She never submitted to bad faith, but when she herself was made the object of it, apparently because the part of the oppressed was not disagreeable to her; neither did she ever notice the satirical effusions to which her works were exposed. This did not proceed from affected disdain (for she was neither insensible to praise nor to censure,) but from a sense of her own dignity.

Her talent for discriminating truth was the most powerful trait in the genius of Madame de Stael. She discerned it, as it were instinctively, with incredible quickness, and it was almost impossible to deceive her. I never saw a man succeed for five minutes in passing himself off before her for a person of greater wit or sensibility than nature had made him. On this account, the best manner to adopt before her was that of truth and nature.

From society she carried this tact into the studies and into the analysis of our age. Indeed to it she owed her success, genius being in reality nothing more than the intuitive perception of truth.

The first time I saw Madame de Stael was in Switzerland, in the year 1793. She had just quitted France, all her friends having abandoned that unfortunate country, or perished in it. She beheld with despair the bloody march of the revolution—of that revolution which she had loved, because it had appeared to be in unison with her character, but the nature of which she had not foreseen: because nobody had been gifted with such extraordinary foresight. She called to remembrance the time when she had seen the revolution commence with such noble enthusiasm, and the day in which the people conducted her father in triumph from Paris to Versailles. Could she be otherwise than seduced by this triumph, the more glorious because not in unison with our customs? Could she see any thing in it but the presage of a happy future for France, since it was her father whom France had charged with its destiny? We must recal these days and these scenes which so many others have effaced, in order to perceive all the interest which Madame de Stael felt for the events of our age.

Soon, however, neither liberty nor triumph were thought of. Life and death were alone the subject of question. Nobody

thought of any thing but the safety of one party and the proscription of another. Every thing between these extremes was of no consequence. The lesser passions were extinguished. Every one was great either in crime or in virtue; and hence it has resulted, that there is still to be observed something more decided in those characters which were formed during the reign of terror than in any others.

Madame de Stael lived retired in Switzerland, surrounded by emigrants some of whom had owed their lives to her care: for she had been so fortunate as to succeed in effecting their escape from France by her proximity to its frontiers. She had contrived to send guides to meet them on whose fidelity she could depend. These guides entered by the passes of the Jura, and going into certain places, were recognised by conventional signs, after which they returned into Switzerland through the woods. Indeed, she laboured to save them with astonishing industry, of which I myself have been a witness, and which I can never forget.

After the emigrants were in safety, Madame de Stael did every thing in her power to lessen the hardships of their condition. If all of them have not been equally grateful, it is not that the weight of the obligation has not been felt, but that gratitude has been stifled by party spirit. She herself had a soul superior to ingratitude. She even pardoned the injustice of which she had been the object, the moment its author was in misfortune. No one suffered more persecution from Bonaparte, and no one judged him with more impartiality. Those whom we have seen so long prostrate before this Colossus, have poured out more maledictions on his tomb than this woman, who suffered ten long years of almost solitary exile, but who, notwithstanding, was able to maintain the dignity of the weak against the oppression of the strong.

Madame de Stael passed the first years of the revolution in her father's house at Coppet. I was then much in their society, where I had the satisfaction of frequently listening to those conversations of which every thing conducive to the happiness of mankind was the general theme.

In these discussions, Madame de Stael had a decided advantage, as her eloquence had no need of any previous reflection. Mr. Necker proceeded more slowly, and his daughter occasionally stopped till he came up with her—and she showed him this filial attention with perfect grace, yet free from all affectation. Mr. Necker would recover his distance, and this mutual exchange of affection and eloquence would frequently last whole hours.

With so much nobleness of mind, Madame de Stael had the merit of never depressing those around her by any intentional display of her own powers. These she employed but to protect the weak, who lived in peace around her. She was formidable to those only who wished to make an ostentatious display of their mediocrity.

After the death of Robespierre, Madame de Stael was enabled to return to France. During some years, however, she divided her time between Paris and Switzerland. Bonaparte at last made himself master of the world, and banished her to the estate of Coppet. Being at this time engaged in travel, I was removed from her for a considerable period. I read, however, the works which she published during the interval. These had increased my desire of again seeing her; for they all expressed the most striking opinions, and developed the social system to which new ages are inviting us.

At last, in the autumn of 1808, I was able to quit Italy and to return to Switzerland. I pursued my journey without stopping, in order the more quickly to reach Coppet. Approaching the hospitable mansion, where the foreigner was ever sure of a kind reception, I was surprised to find the avenue filled with carriages. The abode of the exiled is seldom distinguished by what M. de Chateaubriand would in the present case have called the pomp of exile.

Following the crowd, I arrived at the *chateau* and entered it with a sort of dread at so great an assemblage. I proceeded into the vestibule, looking for some one to announce me, but could find nobody at leisure to do it. One servant was running towards a wing of the house with a casque and a lance—another was calling for help to raise up a pillar which had fallen, and a third, half clad, asked in a theatrical tone for knots of ribbands which he had mislaid.

I soon discovered, without much help from the imagination, that they were preparing for a theatrical representation; and I felt that in the state of matters, I should be hardly noticed, even were I presented, and resolved to profit by the politeness of the servants, who invited me to walk in.

I at last entered the great gallery where the stage was erected, and in which nearly 300 persons, of all nations, were already assembled. These were communicating their conjectures to each other, as to the nature of the performance, in different languages, previous to the rising of the curtain.

I thus learnt that Madame de Stael had written the piece which was about to be performed. This redoubled my curiosity. When the curtain rose, the stage represented an eastern hall, and a group of young Israelites filled the scene. They were preparing for a festival, of which they were practising the dances. In the middle of them I recognised the daughter of Madame de Stael. She was still a child, but of the most perfect beauty and the most charming simplicity.

The play was called *The Shunamite*. The subject, though taken from the Bible, was so handled as at once to avoid profanity and levity. Every thing in it was distinguished by antique and noble simplicity.

Madame de Stael performed the part of the widow of *Shunam*. As happens in the present day, this mother was vain of the talents of her daughter; and, as in the present day, she was aware of the danger of her vanity without endeavouring to conquer it. Her sister, who was of a more humble disposition, blamed that vanity towards which the human heart is so indulgent, but to no purpose; for the *Shunamite* dwelt ever upon her daughter, and the spectators partook of her delusion.

In order to make a striking example, heaven, which condemns maternal vanity as well as every other, deprived the child of life. We beheld her grow pale in the midst of the festival they were celebrating on her account. The shawl which she held dropped from her hand: her mother pressed her to her heart, but in vain: the eyes of her child were closed for ever.

The young maidens re-appeared in the second act. Arrayed in mourning they surrounded the bier on which their companion was laid. The unfortunate mother reproached heaven with her death, but took no reproach to herself. Neither resigned nor submissive, her grief was that of a woman under the influence of passion. Her sister was engaged in prayer at the foot of the bier, expressing her resignation to the will of heaven.

In the middle of this scene the prophet Elijah entered. Being gifted with the power of working miracles, his presence seemed to inspire even the spectators with confidence.

The prophet showed this impious mother how the anger of heaven had fallen upon her, but that her repentance could disarm it. While thus under the influence of hope, Elijah disclosed to the *Shunamite* the mystery of the immortality of the soul. This secret is common in our days, and affects us but slightly; but it had been unheard of at the period when the Eternal deigned, for the first time, to reveal it. This unfortunate mother, who conceived her child to be annihilated, learnt that she still existed, and that we can by no means die.

To attest this mystery, Elijah approached the bier. The whole audience looked to the prophet, and the child which he wished to restore to life. We thought we heard her breathe. She raised her hand, then her face, and at last opened her eyelids. She had just begun to live again, and we had been present at one of those great scenes by which our Creator has judged it proper to teach us our destiny. The impression we received from it must have resembled that which they of old had the happiness to experience.

*The Shunamite* is one of the most remarkable dramatic compositions which has appeared in any language. It belongs to no school, and is neither romantic nor classical. It paints with fidelity the sentiments which our imagination ascribes to the Bible; and that without either overcharging or diminishing them. It awakens in the soul all the religious feelings, without shocking any of them.



After the close of the performance, when the spectators were departing, a singular picture presented itself. A hundred carriages arrived in a line. While waiting for my own, I listened to the remarks of the crowd around me. Many of them were still absorbed in emotion; but the majority had already got rid of it, and were eyeing the bustle which surrounded them. The French exclaimed, 'who could possibly have expected to see such a crowd of company in Switzerland—we really had no idea of it;' the ladies of Lausanne were full of enthusiasm; those of Geneva were complaining of the fatigue they had experienced; and the Germans were so much affected, that it was necessary to support them into their carriages.

This, sir, was one of the many ways in which Madame de Stael beguiled her exile.—Thanks to her courage and her talents, Coppet was at that period an abode altogether unique, and contained such a union of knowledge, wit, and imagination, as we may never hope to witness again.

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ART. IX.—*Narrative of the Expedition which sailed from England in 1817, to join the South American Patriots; comprising every Particular connected with its Formation, History, and Fate; with Observations and authentic Information elucidating the Real Character of the Contest, Mode of Warfare, State of the Armies, &c.* By James Hackett, First Lieutenant of the late Venezuela Artillery Brigade. 8vo. pp. 144. Price 5s. 6d. 1818

[From the Eclectic Review.]

**T**HE mind can form to itself the idea of no spectacle more sublime, no attitude of human society more captivating and heroic, than that which Milton, in a burst of eloquence, calls up to the imagination of his readers, in his speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing: 'A noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; as an eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unsealing her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about amazed at what she means.'

The hope, however, of realizing on the grand scale of a national revolution, achievements answering, in an adequate degree, to the poetic conception can hardly have survived, in any sober mind, the fatal result of the recent experiments upon human nature. History, indeed, does tell us of some glorious revolutions; but too often the character of the contest has been that of evil conflicting with evil; and the struggle has been blindly persisted in, till the very elements of the commotion have exhausted themselves, and sunk into a ghastly calm. The immediate issue of the French Revolution was a dreadful disappointment of those romantic hopes which every man of generous feelings could not but indulge; although, eventually, perhaps, it will prove to have been worth twenty years of crime and blood, in order to form a soil in which freedom and re-

ligion may germinate. The result of the late burst of patriotism in Spain, is still more disheartening, as it seems to exhibit a fatal moral incapacity in that enslaved and suffering nation, for any better fate. In South America, we have been led to flatter ourselves, that events of a happier character were being achieved by the transatlantic subjects of the imbecile Ferdinand. In their cause, every one deserving of the name of Briton must feel the liveliest interest; no one can dispute 'its abstract justice,' nor is there much more room to doubt its eventual success. But when we come to inspect more narrowly the features of the contest, the imagination finds little indeed of a nature adapted to sustain the feeling of exultation, or even of complacency. Without laying too much stress on the information or opinions of the unfortunate hero of this disastrous narrative, we believe that there is no room to doubt that it is one in which it would be next to impossible for the subjects of a civilized country to take part: population formerly distributed into tyrants and slaves, now amalgamated into one moving horde of undisciplined warriors, the hitherto indelible distinctions of white and black complexion being almost superseded, together with the customs and moral restraints of civilized life,—such a population, especially when we consider that the basis of its character is, at best, nothing better than the Indian or the South American Spaniard, may well be conceived to present no great attractions to an European, how fond soever he might be of armies and campaigns. But when to complete the picture it is added, that the principle on which the warfare is carried on, is that of the most unsparing and ferocious extermination, 'each side being so infuriated against the other by a long train of barbarities and cold blooded slaughter as to render it almost necessary for those who actually engage in the struggle to divest their minds of every feeling of humanity, and prepare themselves to be not only witnesses of, but participators in, acts of the most revolting and indiscriminate brutality,' the mind sickens with dismay at the hopeless prospect for the interests of humanity, which seems to await alike the success or the failure of the enterprise. A dreadful retributive dispensation seems to be now carrying on by the mutual agency of the hostile parties; and our Author throws out the idea of a catastrophe still more fatal to the usurpers of the new world, as the possible result of the termination of the present contest. A common feeling of hostility against the common enemy, has suspended the sentiments of jealous enmity with which hitherto the Indian and the Spanish natives have regarded each other; but should their combined strength prove victorious, the contest, it is feared, might immediately assume another character; the freed slaves will have acquired the strength and the confidence of Independence, and with the example of St. Domingo before them, may aspire to the reassertion of their ancient rights as the original lords of the soil. South America may

thus become the seat of hostility between its white and black population.'

The following is the picture which Mr. Hackett draws, of the state of the Independent armies, on the authority of several officers who had just *escaped* from the Patriot service, and who arrived at St. Bartholomew's, while he was still on board the *Britannia*.

'The Independent armies march in hordes, without order or discipline; their baggage consisting of little more than the scanty covering on their backs. They are totally destitute of tents, and in their encampments observe neither regularity nor system. The commanding officers are generally mounted, and likewise such of the others as are able to provide themselves with horses or mules, the latter of which are in great plenty. The exterminating principle upon which the war is carried on between the contending parties, render their campaigns bloody and destructive; desolation marks the progress of those hostile bands, to whose inveterate enmities the innocent and unoffending inhabitants are equally the victims, with those actually opposed to them in military strife. In action the Independents display much bravery and determination, and frequently prove successful, notwithstanding their want of discipline, deficiency of arms, and disorderly manner of attack and defence. Unhappily the work of death terminates not with the battle, for on whatsoever side victory rests, the events which immediately succeed those sanguinary struggles are such as must cast an indelible stain upon the Spanish American Revolution.

'The engagement is scarcely ended, when an indiscriminate massacre of the prisoners takes place; nor is the slaughter only confined to the captives, the field also undergoes an inspection, when the helpless wounded are in like manner put to the sword.

'The following instance of vindictive cruelty on the royalist side, was related to me by an officer who was present in the engagement in which the transaction originated. In this action a young French officer, in the service of the Independents, had his arm severed from his shoulder by a sabre cut, and being unable to sustain himself from loss of blood, he sunk to the ground. His distinguished bravery had however previously been observed by his companions, who succeeded in bearing him off the field, from whence they conveyed him into the woods, and sheltered him in a negro hut; where having applied such balsams as could be procured they departed. The armies retired to other parts of the country, and the officer was fast recovering from the effects of his wound, when general Morillo, advancing upon the same rout, discovered his retreat and had him instantly put to death.

'Such was the barbarous system pursued by the belligerent parties; although I must in justice observe, that I have always understood the exercise of these cruelties originated with the Royalists, and were subsequently resorted to by the Independents on principles of retaliation. Hence the system became reciprocal, passed into a general law, and has now, it is to be feared, become unalterable.

‘The sufferings which the Independents undergo during their campaigns, from the difficulty of procuring food, are most severe; mule’s flesh, wild fruits, and some dried corn, which they carry loose in their pockets, frequently constituting the whole of their subsistence: and we are confidently assured, that the army under general Bolivar has even often been for days together dependent for support, solely upon the latter description of provisions and water. Pay was now totally unknown to them, in consequence of the utter exhaustion of their resources; and, however successful they might eventually be, there existed no probability whatever, that they would even then possess the means of affording pecuniary compensation to those who may have participated in the struggle.’\* pp. 54—58.

Their clothing of course corresponds to their fare, consisting, we are told, in most instances, of ‘fragments of coarse cloth, wrapped round their bodies,’ while pieces of raw buffalo hide laced over their feet, form a substitute for shoes: these, when hardened by the sun’s heat, they again render pliant by immersion in the first stream at which they chance to arrive.

‘A blanket, with a hole cut in the middle, let over the head, and tightened round the body by a buffalo thong, has been frequently the dress of the officers; and one of them who witnessed the fact, assured me, that such was actually the *uniform* of a British colonel (R——) who was at that time in the Independent service. Whilst these gentlemen thus described the patriot habiliments, they commented in the strongest language on the impolicy and imprudence of proceeding to serve in conjunction with an army barefooted and in rags, provided with such splendored uniforms as we had been obliged to procure; and ridiculed the strange contrast which our dresses and those of the Patriots would exhibit in the field; observing, that such clothes would be alone sufficient to excite the jealousy of the natives, to whose eagerness for their possession, we should almost inevitably become a sacrifice.’ pp. 53—54.

The Patriots, it is stated on apparently good authority, are decidedly averse to foreign assistance. Arms and ammunition are

\* ‘The sanguinary and ferocious character of the warfare,’ says our Author, in a subsequent paragraph, ‘which has reflected lasting disgrace on the contending parties on the Continent of South America, also governs the proceedings of the hostile navies; indiscriminate destruction of prisoners, is most generally accomplished by compelling the ill-fated captives, to pass through the ceremony which is technically called *Walking the Plank*. For this purpose, a plank is made fast on the gang-way of the ship, with one end projecting some feet beyond the side; the wretched victims are then forced, in succession, to proceed along the fatal board, and precipitate themselves from its extremity into the ocean; whilst those who instinctively clinging to life, hesitate prompt obedience to the brutal mandate, are soon compelled at the point of a spear to resign themselves to a watery grave, to avoid the aggravated cruelties of their inhuman conquerors.

‘The Independents, who (as has been before observed) impute the origin of this barbarous mode of warfare to the Royalists, resort for their justification in adopting a similar course of proceeding, to the necessity of retaliation.’ pp. 120—121.

all that they are desirous of obtaining from us. The introduction of British officers, particularly, it is added, 'had already excited greater jealousy and dissension among the native troops, than their most zealous exertions could possibly make amends for, and to so violent a pitch had their jealous feelings carried them, as to subject foreigners, attached to the patriot service, to perpetual hazard of assassination.'

'Their obstinate hostility to the admission of foreign aid, can in a great measure be accounted for, from a confidence in their own numerical strength, and the obvious weakness of the mother country. They encourage a probably well-grounded conviction, that, however the contest may be protracted, success must ultimately attach itself to their party; and an anxiety to enjoy the entire fruits of their triumph, has created this aversion to the admission of foreigners, whose services, they cannot but know, are proffered rather from motives of personal aggrandizement, than any particular solicitude for the emancipation of South America.' pp. 64—65.

Such were the views which determined our Author to relinquish the project in which he had been, by the most infamous deception, seduced to engage, as 'First Lieutenant of the late Venezuela Artillery Brigade,' which brigade was disbanded by the Colonel, off Grenada, before it had reached the Spanish Main. The conditions upon which he entered, and which were duly sanctioned and guaranteed by Don Mendez, the *accredited agent* of the Independents in London, were the following.

'1st. That on arriving in South America I should retain the rank to which he, Colonel Gilmore, had appointed me. 2dly. That I should from thence receive the full pay and allowances enjoyed by officers of similar rank in the British service. 3dly. That the expenses of outfit (with the exception of the passage to the Spanish Main) should be, in the first instance borne by myself; but, 4thly: That I should, immediately on my arriving in South America, receive the sum of two hundred dollars, towards defraying these expenses.'

One is at a loss to conceive what possible inducement this *mendacious* Don could have, for the conduct attributed to him; unless, (which is not stated) he has been carrying on a trade in Patriotic Commissions, and charges high for the appointments he sells. In that case, lenient as our laws are to gentlemen of the profession of swindlers, we should yet imagine that a check might long ago have been given to his '*levees*.' It is upon this 'gentleman' exclusively, according to *Lieutenant* Hackett, that the 'responsibility must rest, of having excited hopes which he must have known would never be realized; of having guaranteed the performance of conditions, the fulfilment whereof he must have been aware was impracticable; and of having induced those desirous of embarking in this destructive enterprise, to believe that their services would be joyfully and gratefully accepted by the Independent Generals and their Armies; whilst he, at the same time, could scarcely have

been ignorant, that the strongest hostility was manifested by the Patriots to the admission of foreign assistance; and that the jealousy of the native troops of those few British officers who had been tempted actually to join their armies was so rancorous, as to subject them to the perpetual hazard of assassination.' pp. vii, viii.

Not fewer than five distinct corps embarked at nearly the same period, on the same delusive enterprise.

'1st. A Brigade of Artillery under the command of Colonel J. A. Gilmore, consisting of five light six-pounders, and one five-and-half-inch-howitzer, ten officers and about eighty non-commissioned officers and men. This corps embarked on board the *Britannia*, a fine ship of about four hundred tons burden, commanded by captain Sharpe, with a crew of twenty-one able and well conducted seamen. An immense quantity of every description of military stores had been stowed on board this vessel, comprising arms, ammunition, clothing, wagons, and, in fact, every requisite for enabling the brigade to enter upon active service immediately on arriving at its place of destination.

'The uniforms and equipments of the officers were extremely rich, very similar to those of the British Artillery, and provided altogether at the expense of the individuals who had accepted commissions in this ill-fated expedition. The equipments of the other corps were likewise in every respect extensive and complete, and the uniforms remarkably rich and costly, more especially in the regiment commanded by Colonel Wilson, one of whose officers informed me that his outfit amounted to upwards of two hundred guineas.

'2d. A corps of hussars (called the *First Venezuelan Hussars*) under the command of colonel Hippley, consisting of about thirty officers, and one hundred and sixty non-commissioned officers and men; uniform, dark green, faced with red. This corps embarked on board the *Emerald*, a beautiful ship of about five hundred tons, commanded by captain Weatherly, with a crew of upwards of thirty men and boys.

'3d. A regiment of cavalry (called the *Red Hussars*) under the command of colonel Wilson, consisting of about twenty officers and one hundred non-commissioned officers and men. Uniform—full-dress, red and gold; undress, blue and gold. This corps proceeded in the *Prince*, a vessel of about four hundred tons burden, commanded by captain Nightingale.

'4th. A rifle corps (named the *First Venezuelan Rifle Regiment*) commanded by colonel Campbell, consisting of about thirty-seven officers, and nearly two hundred non-commissioned officers and men. Uniform, similar to that of the Rifle Brigade in the British service. This corps embarked on board the *Dowson*, captain Dormor, a fine ship about the size of the *Britannia*.

'5th. A corps of Lancers, under the command of colonel Skeene, comprising, in officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, about two hundred and twenty men; who embarked on board the unfortunate ship *Indian*, and the whole of whom, together with

the crew, perished miserably at sea, being wrecked on the island of Ushant shortly after their departure from England.

‘These several corps sailed from England at nearly the same time, with the intention of acting conjointly on arriving in South America, and having previous to their departure appointed the island of Saint Bartholomew and Saint Thomas, as places of general rendezvous, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of affairs on the Spanish Main, and determining the point at which it would be most judicious the disembarkation should take place.’ pp. xii-xv.

We must now give a hasty outline of Mr. Hackett's narrative. The *Britannia* sailed on the 3d of Dec. 1817. On the 24th of Jan. she sailed into the harbour of Gustavia, in St. Bartholomew's, where the *Prince* and the *Emerald* had already arrived. Here they remained upwards of three weeks, without receiving any intelligence from the Spanish Main, on the veracity of which they could place the slightest reliance. A general feeling of dissatisfaction and uneasiness soon manifested itself, as the consequence of this painful state of suspense, and their situation was rendered still more critical by the spirit of dissension and jealousy which first began to actuate the officers commanding the respective corps, and at length extended among the subordinate officers, destroying all exertions for the common cause. On the 21st of February, after many ineffectual efforts to obtain direct intelligence from the Continent, the three ships (the *Britannia*, the *Prince*, and the *Dowson*,) sailed from St. Bartholomew's, and arrived at Grenada, on the Friday following. The account of the state of the Patriot armies given by Mr. Guthrie, the Independent agent resident at this island, coincided so minutely with that furnished by Mr. Molony, the agent at St. Thomas's, that the supercargo at once determined against proceeding with the stores to the Main. The situation in which colonel Gilmore was by this means placed, was, in his view, so irrecoverably desperate, as to leave him no alternative but disbanding the brigade.

‘Our condition now may be readily conceived: deprived of the support of our colonel, destitute of resources and friends, and unable to devise any means of extrication from our difficulties, we saw ourselves threatened with all the horrors of privation and want. Of the men comprising our late brigade, some joined the other ships, others enlisted in the *Queen's Regiment*, at this time garrisoned in Grenada, whilst a few determined on endeavouring to work their passage to the United States; the various artificers were put ashore at the same period. The printer, having been permitted to carry with him a portion of the types and printing apparatus, fortunately procured a situation in the newspaper office. The armourer afterwards returned to Saint Bartholomew's with the intention of proceeding to New Orleans. The fate of the remainder I never learned, but fear their distresses must have been great, as they appeared totally destitute of money, and were consequently dependent for their subsistence on the manual exercise of their respective arts.

'Some of the officers succeeded in providing for themselves, either through their own resources, or pecuniary aid from friends; the remainder, including captain — and myself, were still permitted to continue on board the *Britannia*.'

On the supercargo's resolving at length to proceed to Port au Prince, in the hope of being enabled there to dispose of the artillery and military stores, the remaining officers and men were put on shore, friendless, and destitute. Poor lieutenant Hackett, however, obtained from the merchant to whom the *Britannia* had been consigned, the use of a ruinous waste room in one of his outhouses, of which he 'gladly accepted.' Having converted into cash every article of property he could possibly dispose of, his thoughts were now wholly occupied with forming plans for returning to Europe. At length he was informed, that an English merchant vessel, (the *Hornby*) which had been taken possession of by the admiral stationed off St. Kitts, (in consequence of having, together with several others, become subject to seizure,) was destined to return to Europe 'in ballast.' He accordingly took a final leave of St. Bartholomew's, on the 3d of April, resolving, with some others of the unfortunate adventurers, to offer his services to the captain, to work his passage home on board his ship, as a common seaman. This proposal was, after some deliberation, acceded to, and 'those only,' he says, who have been similarly situated, can conceive of the happiness we now experienced, and the delight with which we on the following day availed ourselves of captain W.'s permission to repair on board.' The *Hornby* being almost destitute of hands, was detained nearly three weeks at St. Kitt's after this arrangement, which allowed of Mr. Hackett's procuring intelligence of the proceedings of several of the vessels and officers attached to the South American enterprise, subsequently to his leaving the *Britannia*. The *Emerald* was purchased by admiral Biron for the Independent service, and converted, under the name of the *Victory*, into his flag ship, manned by British seamen, about seventy of whom he succeeded in procuring from the West India Islands. The *Britannia* and the *Dowson*, after depositing their stores with merchants in St. Bartholomew's, being unable otherwise to dispose of them, took in sugar freights on their passage home. Of colonel Gilmore's brigade, none ever actually landed on the continent, with the exception of two officers, and about fifteen or twenty men, who joined colonel Wilson's corps. This corps, though much reduced in numbers, finally proceeded for Bolivar's head quarters at the Oroonoco. The main body of captain Hipposley's regiment likewise sailed for the same destination. Of their subsequent proceedings or fate, no information reached Mr. H. Colonel Campbell's corps, originally the most effective, became reduced by fever and resignation, to ten officers and a proportionate number of men, which small remnant intended also to proceed to Angustura. As for our poor ex-lieutenant, he soon acquired an intimacy with the haul-yard, and after a favourable passage, arrived on the 16th of June in Ports-



mouth harbour, when he and his captain parted, with mutual feelings of friendship and regard. In conclusion, he disclaims any hostile feeling towards the cause of the Independents. 'That cause,' he remarks, 'must stand or fall upon its own insulated merits: confident in its abstract justice, I heartily wish its speedy and perfect success,—but without the sacrifice of British blood, or the compromise of British honour.'

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ART. X.—*The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, &c.* By James Northcote, Esq. R. A. The second edition, revised and corrected. London, 1818. 8vo. 2 vols.

[From the London Literary Gazette.]

THE words 'second edition,' in a work of this kind, are so presumptive of public opinion, that we hold ourselves absolved from the task of critical remark. Nor should we have taken up this publication for notice at all, had it not offered sufficient novelty and attraction in its *additions*, to warrant our transferring a few of them to our pages, where, if they appear to our readers as they do to us, they will be thought amusing, interesting, and instructive.

Mr. Northcote is full of pleasing anecdote, and if occasionally a familiar story creep in, it may readily be excused on the ground alleged by the author, viz. that he wished his picture to be complete, and could not therefore reject incidents, merely because they had been presented before. We shall select a few of these little characteristic traits.

'Portraits, in the time of Hudson, (Sir Joshua's master) were almost always in one attitude; one hand hid in the waistcoat, and the hat under the arm. But one gentleman, whose portrait young Reynolds painted, desired to have his hat on his head, in the picture, which was quickly finished, in a common-place attitude, done without much study, and sent home; where, on inspection, it was soon discovered, that although this gentleman, in his portrait, had one hat upon his head, yet there was another under his arm!'

From the second portrait which Reynolds painted in the metropolis, that of William, second duke of Devonshire, a print was taken in mezzotinto, and it is said to be the first print ever taken from any of his works. [Above seven hundred were afterwards produced.]

'At a venison feast, Reynolds addressed his conversation to one of the company who sat next to him, but to his great surprise could not get a single word in answer, until at length his silent neighbour, turning to him, said, "Mr. Reynolds, whenever you are at a venison feast, I advise you not to speak during dinner time, as in endeavouring to answer your questions, I have just swallowed a fine piece of the fat, entire, without tasting its flavour."

There is only one marble bust of Sir Joshua, executed by Cirachi, an Italian sculptor. This Cirachi was a young man of some

ability, but of a turbulent spirit, and had been driven from every country which he had visited. When he left England, he went to France, where he soon got himself guillotined for being concerned in a conspiracy formed against the life of Bonaparte, by means of a horrid contrivance which the French named the infernal machine.

‘One day when Lord Mansfield was sitting, Sir Joshua asked him his opinion, if he thought it was a likeness;—when his lordship replied, that it was totally out of his power to judge of its degree of resemblance, as he had not seen his own face in any looking-glass, during the last thirty years of his life; for his servant always dressed him, and put on his wig, which therefore rendered it quite unnecessary for him to look at himself in a mirror.’

‘A clergyman, a friend of Mr. Opie’s, declared to him that he once delivered one of Sir Joshua’s discourses, from the pulpit, as a sermon, with no other alteration but in such words as made it applicable to *morals* instead of the *fine arts*: which (says the re-later) is a proof of the depth of his reasoning, and of its foundation being formed on the principles of general nature.

To the foregoing (he continues) I take the liberty to add some lines by the well known Peter Pindar, and which have never before appeared in print:

ADVICE TO YOUNG PAINTERS.

Study Sir Joshua’s works, young men;—  
Not pictures only, but his pen:  
Who, when Cimmerian darkness whelm’d our isle,  
Appear’d a comet in his art;—  
Bid nature from the canvas start,  
And with the Graces bade that canvas smile.  
  
Could Titian from his tomb arise,  
And cast on Reynolds’ art his eyes,  
How would he heave of jealousy the groan!  
Here possibly I may mistake;  
As Titian probably might take  
The works of our great master for his own.

‘When Barry first showed some dilatoriness in preparing for his lectures as professor of painting, Sir Joshua made some remarks upon his conduct, to which Barry retorted with great insolence and brutality, saying, “If I had no more to do in the composition of my lectures than to produce such poor flimsy stuff as your discourses, I should soon have done my work, and be prepared to read.”—Sir Joshua used to say, that as many of Barry’s discoveries were new to himself, so he thought they were new to every body else.’

‘One evening, at the Artists’ Club, held at the ‘Turk’s Head, in Gerrard street, Sir Joshua came into the room, having just before seen a very fine landscape, painted by Gainsborough, with which he had been exceedingly struck, from its extraordinary merit. He was describing its beauties to the members of the club then present, and finished his eulogium by saying, “Gainsborough is certainly the first landscape painter now in Europe;” when the

famous Richard Wilson, the landscape-painter, who was one of the auditors of this high commendation, and who, from an excusable jealousy, felt himself offended, after begging leave to add also to this high character given of Gainsborough, said, "Well, Sir Joshua, and it is my opinion that he is also the greatest portrait-painter at this time in Europe." Sir Joshua felt the rebuke, and immediately apologized for his inattention in making the observation in Wilson's company.'

But it is not with entertaining anecdotes alone that we have found ourselves gratified in perusing the new passages in these volumes (which additions are also published in the form of an Appendix, in 4to. to the first edition;) there are many observations on painting, and other subjects, conveying intelligence to the general reader and instruction to the artist. The following extract affords a contrast, as far as it goes, and we wish it went further, much in favour of the present state of the arts in England:—

'It was not long after the arrival of Mr. West in this country, from his studies in Italy, that he displayed his powers in historical painting in a most excellent picture; the subject of which was that of Pylades and Orestes, one of his very best works. As any attempt in history was, at that period, an almost unexampled effort, this picture became a matter of much surprise: his house was soon filled with visitors from all quarters to see it; and those among the highest rank; who were not able to come to his house to satisfy their curiosity, desired his permission to have it sent to them, nor did they fail every time it was returned to him, to accompany it with compliments of the highest commendation on its great merits. But the most wonderful part of the story is, that notwithstanding all this vast bustle and commendation bestowed upon this justly admired picture, by which Mr. West's servant gained upwards of thirty pounds for showing it, yet no one mortal ever asked the price of the work, or so much as offered to give him a commission to paint any other subject. Indeed there was one gentleman so highly delighted with the picture, and spoke of it with such great praise to his father, that he immediately asked him the reason he did not purchase, as he so much admired it, when he answered—"What could I do, if I had it? you would not surely have me hang up a modern English picture in my house, unless it was a portrait."'

Mr. West, in our time, sold his *Christ Healing the Sick* to the British Institution, for 5000*l.* and was offered 10,000*l.* for his *Death on the Pale Horse*; which the public crowd to see, and we should suppose that the amount paid for admission, at a shilling for each individual, exceeds (when the town is full) 30*l.* per diem!! Such is the difference in half a century. The origin of another alteration, not perhaps so favourable to the arts, as it regards the permanency of colours, is thus described:

'It was of advantage to the old school of Italian painters, that they were under the necessity of making most of their colours

themselves, or at least under the inspection of such as possessed chymical knowledge, which excluded all possibility of those adulterations to which the moderns are exposed. The same also was the case in England, till the time of Sir Godfrey Kneller, who, when he came to this country, brought over a servant with him, whose sole employment was to prepare all his colours and materials for his work. Kneller afterwards set him up as a colour-maker for artists; and this man's success, he being the first that kept a colour-shop in London, occasioned the practice of it as a trade.

'Sir Joshua was ever careful about procuring unadulterated articles of every sort, and has often desired me to inform the colour-man, that he should not regard any price that might be demanded, provided the colours were genuine.

'In his investigations also into the secrets used by the old painters, he was indefatigable. I remember once in particular, a fine picture of Parmegiano, that I bought by his order at a sale; which he rubbed and scoured down to the very pannel on which it had been painted, so that at last nothing remained of the picture. Speaking to him of the extraordinary merits of Titian, I asked him, if he thought there ever would be in the world a superior in portrait-painting? he answered, that he believed there never would—that, to procure a real fine picture by Titian, he would be content to sell every thing he possessed in the world, to raise the money for its purchase; adding, with emphasis, "I would be content to ruin myself."

From a multitude of MS. memoranda kept by Sir Joshua when at Rome, and afterwards, we select a few specimens:

'All games of recreation are an imitation of enmity.

'The younger pupils are best taught by those who are in a small degree advanced in knowledge above themselves, and from that cause proceeds the peculiar advantage of studying in academies. [This is the principle upon which the improvement in modern education has been founded.]

'Genius begins where rules end.

'Real greatness is that which presents less by far to the sense than to the imagination.

'The very foundation of the art of painting is invention; he who most excels in that high quality, must be allowed to be the greatest painter, in what degree soever he may be surpassed by others in the more inferior branches of the art.

'Never give the least touch with your pencil till you have present in your mind a perfect idea of your future work.

'A fine tragedy, in the reading, is like a fine drawing by a great master; but when exhibited on the stage, seems as if it had been coloured by a vulgar hand to make it appear natural.

'A man subject to anger, is, beyond all comparison, to be preferred to him who is never angry.

'The fine arts (particularly painting) are as mirrors reflecting the charms of nature, which few are capable of seeing in nature herself.

' Bashfulness denotes strong sensibility, and seems to waver betwixt pride and humility.

' Dress is a strong indication of the moral character.

' Benefits strengthen the ties of virtuous friendship; but, where there is a deficiency of virtue, generally have a contrary effect.'

With this aphorism, which displays an intimate acquaintance with human nature, we conclude; and merely subjoin two curious facts, the diffusion of the latter of which we hope may elicit the production of its subject.

The only two pictures which Sir Joshua ever marked with his name are those of Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse, and of Mrs. Cockburn and her three children. He wrote it on the embroidered edge of their garments in both instances.

Oliver Goldsmith once read to a lady several chapters of a novel in MS. which he did not live to finish, now irrecoverably lost. The same lady, Mr. Northcote informs us, has some of his poetry never yet published.

ART. XI.—*Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for Promoting Useful Knowledge. Vol. 1. Philadelphia, 1819. pp. 414.*

**T**HE want of an Historical Society had long been acknowledged and lamented in Pennsylvania, without any steps being taken towards supplying the deficiency, until that highly useful and respectable association, the 'American Philosophical Society,' by their resolve of March 17th, 1815, added a new committee to the six previously existing,\* under the denomination of 'the Committee of History, Moral Science and General Literature.'

This committee being unlimited in number, and every member of the society having a right to enroll himself upon the list, a new society was thus in effect established, whose objects were designated to be, 'to form a collection of original documents, such as official and private letters, Indian treatises, ancient records, ancient maps, and such other papers as may be calculated to throw light on the history of the United States, but more particularly of this State, to be preserved among the archives of this society for the public benefit.' And further; 'to take such measures as to them seem most proper for the purpose of obtaining from able and intelligent persons in the United States, but more particularly in this State, correct information on matters connected with the history, geography, topography, antiquities, and statistics of this country.'

- \* Those of
1. Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Astronomy.
  2. Medicine and Anatomy.
  3. Natural History and Chymistry.
  4. Trade and Commerce.
  5. Mechanics and Architecture.
  6. Husbandry and American Improvements.

The committee immediately entered upon the performance of their new duties, and on the 15th of August, 1815, published a '*Literary Notice*,' explaining the nature of their institution, and soliciting the aid of men of information, throughout the Union, and more particularly in this State.

This invitation was not, however, attended with the anticipated success; the call had been too general, and individuals did not come forward in compliance with it. A different system soon after adopted, produced happier results. They opened an extensive correspondence with gentlemen not only in Pennsylvania, but in other parts of the United States, selecting those whom they thought most likely to second their views; and so successful were their applications, that in their report made to the society on the 9th of January, 1818, they had the pleasure to give the following very satisfactory account of their labours and their prospects.

'The genuine friends of literature and science, those in whom the love of knowledge is a predominant passion, and who have sufficient leisure to devote a considerable part of their time to its acquisition and advancement, are not very common in any country. It cannot, therefore, be a matter of astonishment, that they should not yet be very numerous in these States, where society has so many calls for the exertions of its members in the more indispensable employments of human life. Your committee, however, have great pleasure in being able to assure the society, that they have found a considerable number of their fellow citizens able and willing to aid in the promotion of their objects, and from whom they have, in fact, derived very important assistance.

'Among those enlightened and truly patriotic citizens, they beg leave, in the first place, to name the late president of this society, Thomas Jefferson. From the first establishment of this committee, he was pleased to honour us with his valuable correspondence, and has spared no exertions to forward the objects of our institution. To him we are indebted for many important MSS. documents, calculated to throw light on the history of our country, on the customs, manners, and languages of the Indian nations, and various other interesting national subjects. He has lately directed to be placed in our hands several as yet unedited MSS. volumes of scientific notes and observations by Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, made in the course of their journey to the Pacific ocean. The names of the authors of these volumes, sufficiently vouch for the interest of the matter which they contain.

'Next to this venerable patron of science, your committee find themselves in duty bound to mention as one of their most zealous as well as useful friends and supporters, doctor George Logan, of Stenton. He has opened to them the treasures of his family archives, which contain a great number of interesting documents relating to the early periods of the colony of Pennsylvania. Among these, not the least valuable, is the familiar correspondence which was carried on for many years between our illustrious founder, William Penn, Hannah Penn, his interesting wife, and James Lo-

gan, the doctor's grandfather, who, it is well known, was the proprietor's confidential friend and secretary. A lady of the doctor's family, eminently qualified for the task, has undertaken to arrange those letters in a regular order, and has already communicated to your committee the first MS. volume of the collection, which she has enriched with notes and with introductory matter of much interest. The remainder is in a course of preparation, and when the whole collection is thus completed, it will (if your committee can obtain her permission to publish it,) exhibit in a more satisfactory manner than has yet been done, the private character, manners, and habits of the legislator of Pennsylvania, as well as the political line of conduct which he pursued in his government. It will also make us more intimately acquainted with his faithful friend and counsellor, James Logan, of whose classical turn of mind and literary attainments, the library which bears his name, and which he generously gave to the city of Philadelphia, affords sufficient testimony.

'Nor should your committee omit paying the tribute of their thanks to our worthy associate, the Rev. John Heckewelder, of Bethlehem. The intimate knowledge which this respectable missionary is known to possess of the languages and manners of various Indian nations, among whom he resided more than forty years, pointed him out to us as a person from whom much information could be obtained; nor were our hopes deceived. In answer to the inquiries of your committee, he laid open the stores of his knowledge, and his correspondence gives us a clear insight into that wonderful organization which distinguishes the languages of the aborigines of this country from all the other idioms\* of the known world. Through his means your committee obtained the communication of a MS. grammar of that of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians, written in German, by the late Rev. David Zeisberger, well known as the author of a copious vocabulary of the same language. This is the most complete grammar that we have ever seen of any one of those languages which are called *barbarous*. It gives a full, and we believe, an accurate view of those comprehensive grammatical forms which appear to prevail with little variation among the aboriginal natives of America, from Greenland to Cape Horn, and shows how little the world has yet advanced in that science which is proudly called *Universal Grammar*. Through the same means, we are promised the communication of an excellent Dictionary, by the same author, of the Iroquois language, explained in German, which is in the library of the Moravian brethren at Bethlehem. Your committee have procured a translation of Mr. Zeisberger's grammar into English, and will endeavour to do the same with the Dictionary when received.

'Mr. Heckewelder, at the request of your committee, is now engaged in committing to writing the observations which he made

\* Except, perhaps, the language of the Eiscayans or Basques, which professor Vater conceives to be formed on the same model with those of the aborigines of America.

in the course of a long life, on the manners and customs of the Indians. To him and Mr. Jefferson, we are also indebted for a considerable number of vocabularies of the languages of various Indian nations, particularly of those of the southern tribes, hitherto but little known, of which your committee intend to make a proper use in due time.

‘Mr. Redmond Coningham, a member of the legislature of this state, has testified his zeal for the advancement of knowledge, by procuring for your committee, with much labour and some expense, from the office of the secretary of state at Harrisburgh, copies and extracts of the most interesting records of the executive branch of the government, anterior to the period of the American revolution, which will be of great use to the future historian of this commonwealth.

‘Your committee would have to trespass too long on the attention of the society, were they to attempt to do justice to all those who have contributed their liberal aid to the promotion of their endeavours; they cannot, however, avoid mentioning our associates, Messrs. William Rawle, and Joseph P. Norris, from whom they have received several curious and interesting MSS. documents relative to the early history of this state. From John D. Coxe, Joseph Reed, and James Robertson, Esqs. and the Rev. Dr. William Rogers, all of this city, they have to acknowledge the receipt of a great many scarce books and pamphlets, which are indispensably necessary for a correct knowledge of the history of that period. Mr. William Graham, of Chester, has presented us with a complete set of the journals of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, from the first settlement of the colony down to the revolution, now become very scarce. The numerous donations of historical and statistical works which, within the last two years, have been made to the society, attest the exertions of your committee, and the zeal and liberality of its friends.

‘Your committee are continuing to pursue the same course with unabated ardour. They are gradually extending their correspondence, indulging and soliciting the utmost freedom of literary intercourse, by which means, as they increase their own stock of knowledge, they hope to contribute to keeping up that laudable spirit of inquiry and research, which the observing eye cannot but perceive to be increasing in our country.

‘Your committee are well aware that they are sowing seeds which cannot be expected to produce immediate fruits. Yet they cannot resist the pleasing hope, that in consequence of their unremitting exertions, from the bosom of this society may arise future historians, and other literary characters, who will one day do honour to the land that gave them birth.

‘To facilitate the labours of such men, your committee intend to avail themselves of the permission which the society has given them, of publishing, from time to time, under their own responsibility, selections from the materials which they have on hand, and



may hereafter obtain. The praise of zeal and industry is all to which they can aspire; it will be the task of genius to prove hereafter to the world, that their labours have not been entirely useless. With this flattering expectation, they feel supported and encouraged to go on with the performance of the duty assigned to them.'

Next follows, in the volume before us, a *report* from Mr. Dupleau, the corresponding secretary of the committee, read January 12th, 1819; in which that gentleman, whose extensive acquirements, and zealous pursuit of knowledge, are equally admirable, develops 'his progress in the investigation committed to him of the general character and forms of the languages of the American Indians.'

In imposing on him a task so difficult and laborious, a task, indeed, requiring a perseverance of inquiry, which nothing but the most ardent love of learning could support; and calling for the clearest discrimination in the admission of facts, and the soundest judgment in drawing the inferences from them, the committee paid to Mr. Dupleau a most unqualified, but probably a most burdensome compliment. Few individuals could have been found with inclination for such an undertaking. And certainly none could have been selected more remarkably qualified by great learning, superior talents, and uncommon taste for philological pursuits.

Accordingly the *report* is replete with curious and valuable information, collected by the most indefatigable research.

'In this investigation of facts,' says the secretary, in the course of his observations, 'I have not drawn my information indiscriminately from every source, otherwise I should very soon have been lost in a labyrinth of contradictions. I left no book or manuscript unconsulted that came within my reach; but I examined the assertions of each writer with a critical eye, fully determined in no case to swear on the word of a master. I tried to discover the sources from which my authors had derived their knowledge; the opportunities which they had of acquiring it; the time which they had spent among the Indians, or in the study of their languages; the degree of attention which they had bestowed upon it, and the powers of mind by which they had been enabled to take a just and an accurate view of their subject. Finally, I rejected every thing that came in the shape of mere assertion, and paid attention only to those specimens of the different idioms in which their grammatical structure was sufficiently exhibited. I found more of these than I had at first expected, and was enabled by their means to take that wide range of observation, which alone could serve the purpose I had in view.

'I have derived no little aid from that excellent work ably commenced by the late professor Adelung,\* and no less ably continued by our learned associate, professor Vater, and another Adelung,†

\* Author of the great German Dictionary and other celebrated literary works.

† The honourable Frederick Adelung, of St. Petersburg, counsellor of state, member of the imperial Russian academy, and of this society. He is the nephew and worthy successor of the great Adelung.

not inferior to his predecessor. I mean the *Mithridates*,\* which I do not hesitate to call the most astonishing philological collection that the world has ever seen. It contains an epitome of all the existing knowledge of the ancient and modern languages of the whole earth. It exhibits specimens of the words of each language, by means of which their affinities can be traced as far as etymology may help to discover them, with a delineation of their forms, syntax, construction, and general grammatical character, exemplified in the greatest number of cases by the Lord's prayer in each language and dialect, with a literal German translation interlined, and followed by a commentary in which every sentence is parsed and the meaning of each word given, with an explanation of the grammatical sense and form in which it is employed. Of this extensive work, two volumes† are exclusively dedicated to the languages of the Indians of North and South America, and give a condensed view of all the information which heretofore has existed in print upon this subject.

From the labours of the missionaries of the society of the United Brethren in this country, I have derived considerable assistance. With a view to promote the Christian faith, and the civilization of the aborigines of the country, those venerable men had written a number of grammars, dictionaries, and other elementary works on the Indian languages, which being intended merely for the use of their young ministers, were unknown to the rest of the world, and would have remained for ever buried in obscurity, had not the exertions of the historical committee brought them to light, and rendered them more generally useful. By their means, the forms and construction of the two principal mother tongues of this country, the Delaware and the Iroquois, are become sufficiently known. Professor Vater has not given a very particular description of either, for want of materials to work upon; for neither the English nor the French, who were both so long in possession of the northern part of the American continent, had taken pains to furnish them.

I have the honour of annexing to this report, a list of the various grammars, dictionaries, vocabularies, and other MS. works on Indian languages, which have been presented or communicated to the historical committee in aid of their researches. It will be easily perceived how much advantage has been derived from them in the course of the inquiries which I have been directed to make. I have, moreover, obtained much additional information from the

\* *Mithridates, oder Allgemeine Sprachenkunde, &c.*

*Mithridates*, or the general science of languages, with the Lord's prayer, as a specimen, in nearly five hundred languages and dialects. Berlin, 1816-1817, 4 vols. bound in 6 octavo. The last volume consists of valuable additions to the former ones, by Mr. F. Adelung, and by baron William Von Humboldt, who has enriched it with an excellent dissertation on the Basque language.

† These are called the 2d, and 3d, parts of the third volume, and contain together, no less than 374 pages. The whole of this third volume, and the best part of the second, are the work of professor Vater.

correspondence which I have carried on with missionaries and others at home and abroad, and which is every day becoming more extensive and interesting. I have found every where the greatest readiness to promote the objects that we have in view; in the south, the honourable Josiah Meigs, the government's commissioner for Indian affairs, has professed his willingness to aid our pursuits by all the means in his power; and in the north, the right Rev. Catholic bishop of Quebec, with a liberality worthy us his exalted character and station, has opened and facilitated to of the means of correspondence with the missionaries of his persuasion, who reside among the Indians of Canada. From these rich and numerous sources, your secretary flatters himself that much light will be thrown on the character and affinities of the aboriginal languages of this part of the American continent, particularly the southern idioms, which are yet very little known.

‘I have made the best use in my power of these various sources of information, and have besides neglected none of the opportunities that have fallen in my way, of conversing with Indians, interpreters, and other persons practically skilled in the different languages; I have to regret that too few such opportunities have offered; for I have obtained much knowledge from those living instructors, which books do not, and much which they cannot communicate.

‘These are the means through which I have been hitherto enabled to pursue the inquiry which the committee directed me to make into the forms and character of the languages of the American Indians. I have proceeded in this laborious investigation with an anxious wish to discover the truth, and have endeavoured to keep my mind as much as possible, free from the bias of preconceived opinions. As far as my researches have gone, I have yet found nothing to induce me to change the view which I at first took of my subject, or to come to conclusions materially different from those which I drew in my correspondence with Mr. Heckewelder. It becomes my duty, therefore, to state those conclusions, and lay before the committee the facts subsequently ascertained, by which they may appear to be contradicted or supported. It is of little consequence, perhaps, whether these general inferences are correct or not, provided their truth or falsity is thought of sufficient importance to give a precise, and at the same time an interesting direction to the study of the Indian languages; for it must be acknowledged that there is but little attraction in the mere search after insulated facts.

‘Three principal results have forcibly struck my mind; I do not state them to the committee as positive facts, it would be highly presumptuous in me so to do. The knowledge which the world in general has acquired of the American languages is yet very limited; that which I individually possess, is extremely so. But in pursuing a course of studies, the committee have very properly judged that it is necessary to have some fixed object in view; and there-

fore, have specially directed me to endeavour to ascertain the general and relative character of the aboriginal idioms of this country. I proceed then, from the hypotheses which, on the most attentive consideration of the whole subject, have appeared to me the most probable; if I have been mistaken, further inquiries will show it, and will, perhaps, lead to more important discoveries; in the contrary supposition, the attention of philosophers will have been drawn to facts not unworthy of it. With the greatest diffidence, therefore, I beg the committee will permit me to state and illustrate the three propositions which I wish to submit to the further investigation of the learned. They are the following:

‘1. That the American languages in general, are rich in words and grammatical forms, and that in their complicated construction, the greatest order, method, and regularity prevail.

‘2. That these complicated forms, which I call *polysynthetic*, appear to exist in all those languages, from Greenland to Cape Horn.

‘3. That these forms appear to differ essentially from those of the ancient and modern languages of the old hemisphere.

#### ‘FIRST QUESTION.

‘*General Character of the Indian Languages.*—To fix the general character of the aboriginal languages of this extensive continent, it is not necessary to go into minute details, nor to confuse our imagination by too extensive a display of its numerous idioms; it is sufficient, I think, for our purpose, to select a few of those that are best known, and the principles of which have been most satisfactorily explained in approved grammatical works. In making this selection, however, we are not to confine ourselves to a particular part of the country; but to take the widest possible range, so as to adduce examples from quarters the most remote from each other. In this manner, I conceive, we take a commanding position, assume our general rule, and call for exceptions.

‘Pursuing this plan, I have selected in the north, the three principal mother tongues; the Karalit, or language of Greenland, and the Eskimaux, the Delaware, and the Iroquois. That the two former are constructed on the true polysynthetic plan, the works of Egede and Crantz, and Mr. Heckewelder’s correspondence, sufficiently prove, and as to the Iroquois, the committee have before them the grammatical works of the missionaries, Pylæus and Zeisberger, by which they may easily be convinced that in this language also the polysynthetic forms prevail.

‘In middle America, I shall instance the Poconchi, a language spoken in the province of Guatemala; of which, Thomas Gage, in his voyage to New Spain, has given a short description, by which, however, its polysynthetic character sufficiently appears; and also the Mexican proper, and the Tarascan dialect, with their reflected, transitive, compulsive, applicative, meditative, communicative, reverential, and frequentative verbs, and other complex forms, which

are well explained and exemplified by Tapia Zenteno, F. Antonio de Rincon, and F. Diego Basalenque, in their grammars of those languages, which are in our society's library. Those that we have of the other dialects of Mexico, are extremely deficient; their authors having too much endeavoured to make their grammatical construction square with the rules of the Latin and Spanish grammar. Yet enough may be drawn from them, and from other sources, to satisfy us that they also partake of the general character of American languages. Zenteno's grammar of the *Haustecan*, informs us that it has the compulsive or causative, and the transitive verbs, and the pronominal affixes,\* which we find also to exist in the *Mixtecan*;† even in the *Othomi*, of which a very insufficient view is given in the grammar of Neve y Molina, the *Mithridates* has enabled us to discover analagous forms.‡ It appears that several of those who have written grammars of American languages, have said little of their complex structure, from the difficulty of explaining it. Molina, in the introduction to the third part of his *Othomi* grammar, observes that that language is believed by many to be so difficult, as not to be at all reducible to rules.§ Therefore, in order to cut this Gordian knot, he has given only those forms which are the most analagous to the principles of his own language. This ought always to be borne in mind by those who pursue the study of the American idioms.

‘South America remains. I think it sufficient to notice, at its two extremities, the *Caribbee* and *Araucanian* languages. Of the former, there is a very good grammar and a dictionary by father Breton, and the grammatical character of the latter has been well displayed by the Abbé Molina, in his excellent *History of Chili*. I believe I need not do more, than refer to those works to prove, that these two languages are polysynthetic in the highest degree, and that the greatest analogy exists between their forms and those of the idioms of the northern parts of this continent. I beg leave to adduce one single example to illustrate the extraordinary similarity which subsists between the languages of the north and south. The abbé Molina, amidst a number of compound verbs in the *Araucanian* language, instances the verb “*iduancloclavin*,” “I do not wish to eat with him.” I once asked Mr. Heckewelder whether there was any similar verb in the *Delaware*, and he immediately gave me *n'schingiwipoma*, “I do not like to eat with him.” A stronger feature of resemblance in point of grammatical construc-

\* Pages 15, 27, 37.

† *Dzutundoo*, our father.

*Sananini*, thy name.

*Tasinisindo*, give us.

See the Lord's prayer in the *Mixtecan* language, in the *Mithridates*, Vol. III part iii. page 41.

‡ *Malteihe*, our father.

*Punnocah*, forgive us.

*Neibucakengn*, as we.

*Ibid.* p. 118.

§ Page 97.

tion, between the idioms of nations placed at such an immense distance from each other, cannot, I think, be exhibited; and with this, and the references I have above made, I believe I may, for the present, rest satisfied.

‘If I have shown it to be, at least, sufficiently probable, that polysynthetic forms are the general characteristic of the American Indian languages, I need only to refer to Mr. Heckewelder’s correspondence to prove that those forms, as exemplified by him in the Delaware, are such as I have described them; that they are rich, copious, expressive, and particularly that the greatest order, method, and analogy reign through them. To endeavour to give better proof of this fact, than those which that learned gentleman has given, would be a waste of labour and time. Indeed, from the view which he offers of the Lenni Lenape idiom, it would rather appear to have been formed by philosophers in their closets, than by savages in the wilderness. If it should be asked, how this can have happened, I can only answer, that I have been ordered to collect and ascertain facts, not to build theories. There remains a great deal yet to be ascertained, before we can venture to search into remote causes.

‘As the Delaware appears in the delineations which Mr. Heckewelder has given it, so the other languages formed on the same model have appeared to me; and, indeed, it can hardly be supposed that with similar means, different effects will be produced. Wherever the polysynthetic forms of language prevails, it is natural to presume that it is accompanied with all its inherent qualities, which are those which I have above described. The manner in which words are compounded in that particular mode of speech, the great number and variety of ideas which it has the power of expressing in one single word, particularly by means of the verbs; all these stamp its character for abundance, strength, and comprehensiveness of expression, in such a manner, that those accidents must be considered as included in the general descriptive term *polysynthetic*. Nor can this class of languages be divested, even in imagination, of the admirable order, method, and regularity, which pervades them; for it is evident that without these, such complicated forms of language could not subsist, and the confusion which would follow, would render them unfit even for the communication of the most simple ideas. A simple language may be, perhaps, unmethodical, but one which is highly complicated, and in which the parts of speech are to a considerable degree interwoven with each other, I humbly conceive, never can.

‘Still, Mr. Chairman, I am aware that this statement of facts will have many prejudices to encounter. It has been said, and will be said again, that “Savages having but few ideas, can want but few words; and, therefore, that their languages must necessarily be poor.” Whether savages have or have not many ideas, it is not my province to determine: all I can say is, that if it is true that their ideas are few, it is not less certain that they have many

words to express them. I might even say that they have an innumerable quantity of words, for, as Colden very justly observes, "they have the power and the means of compounding them without end."\*

'Permit me, sir, to add to the numerous proofs which Mr. Heckewelder has given of the copiousness of the Indian languages, a strong example, taken, not from the Delaware, but from the Iroquois idiom. Of this we knew very little, until the grammatical works of Pylæus and Zeisberger, and the dictionary of the latter, which were thought irretrievably lost, were fortunately recovered. By the liberality of the venerable society of the United Brethren at Bethlehem, this dictionary is now deposited in our society's library. It is German and Indian, beginning with the German: the counterpart, it seems, never was undertaken; at least, no traces of it are to be found. But the part that we have, fills alone seven quarto manuscript volumes, containing together not less than two thousand three hundred and sixty-seven pages. It is true, that one-half of each page is left blank for a margin; but allowing one-fourth as the usual space for that purpose, it still leaves one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five pages of writing, consisting of German words and phrases, with their translation into Indian. It must be acknowledged that there are not many dictionaries of this size; and if this is filled (as there is no reason to doubt,) with genuine Iroquois, it is in vain to speak of the poverty of that language.

'I wish to avoid as much as possible entering into tedious details; but perhaps it will not be amiss, by way of example, to make one or two short extracts out of this book, to show that the ideas and words of Indians are not, as many suppose, confined to the expression of things relating to their usual occupations and physical existence.

'In the first volume, under the letter B, and the German word *Bankerott*, we find:

## IN IROQUOIS.

<i>Er hat bankerott gemacht</i>	} <i>Ohne harwaheje,</i> <i>Ohne jachstennahote hoje.</i>
He is a bankrupt, or has	
become bankrupt.	

'And in the third volume, under the letter I, and the German word *Inwendig*, inward, inwardly.

Inwardly,	<i>Nacu, gajatacu.</i>
Inward heat,	<i>Otariche gajatacu.</i>
Inward rest,	} <i>Jonigochrio,</i> <i>Scaeno agonochtonnie gajatacu.</i>
A quiet conscience,	
What is inwardly concealed,	<i>Nonahote nacu ne wachsehta.</i>

'The committee have now the means of judging whether "the Indians have few ideas, and few words to express them." For my part, I confess that I am lost in astonishment at the copiousness

\* See Heckewelder's Correspondence. page 390.

and admirable structure of their languages, for which I can only account by looking up to the GREAT FIRST CAUSE.'

The second and third propositions, though more fully, and therefore still more satisfactorily treated, are less strikingly novel and important, and we forbear from further extracts.

This report is followed by a very detailed and highly interesting 'Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States.' By the Rev. John Heckewelder, of Bethlehem.

This occupies about three hundred and fifty pages, and comprises a vast multiplicity of facts and observations, communicated by the Rev. author, who resided among the Indians between thirty and forty years.

We shall reserve for a future opportunity, our remarks upon this part of the volume, (and it is an abundant theme,) as well as upon the valuable correspondence which fills the remainder of the book.

ART. XII.—*Indian Account of the First Arrival of the Dutch at New York Island.*

[From Heckewelder's Historical Account of the Indians.]

**T**HE Lenni Lenape claim the honour of having received and welcomed the Europeans on their first arrival in the country, situated between New England and Virginia. It is probable, however, that the Mahicani or Mohicans, who then inhabited the banks of the Hudson, concurred in the hospitable act. The relation I am going to make was taken down many years since from the mouth of an intelligent Delaware Indian, and may be considered as a correct account of the tradition existing among them of this momentous event. I give it as much as possible in their own language.

A great many years ago, when men with a white skin had never yet been seen in this land, some Indians who were out a fishing at a place where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. These Indians immediately returning to the shore, apprised their countrymen of what they had observed, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. They hurried out together, and saw with astonishment the phenomenon which now appeared to their sight, but could not agree upon what it was; some believed it to be an uncommonly large fish or animal, while others were of opinion it must be a very big house floating on the sea. At length the spectators concluded that this wonderful object was moving towards the land, and that it must be an animal or something else that had life in it; it would therefore be proper to inform all the Indians on the inhabited islands of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly they sent off a number of runners and wa-



termen to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off in every direction for the warriors, with a message that they should come on immediately. These arriving in numbers, and having themselves viewed the strange appearance, and observing that it was actually moving towards the entrance of the river or bay; concluded it to be a remarkably large house in which the Mannitto (the Great or Supreme Being) himself was present, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs were assembled at York island and deliberating in what manner in which they should receive their Mannitto on his arrival. Every measure was taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice. The women were desired to prepare the best victuals. All the idols or images were examined and put in order, and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Great Being, but it was believed that it might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute to appease him if he was angry with them. The conjurers were also set to work, to determine what this phenomenon portended, and what the possible result of it might be. To these and to the chiefs and wise men of the nations, men, women and children were looking up for advice and protection. Distracted between hope and fear, they were at a loss what to do; a dance, however, commenced in great confusion. While in this situation, fresh runners arrive declaring it to be a large house of various colours, and crowded with living creatures. It appears now to be certain, that it is the great Mannitto, bringing them some kind of game, such as he had not given them before, but other runners soon after arriving declare that it is positively a house full of human beings, of quite a different colour from that of the Indians, and dressed differently from them; that in particular one of them was dressed entirely in red, who must be the Mannitto himself. They are hailed from the vessel in a language they do not understand, yet they shout or yell in return by way of answer, according to the custom of their country; many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offence to their visitor, who might find them out and destroy them. The house, some say large canoe, at last stops, and a canoe of a smaller size comes on shore with the red man and some others in it; some stay with his canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men, assembled in council, form themselves into a large circle, towards which the man in red clothes approaches with two others. He salutes them with a friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration; the dress, the manners, the whole appearance of the unknown strangers is to them a subject of wonder, but they are particularly struck with him who wore the red coat all glittering with gold lace, which they could in no manner account for. He, surely, must be the great Mannitto, but why should he have a white skin? Meanwhile, a large *hack-*

*hack\** is brought by one of the servants, from which an unknown substance is poured out into a small cup or glass, and handed to the supposed Mannitto. He drinks—has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief standing next to him. The chief receives it, but only smells the contents and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass or cup thus passes through the circle, without the liquor being tasted by any one, and is upon the point of being returned to the red clothed Mannitto, when one of the Indians, a brave man and a great warrior, suddenly jumps up and harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the cup with its contents. It was handed to them, says he, by the Mannitto, that they should drink out of it, as he himself had done. To follow his example would be pleasing to him; but to return what he had given them might provoke his wrath and bring destruction on them. And since the orator believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them should be drunk, and as no one else would do it, he would drink it himself, let the consequence be what it might; it was better for one man to die, than that a whole nation should be destroyed. He then took the glass, and bidding the assembly a solemn farewell, at once drank up its whole contents. Every eye was fixed on the resolute chief, to see what effect the unknown liquor would produce. He soon began to stagger, and at last fell prostrate on the ground. His companions now bemoan his fate, he falls into a sound sleep, and they think he has expired. He wakes again, jumps up and declares, that he has enjoyed the most delicious sensations, and that he never before felt himself so happy as after he had drunk the cup. He asks for more, his wish is granted; the whole assembly then imitate him, and all become intoxicated.

After this general intoxication had ceased, for they say that while it lasted the whites had confined themselves to their vessel, the man with the red clothes returned again, and distributed presents among them, consisting of beads, axes, hoes, and stockings such as the white people wear. They soon became familiar with each other, and began to converse by signs. The Dutch made them understand that they would not stay here, that they would return home again, but would pay them another visit the next year, when they would bring them more presents, and stay with them awhile; but as they could not live without eating, they should want a little land of them to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs and vegetables to put into their broth. They went away as they had said, and returned in the following season, when both parties were much rejoiced to see each other; but the whites laughed at the Indians, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes and hoes they had given them the year before; for they had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments, and the stockings

\* Hackhack is properly a gourd, but since they have seen glass bottles and decanters, they call them by the same name.

were made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles to the former for them, and cut trees down before their eyes, hoed up the ground, and put the stockings on their legs. Here, they say, a general laughter ensued among the Indians, that they had remained ignorant of the use of such valuable implements, and had borne the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks for such a length of time. They took every white man they saw for an inferior Mannitto attendant on the Supreme Deity, who shone superior in the red and laced clothes. As the whites became daily more familiar with the Indians, they at last proposed to stay with them, and asked only for so much ground for a garden spot as, they said, the hide of a bullock would cover or encompass, which hide was spread before them. The Indians readily granted this apparently reasonable request; but the whites then took a knife and beginning at one end of the hide, cut it up to a long rope, not thicker than a child's finger, so that by the time the whole was cut up, it made a great heap; they then took the rope at one end, and drew it gently along, carefully avoiding its breaking. It was drawn out into a circular form, and being closed at its ends, encompassed a large piece of ground. The Indians were surprised at the superior wit of the whites,\* but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had still enough themselves. The white and red men lived contentedly together for a long time, though the former from time to time asked for more land, which was readily obtained, and thus they gradually proceeded higher up the Mahicanittuck, until the Indians began to believe that they would soon want all their country, which in the end proved true.

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ART. XIII.—*The Battle of Waterloo, in Rhyme.*

[From the Edinburgh Magazine.]

MR. EDITOR,—In my rambles near this city, it has been my lot to scrape acquaintance with corporal Underwood, late of the foot guards, who lost his left arm on the memorable 18th of June. The corporal, however, won the heart of a fair Belgian, and is now the son-in-law of a respectable farmer, with whom he resides between this place and St. Nicholas. Having listened always with attention, and sometimes with interest, to Mr. Underwood's anecdotes of the battle, I at length gained his entire confidence. With blushing modesty he avowed himself a poet, and owned that the height of his ambition was to see his favourite production appear in print. I inclose it to you, hoping you will be able to oblige the gallant corporal, without disobliging your readers. And am yours sincerely,

N. C.

Brussels, Aug. 11, 1818.

*To the tune of 'The Bay of Biscay, O!'*

Come listen noble countrymen, unto the tale I tell,  
How on the field of Waterloo the battle it befel,  
Between the English and the French, so bloody, that no doubt  
Its glorious memory will cut all other battles out.

\* These Dutchmen were probably acquainted with what is related of Queen Dido in ancient history, and thus turned their classical knowledge to a good account.

The 17th day of June it was we marched from Quatre Bras,  
 The rain it fell as heavily all day as e'er you saw;  
 And long and weary was the way, till just as dusk began,  
 We pitched our bivouack upon the heights of Mont St. Jean.

And O, that night was stormy still with lightning and with thunder,  
 As if the very vault of heaven would split itself asunder,  
 And there we lay all cold, and thought, if not in fear, in sorrow,  
 Of those that we had left at home, and of the dark to-morrow.

No sunbeam shone upon that morn, but dark and dull it rose,  
 And seemed to scowl upon the earth as foes do on their foes;  
 And there we saw the French drawn up upon the other height,  
 With long dark lines of men in blue, and bayonets shining bright.

Our centre was at La Haye Sainte, in front of Mont St. Jean,  
 Just where the road from Charleroi that leads to Brussels ran;  
 Our left flank rested on Smouhen, our right upon Merke Braine,  
 With Hougomont in front between the hills upon the plain.

The Duke had placed in Hougomont Lord Salton and the guards,  
 With the Nassau sharpshooters about the little park and yards;  
 But when the French came down the hill, the latter ran away,  
 And left the guards to bear the brunt and honour of the day.

So the French went round and round the house, and roared and cursed and fired;  
 And the guards they fired back on them, till both were fairly tired;  
 And the court-yard blazed, and the grape shot flew like mad through wall  
 and wood,  
 But stout Lord Salton and the guards still made their footing good.

Then General Foy with the steel clad horse, that the French call cuirassiers,  
 Dashed on and charged the hollow squares of the guards and Brunswickers.  
 We did not care so much for them; but the French artillery  
 It played point blank and swept the files of our squares most dismally.

So on they came, guns, cuirassiers, and column after column;  
 The oldest men from Spain looked queer, and thought it rather solemn.  
 But still our lads they kept their ground, and stood both stout and stiff;  
 While the French drew back like the broken wave from the foot of Dover cliff.

And in the centre 'twas the same; for there upon La Haye,  
 The Frenchmen made a desperate charge and almost won the day;  
 The Hanovers fought well, and when their shot was all expended,  
 They fell, as soldiers ought to fall, on the spot they had defended.

So the French dragoons they gained the hill; but Picton met them there,  
 And the deadly push of the British steel the rascals could not bear;  
 And the gallant Greys they leaped the hedge, and then those cocks of game.  
 With the 92d, made the French run faster than they came.

The ground was strewed with mailed men in iron and in brass,  
 And as the chargers passed, their hoofs rung on the fallen cuirass;  
 Then Picton fell in glory's arms with a bullet through his brain,—  
 I knew Sir Thomas Picton well, for I served with him in Spain.

At half-past six Napoleon made his last severe attack,  
 With double column of his guards, who drove our light troops back;  
 They never yet had met their match, so they thought the victory sure,  
 And they shouldered their arms, and marched along, shouting *vive l'empereur*.

But our cannon checked their march a bit, and when they gained the height,  
 They stood stock-still, for there in front they saw an ugly sight,—  
 The guards were getting on their feet, the Duke was at their head;  
 'Up guards and at 'em!' was the word—'twas done as soon as said.

'Twas in this charge I lost my arm, but little of that thought I,  
When I sat and saw the English guards doing so famously.  
The fight was won; for on the left old Blucher's cannon thundered,  
Napoleon swore 'twas Grouchy's corps, in which he sadly blundered.

But Blucher soon showed who he was; for on Napoleon's right  
He poured pell mell, and fixed at last the fortune of the fight.  
And Wellington deployed his squares, and led them on in line;  
And the sun himself looked out from his clouds, and at length began to shine.

'Twas worth his while, for such a sight he ne'er again may see,  
When down the hill like lightning whirled the horse artillery:  
And the line advanced, and the light dragoons they scoured across the field,  
While the few of the French that still remained, stood but to die or yield

We took 150 guns, the Prussians as many more,  
And 40,000 French lie there, that shall follow the drum no more.  
A grape shot split my arm; and so with others I was sent,  
And put into the Doctor's hands, at the hospital of Ghent.

They amputated me, and now I'm doing very well;  
But I do not grudge the loss of an arm, when I've such a tale to tell.  
And now my noble countrymen, I needs must hope that you  
Over your wine will spare a toast to the men of Waterloo.

#### ART. XIV.—*Notoria; or Miscellaneous Articles of Philosophy, Literature, and Politics.*

##### ANECDOTES OF EDMUND BURKE.

[*From Curwen's Observations on the  
State of Ireland.*]

Political connections had early made him the champion of liberty, and the friend to American independence; but these perhaps were not his real unbiased opinions, as I have ever regarded him to be a whig from interest, though a tory in principle. In the religious as well as political tenets, by which his conduct was governed, he was equally intolerant. This opinion is confirmed by circumstances which fell under my observation in the spring of 1790, when the duke of Athol's claims on the Isle of Man were under examination. I then frequently saw Mr. Burke, and being asked to breakfast with him, to meet a professor from the University of Leipsic at his house in Gerard street, the conversation principally turned on the state of the German empire, and the views and conduct of the Illuminati. Mr. Burke considered their influence to be of a very extensive and dangerous nature, and that the emperor Joseph had been made their dupe; that the changes in Bohemia, emancipating the people from feudal oppression, had been at the instigation of the Illuminati, and to them were

attributable the subsequent disturbances.

Though completely ignorant, at that period, of every matter relative to farming, I had been much pleased with the appearance of Bohemia, where the industry and energy of the people seemed to be greater; and, as far as superficial observations enabled me to form a judgment, the cultivation of its soil seemed to surpass that of the neighbouring states. This information, as I had so recently passed through the country, I thought might be acceptable, and have some weight in our discussions—but I was mistaken; Mr. Burke burst out into a paroxysm of rage, and, in the most unqualified language, positively denied the facts I had stated. I was not less astonished than hurt at this departure from good breeding; but there was no alternative, between a silent suppression of the indignity I received, and a positive quarrel.

I continued on friendly terms with Mr. Burke until after his unprovoked and cold-blooded attack on Mr. Fox, the cruelty of which admits of no extenuation: had it occurred in the heat of debate, some excuse might have been pleaded. It was known that he differed from Mr. Fox on the topic of the revolution in France, and it had

been intimated for some days that Mr. Burke intended to pronounce a bitter invective against the party: there was no question before the house, nor did he premise that he had any to propose; but, contrary to order, he entered on the subject of the French revolution. The matter and the manner of Mr. Fox's reply interested the feelings of every individual in the house, whose heart was not ossified by the corrupt lust of power. Mr. Pitt, in my opinion, never lost himself more than at the moment he was cheering and seeming to approve this unjustifiable attack. To abet the dereliction of friends, for the purpose of strengthening his own situation, and securing to himself a further acquisition of power and support, might be consouant to the views of base and of sordid minds; but it was wholly unworthy of Mr. Pitt.

The most powerful feelings were manifested on the adjournment of the house,—Mr. Burke's violence had completely destroyed the effect, which the wisdom of his political maxims, under other circumstances, was calculated to inspire. If they, whose views he meant to further, had spoken candidly, they must have avowed, that he had injured the cause it was his intention to benefit.

Whilst I was waiting for my carriage, Mr. Burke came up to me and requested, as the night was wet, I would set him down—I could not refuse—though I confess I felt a reluctance in complying. As soon as the carriage door was shut, he complimented me on my being no friend to the revolutionary doctrines of the French; on which he spoke with great warmth for a few minutes; when he paused, to afford me an opportunity of approving the view he had taken of those measures in the house. Former experience had taught me the consequences of dissenting from his opinions, yet, at the moment, I could not help feeling disinclined to disguise or stifle my sentiments. In a few words, I declared that I differed most completely from him—that I sincerely wished to every nation a constitution as free as our own, and that the cause of liberty might triumph all over the world!—Mr. Burke, catching hold of the check-string, furiously exclaimed, 'You are one of these people! set me down!' With some difficulty I restrained him;—we had then

reached Charing-Cross—a silence ensued, which was preserved till we reached his house in Gerard-street, when he hurried out of the carriage without speaking, and thus our intercourse ended.

Though I often, afterwards, found myself accidentally seated next Mr. Burke in the house of commons, every interchange of civility between us was suspended.

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ON CICERO.

[From the Correspondence of the Abbé Galiani.

You wish to know how to form a just opinion of the merits of Cicero. The following are my ideas. Cicero may be considered as a literary man, a philosopher, and a statesman. As a literary genius, he may be ranked among the foremost that ever existed. He knew all that was known in the age in which he lived, with the exception of geometry, and other sciences of that kind. He was a tolerable philosopher, for he was well acquainted with all that the Greeks had studied,—and he explained what he knew with admirable clearness; but he could not reflect himself, and had not the power of exerting his imagination. He had the good fortune to be the first to promulgate the ideas of the Greeks, in the Latin language, and this occasioned him to be read and admired by his countrymen. For the same reason, Voltaire made more noise in the world than Bochart, Bossuet, Huet, Le Clerc, Hammond, Grotius, &c. They wrote on the Bible in Latin, all that Voltaire has explained in French: yet their works are neglected, whilst his are universally read. As a statesman, Cicero, being of mean extraction, and anxious to distinguish himself, thought it most advisable to espouse the cause of the *opposition*, or of the lower house, or of the people if you will. This he found the more easy, as Marius, the founder of that party, was his countryman. He even had strong inducements for doing so, for he began by attacking Sylla, and making friends with the opposition party, at the head of which, after the death of Marius, were Clodius, Catiline, and Cæsar. But the aristocratic party wanted a great lawyer, and a man of learning; for men of rank generally stand in need of such helps. He was therefore con-

vinced that his services would be most valuable to the aristocratic party, where he might play a brilliant part. An upstart was then seen mingling with the Patricians. Picture to yourself an English barrister, whom the court is willing to make a chancellor, and who accordingly joins the ministerial party. Cicero therefore shone by the side of Pompey, &c. whenever questions of jurisprudence came under discussion; but he could not boast either of birth or riches; and, above all, not being a military man, he played, in this respect, an inferior part. Besides he was naturally attached to Cæsar's party, and was tired of the haughtiness of the great, who too frequently made him feel the weight of the obligations they conferred upon him. He was not pusillanimous, he was irresolute. He did not defend villainy, he defended the individuals of his party who were not a bit better than their opponents. Catiline's affair was serious, because it was connected with the interests of a great party. No affair of the whigs is unimportant in England, though it may seem ridiculous in Paris. His eloquence was not venal, any more than Mr. Pitt's; it was that of his party. Voltaire seems to be ironical when he talks of Cicero's government of Cilicia.—Nothing can bear a stronger resemblance to Sancho Panza's government in the Island of Barataria. It was a mere party affair to enable him to enjoy the honour of a triumph; as the exploits of M. de Soubise had no other object than to obtain the Marshal's Baton. Yet Cicero did not obtain it; and his friend Cato was the first to oppose it. He did not wish absolutely to prostitute an honour already too degraded; and, besides, Cicero could not boast of birth comparable to the house of Rohan. Of Cicero's virtues but little is known; he never governed.—With regard to his merit in having opened the gates of Rome to philosophy, it is necessary to observe that the opposition party was an infidel party; for the bishops, (that is to say the augurs and pontiffs) were all lords and patricians. Thus the opposition party attacked religion, and Lucretius had written his poem before Cicero. The aristocratic party supported religion: but Cicero, who in his heart inclined towards the opposition party, was se-

cretly deistical, and dared not appear so. When Cæsar's faction triumphed, he expressed his real sentiments more openly, and without being ashamed of them. But it is not to him we owe the foundation of the Pagan incredulity, which they called *Sophia*, wisdom; that belonged to Cæsar's party. The commendations which posterity has lavished on Cicero, arise from his having joined the side in opposition to that which the cruelty of the emperors subsequently rendered odious. This is enough on Cicero.

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*An Autumn near the Rhine; or, Sketches of Courts, Society, and Scenery in some of the German States bordering on the Rhine. 8vo. pp. 524. Longman and Co.*

[From the Gentleman's Magazine.]

We have seldom met with a tour which has afforded us so much gratification as we have derived from this pleasing volume.

The author is not merely an acute observer, but an original thinker; and, with quick and lively perceptions, he possesses an understanding uncommonly vigorous and comprehensive—equally happy in his details and his descriptions, he has the art to give to subjects long familiar, an air of novelty, and to invest the most trivial circumstances with interest and importance. We are persuaded that we should be gratified by any production from this able pen; but, as an enlightened and entertaining traveller is almost the greatest rarity to be found in literary society, we shall hope to learn that the author of 'The Autumn near the Rhine' is preparing another tour.

The following extract contains information which may be acceptable to some of our readers.

'Among other great and little Grandees, to use an Hibernian license, I met at Darmstadt a prince of Hesse Homberg, a distinguished officer in the Austrian service, and son of the Landgrave of Homberg, *vor der hohe* (before the height;) a less than duodecimo territory at the foot of the Taunus mountains, near Frankfort. (Homberg was, before the late system of making and unmaking sovereigns, an appanage of a younger branch of the family of Hesse Darmstadt, under the sovereignty of the grand duke, with a terri-

tory literally not much exceeding in size that of Lilliput, as described by Gulliver, twelve miles in circumference; it contained then about 6000 inhabitants. Now the little state is swelled into an absolute monarchy, a patch of territory is given to it on the other side of the Rhine, it musters from 13,000 to 20,000 subjects, and contains 10 square German, about 50 square English miles. This enormous aggrandizement is owing to the influence at Vienna of the four or five sons of the reigning sovereign, distinguished and meritorious officers in the service of the emperor of Austria.) The prince Philip, whom I met at Darmstadt, is a pleasant middle-aged man, of simple unaffected manners. His elder brother, the hereditary prince, is reported to have sent in his proposals for a marriage with our princess Elizabeth, who is said to have signified to her royal brother her desire of changing her spinster life at Windsor, for that of a wife. Every body speaks well of the prince, as a brave, honest soldier; and though the alliance is not one of much territorial dignity; good character and military distinction are, perhaps, all an English princess need demand, in the individual whom she honours with her hand. One of the brothers is married to the princess of Prussia. Homberg is a pretty little place, in a beautiful country, under noble mountains; the reigning sovereign, a worthy infirm old prince; the revenue of the State, about 150,000*l.* a year. It is a curious fact, of which I was apprised by a German friend, that this will not be the first connexion of little Hesse Homberg with England. As far back as the year 1294, Homberg became, by a singular bargain, a fief of our Edward I. The emperor Adolphus (of Nassau) was involved in a dispute with Philip of France; with whom our Edward being always disposed to quarrel, he entered into a close alliance with the emperor, and engaged him to declare war against Philip. The chief agent between the two sovereigns, and promotor of the alliance, was Adolphus's favourite, Eberhard, count of Katzenellenbogen, and lord of Homberg. The king of England, in his anxiety to secure him to his interest, persuaded him to become his vassal, seconding his proposal by 500*l.* of English gold, which it ap-

pears possessed as much attraction to little princes in those days as in these. The count could not resist the offer; and actually took the oath of allegiance, before an English ambassador, to the English king, for the castle and town of Homberg.

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*More News from Venice, by Beppo, a Noble Venetian. Translated from the Original. By Julius. 8vo. pp. 32.*

This poem is worthy of an attentive perusal. The ingenious author, after incidentally lashing some of the follies of our own metropolis, concludes with some well-deserved encomiums on the transcendant poetical abilities of an illustrious peer, intermingled with wholesome advice—and with admonitions to the Venetian ladies.

‘This is a man all solemnness and mystery,  
That loves to wander at the noon of night,  
And if the truth is stated in his history,  
He’s Pope of Poets by exclusive right.  
For there, I’m told, he’s head of their consistory,  
And wears the laurel crown (as many say) aright:  
For there are popes besides the Pope of Rome,  
‘In Church or State, (infallibles,) or home.’  
‘My poor dear creatures I have learnt to pity  
Those who are made the sport of such a hero,  
Who’s great in groans, and in his murders witty,  
A proud epitome of master Nero.  
Ah, I could tell you such a doleful ditty,  
As I will vouch would make you cry,  
Oh dear, oh!  
How often has he wish’d that woman-kind  
Had but one heart to break—to break it to his mind.      *Gent. Mag.*

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*Fine Arts.*—Mr. Allston is at Boston engaged in completing the great picture of Belshazzar, which it is said will probably be purchased by the Massachusetts Hospital. He has also orders for a great number of cabinet pictures. The London papers mention that he is elected an associate of the Royal Academy of Arts.

Mr. C. W. Peale has lately painted excellent likenesses of several distin-



guished public characters, among which are those of the President, the Vice President, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Adams, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. King, Mr. Clay, Mr. Eppes, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Holmes, Mr. Wirt, Gen. Jackson, Col. Trumbull, Col. Johnson, &c. Engravings from some of them are intended to be procured for this Magazine.

Three pictures of great antiquity and value have recently been placed in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.—One a Holy Family and landscape, by *Titian*, valued by the French Academy at Paris, at 1200 dollars. Another, the “Adoration of the Saviour,” by *Lucas of Leyden*, valued by the same high authority, at 300 dollars. And the third, a Rural Concert, by *Georgione*, in like manner, estimated at 240 dollars.

A certificate accompanies them from the secretary of the French Academy by order of the board of directors, that they are genuine *original* paintings.—But although they are objects of curiosity, particularly that by *Titian*, as works of celebrated masters, their beauty is not very remarkable. They are, however, said to be *very* early performances of the respective artists.

*Philadelphia Athenæum*.—By the fourth annual report of the Directors, made February 19th, 1819, it appears that the institution is in a very flourishing condition. The income of the ensuing year is estimated at 2607 dollars and 14 cents; the expenses at 2300 dollars. There is also a stock-fund, (the interest of which forms part of the above sum of \$2607 14,) estimated at 5300 dollars.

The stockholders pay 4 dollars annually on each share, the original subscribers 5 dollars, and the annual visitors 3 dollars.

The library consists of about 2100 volumes, and is rapidly increasing.—Twenty-one magazines, reviews, and other periodical publications, and two newspapers are imported from England, and are usually found in the rooms within the period of two months after their publication. Three newspapers and journals are regularly received from France, and other French and Spanish journals are frequently placed on the tables by the numerous friends of the institution.

All the best periodical publications of the United States, upwards of thirty American newspapers: and almost all the late American and English books published in our country, with many new maps, charts, &c. are constantly added to the stock.

*Extraordinary acquisition of Languages*.—At a recent meeting of the Shropshire auxiliary Bible Society, archdeacon Corbet drew a parallel between Mr. Samuel Lee (one of the preachers) and the admirable Crichton. From the Rev. gentleman's statement, it appears that Mr. Lee had merely the education of a village school, (where he was born, about six miles from Shrewsbury,) viz. reading, writing, and arithmetic; that he left school at twelve years of age, to learn the trade of a carpenter and builder. While thus employed, he became *self-taught*, a Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Samaritan scholar. These languages he acquired in six years, at the hours during which he was relieved from manual labour. Since that period, Mr. Lee has had more assistance, and is now, in addition, familiar with Arabic and Persian, Hindostanee, French, German, Italian, Ethiopic, Coptic, Malay, Sanscrit, and Bengalee—in all *seventeen* languages in *fourteen* years. *Eu. Mag.*

*American Philosophical Society*.—The officers elected January 1, 1819, were, *President*, Robert Patterson, *vice* Dr. Wistar, deceased. *Vice-Presidents*, William Tilghman, P. S. Duponceau, and Z. Collins, *vice*, R. Patterson. *Secretaries*, Thomas C. James, R. M. Patterson, W. P. C. Barton, R. Walsh, jun. *Counsellors for three years*, W. Rawle, H. Binney, Jno. Sargent, John Quincy Adams; (the other Counsellors are, Thomas Jefferson, W. M'Clure, Nicholas Collin, Wm. Meredith, Thomas Cooper, James Gibson, N. Chapman, S. Calhoun.) *Curators*, Joseph Cloud, Thomas T. Hewson, Reuben Haines. *Treasurer and Librarian*, John Vaughan.

*University of Pennsylvania*.—The Trustees have added a chair of *General Literature* to the professorships already existing. Robert Walsh, jun Esq. has been elected the professor.

Mr. Roscoe has in the press a work on Penal Jurisprudence, and the Reformation of Criminals, which will include an inquiry into the motives and limits of human punishments, and also as to the effect of punishment by way of example, and on the prevention of crimes. The work will also contain the latest accounts respecting the state prisons and penitentiaries in the United States of America.

Dr. Spurzheim has published, at Paris, a new work on the Physiology of the Brain, entitled 'Observations sur la Phraenologie; ou la connaissance de l'homme moral et intellectuel fondee sur las fonctions du Systeme Nerveux.' This work contains several plates, illustrative of the doctrine; and doctor Spurzheim has added two new organs to the thirty-three contained in his work called the 'Physiognomical System,' lately published in England, which he has discovered, namely, one which gives the propensity to *mystérize*, and causes the possessor to deal in fiction, to be superstitious, and which he calls 'Organ de Surnaturalité' The second new organ arises from a division which the doctor has made of the organ of individuality into individuality and phenominality, or the perception and accurate recollection of particular occurrences, facts, &c.

Messrs. Tanner, Vallance, Kearny and Co. have recently published the first number of a new American Atlas, containing maps of the world, Europe, and South America, in two sheets. This is the commencement of an extensive work, intended to exhibit on a uniform scale, a complete geographical view of the United States, in connexion with the rest of the world. The second number, containing maps of Asia, America, New York, Ohio, and Indiana, it is stated will be issued some time in the present month.

#### *Expected new Publications in England.*

The illustrious count Chaptal is preparing for the press, the History of the Inventions and Discoveries in the Arts and Sciences in France, since the commencement of the revolution. The English edition of it is, we understand, to be confided to sir John Byerley. It

will be a most valuable and important work, and will form two volumes in 8vo. with plates; and the English and French editions will appear about the same time in Paris and London.

Specimens of the British Poets, with biographical and critical notices. To which is prefixed, an Introduction to the Study of English Poetry. By Thomas Campbell, Esq. author of the Pleasures of Hope. 7 vols. post 8vo.

The public dinner given, by subscription, to general Jackson, in Philadelphia, is said to have cost two thousand five hundred dollars. How much more elegant, durable, and appropriate would have been the compliment, if the subscription had been applied to the erection of a column or statue in honour of him, or the purchase of an historical picture, representing some of his exploits, to decorate one of the public buildings. In New York they have shown rather better taste, the corporation have resolved to place his portrait in the City Hall.

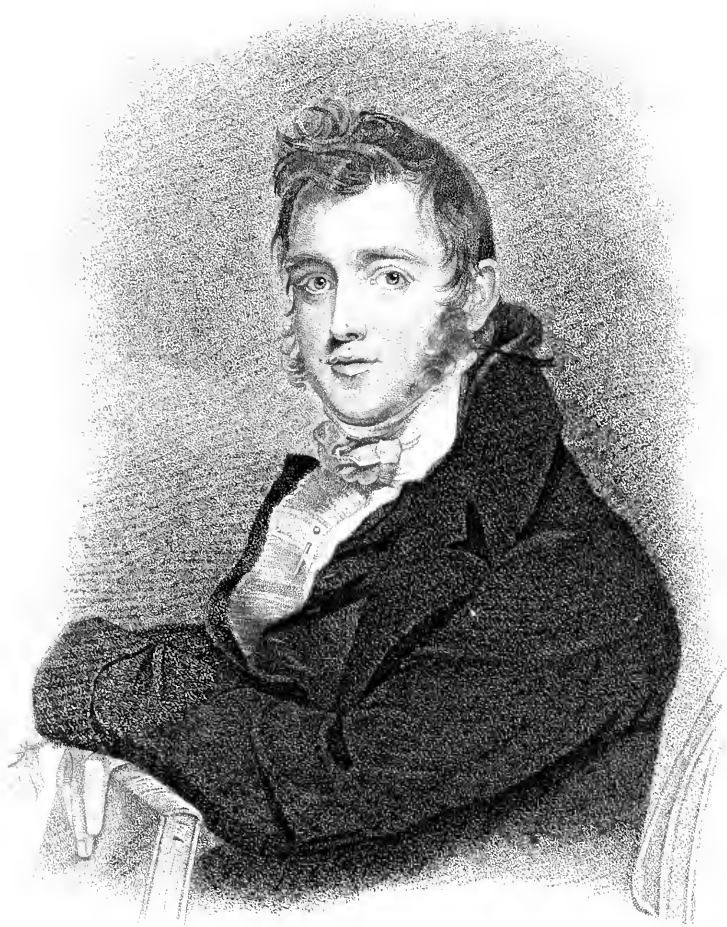
#### TO A LADY.

The traveller, on distant shores  
That Ganges' waters lave,  
Or where th' Atlantick madly roars,  
And curls its foaming wave;  
Oft seems to feel the social fire  
That warms his native home,  
And sees around his aged sire  
His wife and children come.  
Whate'er I do, where'er I rove,  
So turn my thoughts to thee, my love!

In quest of food, the beauteous dove  
Deserts her tender care,  
And bounding with maternal love  
Shoots through the liquid air;  
But as her trembling pinions fly,  
And waft her swift along,  
Ceaseless she hears her nestlings' cry  
The distant woods among.  
Whate'er I do, where'er I rove,  
So turn my thoughts to thee, my love!

When the bold sailor shapes his course  
Along the pathless sea,  
Th' unerring needle his resource  
To guide his weary way;  
Though rudely turn'd, as billows rise,  
And fierce in fury roll,  
Still to the north it faithful hies,  
Still trembles to the pole.  
Whate'er I do, where'er I rove,  
So turn my thoughts to thee, my love!





Engraved by C. Sturgesman & W. Dugot from an original Picture by G. Kneller

THOMAS BURNETT, M.D.

# THE ANALECTIC MAGAZINE.

APRIL, 1819.

## DR. DORSEY.

It has been to us a subject of sincere regret that this Journal has not earlier contained a tribute, of some sort, to the memory of the lamented Dr. Dorsey.

Knowing full well and intimately his extraordinary worth—participating in the universal admiration of his talents—cherishing dearly the fond recollection of his valued friendship—and deeply lamenting, both as a public and private calamity, his untimely loss—we have been anxious to join the general voice of eulogy that echoed round his tomb. But the apprehension of giving an inadequate expression to our own sentiments, or an unworthy tribute to his character, kept us silent so long, that the delay seemed to be a reproach, and began to wear the appearance of disinclination. Still, however, knowing that Dr. Chapman, at the request of the Medical class, had consented to pronounce a public eulogium, we thought it advisable to wait still longer, until we should be able to present that eulogium to our readers, which the kindness of Dr. Chapman now enables us to do.

Commendation proceeding from a rival in fame, is the purest and the noblest of all praise; the most sincere, and, generally, the most discriminating; and honours ‘him that gives and him that doth receive.’ A compeer in the same medical school,—a competitor for emolument and reputation, in the same honourable profession,—and, for the few last years of Dorsey’s life, a co-labourer in the dissemination of medical science from the same institution,—a member also of the same social circle, and bound to him by the ties of a long subsisting familiarity and friendship—Dr. Chapman possessed every opportunity to acquire an accurate estimate of his character. He has therefore with his accustomed elegance of diction, been able to portray the virtues, the talents, and the accomplishments that adorned his departed friend, with a fidelity and truth of colouring, to which hundreds will bear witness, who, like the eulogist, knew Dorsey, and by an inevitable consequence loved him. For such

were his happy powers of conciliation and so much did the evident indications of benevolence, in all his actions, awaken a corresponding sentiment in the hearts of all who knew him—that, however opinions might vary as to the comparative estimate of his talents, or scientific attainments,—of all who were either relieved by his professional skill, or soothed by the gentleness and assiduity of his professional attentions, who approached him as their public, or loved him as their private instructor, who knew him amid the courtesies of social intercourse, or within the narrower and more sacred circle of family and friends—none can yet recall his image, nor recollect their intercourse with him, without emotions of sorrowful and affectionate remembrance.

His was not a character to be truly appreciated by rules which require a standard of cold correctness. An enumeration of the honours he won, the plaudits he received, the triumphs of his genius, the proofs of his erudition, gives, after all, but a very imperfect picture; for though his power over the minds of men was ascribable to his abilities and cultivation, the more wonderful influence he possessed over their hearts, is not so easily accounted for, nor to be described without danger of falling into that strain of seemingly extravagant panegyric, which brings posthumous eulogy into discredit, and turns cautious belief into contemptuous incredulity.

Gifted with exquisite relish for all that adorns and blesses human existence,—with a heart naturally, habitually, and to the last, filled with Christian piety, which brightens prosperity no less than it soothes adversity; and glowing with all the generous sympathies of our nature, to the exclusion of every malign or selfish feeling,—with a perception of the beauties and harmonies of nature, so keen as to bring excellence in the sister arts of painting, poetry, and music, completely within his power,—and with a taste for the refinements of social intercourse, that made them a source to him of the highest pleasure—with a healthful constitution and a prepossessing exterior, he yet resisted the temptation of an inactive possession of those pleasures which he was thus formed to enjoy; and advanced by a steady and intense exercise of extraordinary abilities, to the first rank in his profession, and to a degree of usefulness and renown, scarce ever attained in a career so early closed. But whilst his surgical skill was unrivalled here, except by that of his distinguished relative; while his lectures were universally admired, his superior talents and great acquirements universally admitted, and his fortune rapidly increasing—amid this premature age of honours and success, he retained in all their native freshness, the unassuming modesty, the gayety, generosity, sincerity, and ardour of youth.

He lived to reach what seems to be the summit of earthly felicity; preeminently blessed in domestic life,—surrounded by a circle of attached and chosen friends, whose numbers he could augment at will—possessed of a widely spread and increasing reputa-

tion;—engaged in a most honourable, useful, and lucrative occupation,—with improving faculties ‘progressive virtue and approving heaven,’—though still young, he had nothing left to wish for. But it was the will of God to take him from us, and the stroke of death, though cruel to the survivors, was but to him the messenger of mercy, that came to make his HAPPINESS ETERNAL.

ART. I.—*An Eulogium on the late John Syng Dorsey, M. D. Professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania, delivered by appointment, before the Medical Class, as a Valedictory Lecture, on the 1st March, 1819. By N. Chapman, M. D. Professor, &c.*

GENTLEMEN,

AS previously intimated, the present session is brought to a close. Considering the series of casualties and disadvantages with which we have had to contend, the several courses of lectures have been conducted with much regularity, and, on the whole, we cannot help believing, that all your reasonable expectations are realized.

It were useless to conceal, that the school has been greatly shattered by a succession of unexampled misfortunes, and its lustre, consequently, in a degree, tarnished and obscured. But though crippled in its organization, and shorn of some of its brightest beams, it is still left with many resources, and its defects may be repaired. By pursuing a liberal and enlightened policy, we cannot fail to make it worthy of its ancient renown, and commensurate with the great and momentous objects for which it is designed.

As we read in fabulous history of a production of greater worth emerging from the ashes of its predecessor, so in reality, by proper management, a school may be made to arise out of the present one, on a broader foundation, and with augmented splendour and utility.

The period has now arrived, when the interesting relations which have so long subsisted between us are to cease, and in a few minutes we separate, some of us, to meet no more. May I be permitted to declare, without incurring the imputation of hypocrisy or deceit, that the only time which I have ever met you with regret, is the present, when I am to bid you a final adieu.

Is it not natural that we should all experience some degree of distress on this occasion? The idea of the last is a painful one. It has often been remarked, that we cannot part even from inanimate objects, endeared to us by certain associations, without sorrow, and every heart of sensibility will confess the force and extent of this truly amiable sentiment.

As the ship recedes from the shore, and the landscape fades away, never more to be seen, nature, true to herself, heaves the involuntary sigh, and there is blended with the prospect of brighter fortunes, some heavy regrets and mournful emotions. But if moved by impulses of this kind, how much more must we feel, in taking

this last leave of you, who are connected to us by many of the ties which most strongly bind the human affections.

In the completion of your studies, you have reached the first critical period of existence. The season of youth is halcyon, and its prospects, like the serene sky of a summer's eve, are gilded with solar beams. But soon you are to exchange the calm occupations of studious industry, and the state of tranquil happiness, for a situation which must unavoidably prove more or less dark, procellous, or disturbed.

The course which you are hereafter to pursue, is not the primrose path of pleasure. Called to the exercise of an arduous profession, most of you are henceforward to maintain a station in society, to encounter its cares and its turmoils; to share in its disappointments and mortifications, and to experience the checkered fortune which results from the eternal vicissitudes of 'many coloured life.'

In entering on a career, so environed by difficulties, and exposed to dangers, some precepts may be necessary, and some cautions useful. Could I do it, how eagerly would I become your counselor and guide! But I have another duty to perform. We have met on a melancholy occasion. Death, always terrible in his visitations, has most awfully afflicted us.

Commencing with the very founder of our institution, he has swept off, in rapid succession, nearly all of the distinguished men who illustrated its character and maintained its ascendancy.

In the short space of eight years, I have lost the whole of my preceptors in medicine,\* and now, by an appointment, too partially conferred, I am called to pronounce the eulogy of one of the most beloved of my colleagues. These sad events have converted the temple of science into an house of mourning, and everywhere within it are heard the tones of lamentation and sorrow.

To me, this last dispensation has been peculiarly severe. As my friend and companion, mingling largely in my social recreations, and, more than any other, participating in my employments, the bereavement is irreparable. Even amidst the active and crowded scenes which have since engaged me, I have very often cast my eyes around, and found that I was solitary and alone.

Nor, perhaps, on any preceding occasion, was the publick sensibility more strongly expressed. As soon as the unwelcome tidings transpired, the whole city was overcast with the gloom of a heavy calamity. The ordinary amusements, for a time, became suspended, general gayety was eclipsed, and every countenance wore the aspect of grief and dismay.

To behold so much youth, and vigour, and usefulness, thus suddenly extinguished, was indeed a solemn admonition of the uncertainty of human existence, and the perishable tendencies of all our hopes and possessions.

\* Shippen, Woodhouse, Rush, Barton, and Wistar.



Death is very differently contemplated. An aged individual, however revered for his virtues, or valued for his services, sinking into the grave, is considered, for the most part, as a mere compliance with an inexorable law of nature, and the ultimate completion of an inevitable destiny. But, when one is cut down in the season of bloom and promise, we feel the intensity of the blow in the disappointment of our anticipations of future excellence, and, can only be reconciled to it by the reflection, that though unintelligible to our limited perceptions, it is the work of divine wisdom, against which we must not murmur or complain.

By your conduct, in this instance, you evince the warmth of your sensibility, and have conciliated much cordiality of esteem. The spectacle which you now present, is exceedingly interesting and impressive. Like that people of antiquity, of whom the practice is recorded, of each one depositing some portion of the materials out of which to erect the tumulus over the remains of a favourite chieftain, with the same sense of affectionate attachment, you have convened, to render the tribute of respect to the memory of your benefactor and friend. To those to whom he was most dear, no species of homage can be more acceptable, and may we not indulge the hope, that even his immortal spirit is not indifferent to the proceedings of this day?

That the lives of literary and philosophical men are comparatively destitute of interest, has been commonly observed. Devoted more to meditation than enterprise, it is obvious that they must supply fewer incidents to excite curiosity, or command attention.

To a certain extent, the same remark is applicable to the members of the medical profession. But, though in this respect, we may not compete with those who lead the arms of their country to victory, or control the decisions of her councils by their eloquence or wisdom, surely he has some honest claims to notice, who so sedulously endeavoured to minister to the miseries of his species, and extend the limits of science, to spread the blessings of benevolence, and uphold the empire of truth and knowledge.

Entertaining this conviction, I shall proceed to trace the prominent circumstances of his short career, and perhaps, it may not be un-instructive to you to learn, what were the means by which a man, at an age when most of us begin only to attract observation, had already risen to great eminence, and if spared, would inevitably have reached the utmost heights of distinction.

Born in the city of Philadelphia, on the twenty-third of December, seventeen hundred and eighty-three, John Syng Dorsey was descended from ancestors, some of whom, especially on the maternal side, were advantageously known by their philosophical acquisitions, and general attachment to liberal pursuits.

Of the early part of his life, I have been able to collect very little worthy of record. It appears that he received an excellent elementary and classical education at a school in this city, of the society of Friends, then in high repute, and here manifested the

same vivacity of genius, and quickness in learning, with the mild and gracious dispositions for which he was subsequently so conspicuous.

At the age of fifteen years he entered the office of his relative, the present professor of surgery, and at this time our acquaintance commenced, which soon ripened into the closest intimacy, that continued without interruption or abatement, amidst the collision of interests, and opposition of views, so fatal to professional friendships.

Medicine, he cultivated with unusual ardour, and so successfully, that though by far the most juvenile member of the class, he had no superior, in the estimation either of his teachers, or fellow students. Of the force of his application and its results, a conception may be formed, when it is told, that while still very much within his minority, he was fully prepared for the highest medical honour of this university. In the spring of eighteen hundred and two, then in his nineteenth year, he graduated as a doctor in physic, having previously defended with ability, an inaugural dissertation 'on the powers of the gastric liquor, as a solvent of urinary calculi.'

Criticism has rarely been exercised on publications of this nature. It may however be permitted me merely to remark, that the one to which I have alluded, exhibits some original views, illustrated and maintained by a set of pertinent and well conducted experiments.

Not long after receiving his Degree, the yellow fever reappeared in this city, and prevailed so widely, that an hospital was opened, for the accommodation, exclusively, of the sick with this disease, to which he was appointed resident physician. Of the manner in which he discharged the duties of this office of 'hazardous benevolence,' it is difficult to speak too highly, so great was the value attached to his services.

Nor did he neglect the vast opportunities which his situation afforded of investigating the disease, and happily by his extensive dissections, elucidated some of the more intricate parts of its pathology, and aided in the establishment of a better system of practice. It may be safely affirmed, that no one was more correctly informed on the subject of this epidemic, and, not a little which has appeared under the authority of other names, I am prepared to state, was derived from his observations and researches.

At the close of the same season, he proceeded to Europe, for the purpose of improving his medical knowledge, and liberalizing his views by a wider survey of the world. During his absence, he divided his time between the English and French metropolis, and diligently availed himself of the immense advantages, which in these respects, each city affords.

That his talents and acquisitions were duly appreciated abroad, we have ample evidence in the attention which was paid him, and

in the very flattering notices he has since received in several of their writings.

In December, eighteen hundred and four, he returned home, and immediately entered on the practice of his profession. The reputation he brought with him, his amiable temper, and popular manners, his fidelity and attention, speedily introduced him to a large share of business.

From this period, professional honours were heaped on him with profusion. To the dispensary, the alms-house, and hospital, he was appointed surgeon, and in all our medical associations he held some elevated office. But there was reserved for him a still higher and more dignified station.

In eighteen hundred and seven, he was elected adjunct professor of surgery, where he continued till he succeeded to the chair of *Materia Medica*. Two courses of lectures he delivered on this subject, when a vacancy occurring in the chair of Anatomy, by the lamented death of the venerable incumbent,\* he was raised to that important professorship.

Considering himself now placed, for the first time, in the proper sphere for the exercise of his talents, and the gratification of a generous ambition, the appointment gave him much delight, and with ample preparation, he opened the session by one of the finest exhibitions of eloquence ever heard within these walls. But here ends his bright and prosperous career, and the expectations of success thus created, were not permitted to be realized.

Elevated to a position, above which he could hardly ascend, and surrounded by all that we most value, Providence seems to have selected him as an instance to teach a salutary lesson in the shortness of life, the insignificance of things transitory, and the importance of that eternity, which absorbs all being and all time.

On the evening of the same day that he pronounced his introductory lecture, and while the praises of it still resounded, he was attacked with a fever of such vehemence, that in one short week it closed his existence, leaving to us only his enviable name, and inestimable example.

Than this, no event of the same sort, within the range of possibility, at the present time, could be more severely felt by the community, and I believe, that there is not one of us who has bestowed any anxious thoughts on the state of our school, that will not confess his hopes clouded, and his spirit cast down by this heavy blow. The loss is indeed so great, that it cannot at once be replaced. Talents such as his are seldom possessed, and even if they could be met with, they would not immediately command that universal confidence which is necessary to constitute a great teacher or practitioner of medicine.

No high reputation or general influence can be gained by a single effort. They are the reward of long and unwearied exertion,

\* Dr. Wistar.

of sacrifices made, of ability proved by trials and difficulties. It was by a course of such arduous exertion, that he raised himself to the rank he held, and which no other individual can attain till he has ratified his claims, in the same way, to confidence and respect.

Dorsey was a man of no ordinary powers, and deservedly occupied a large space in the public eye. Naturally acute, vigorous, and discriminative, his mind was highly improved by education, and embellished by taste. Every department of medicine he had cultivated assiduously. But, it was for surgery he evinced a decided predilection, and in which he had the greatest proficiency.

As a science, he thoroughly studied it, and from the unequalled advantages he enjoyed, had become no less expert in the practice. Excepting one illustrious character, who has no rival, he was indisputably the most accomplished surgeon of our country, and, this high praise is conceded to him on account of the number, the variety, the difficulty of his operations, and the skill, dexterity, and boldness with which they were performed.

Excellence in this province of his profession, he must have attained, under almost any circumstances, so many were his qualifications. Clear in his views, and of sound judgment, he had also great mechanical ingenuity, delicacy of touch, and promptness of decision, and, hence, in conducting an operation, however new, or complex, there was a tone and firmness of manner which always inspired confidence, and insured success.

As a teacher of medicine, his merits were great, and universally acknowledged. Early employed in this field of exertion, his mind became perfectly disciplined, and the various subjects to which it was directed, it developed without faltering or embarrassment. It was this quickness of apprehension, and facility of execution, which caused him constantly to be resorted to in seasons of emergency, to supply the deficiencies produced by casualties in the school.

We have seen him on these occasions, in the same day, illustrate the operations of Surgery, and deliver the details of the *Materia Medica*, demonstrate the minutiae of Anatomical Structure, and expound the laws of the Animal Economy. Talent so flexible, and knowledge thus diversified, has rarely been concentrated in one individual, and still more rarely exhibited with such imposing effect.

It is remarked by the celebrated Hunter\* at the conclusion of one of his introductory discourses, that he should not attempt to give his class all which he knew, but so much only, as he thought they were capable of comprehending, or might prove useful. The lectures of our friend, were moulded on this principle, and it was one of the causes which conduced to his great success. Disdaining the parade of obsolete learning, the common resource of imposture in science, and those vain speculations, which, like other vapours, darken and bewilder, he collected the most important matter, and

\* Dr. William Hunter.

closely condensed, he gave it in a mode, plain, didactic and impressive. Controlled by a rigorous judgment, he seldom indulged in declamation, or was seduced into wild and excursive sallies and digressions.

Never failing in whatever he engaged to teach, it was, however, in the demonstrative branches of medicine, he particularly excelled. Not less by nature, than study, was he fitted for the undertaking. To exactness of knowledge, which he owed to a retentive memory, corroborated by the habit of intense application in early life, he added a fluent elocution, an entire self-possession, and a methodical and luminous mode of exposition.

But in no situation, did he appear to greater advantage, than in the discussions of our Medical Society. Constituted of many of the more active, intelligent, and enterprising of the practitioners of the city, and of the members of the Medical Class, this institution is admirably adapted for the display of talent, and the reciprocation of professional information.

As a debater, he never had a superior among us. The style of his speaking was peculiar and distinctive. Destitute of rhetorical pretensions, it had the character of warm and elevated conversation, and while it was sufficiently strong, to cope with the most powerful, it was intelligible, by its simplicity, to the meanest capacity.

Equally adroit in attack or defence, the resources he exhibited in these contests, and especially, when pressed by the weight of an adversary, were surprising, and often drew forth strong expressions of admiration and applause.

It has been objected to his speaking, that though always ingenious and forcible, it was occasionally loose and desultory. But this defect was visible only in those extempore effusions which escaped from him without premeditation or reflection, and proceeded in a great measure, from the fecundity of his genius, and the copiousness of his matter. Teeming with ideas, and exuberant in facts, it was not always he could preserve his arrangement, or the chain of his reasoning, perspicuous and consecutive.

As a medical writer he is certainly entitled to be placed among the most prominent we have produced. To the periodical journals he contributed many very valuable papers, and published the 'Elements of Surgery,' in two large octavo volumes, which is probably the very best work on the subject extant. Composed in a plain and unornamented style, it embraces within a narrow compass, a digest of Surgery, with all the recent improvements it has received, in Europe and this country.

Distinct from other evidence of its great merit, which might be cited, it affords me pleasure to state, that it is adopted as a text book, in the university of Edinburgh,\* and claims the credit of

\* This statement is made on the authority of the newspapers, strengthened in some degree, by previous intimations of such an intention.

being the very first American work on medicine, reprinted in Europe.

To us all this should be a matter of pride and exultation, since by thus reflecting the light of science from the new upon the old world, we can alone be able to redeem the heavy literary debt we have incurred, and vindicate the insulted genius of our country, from the contumelious reproaches, we have so long endured.

Dedicated as he was to his profession, he still did not neglect elegant literature, or the liberal arts. But on the contrary, he cultivated them with care, and found in the intervals of his leisure, that they smoothed the ruggedness of his severer studies, and afforded a refuge from the cares and irritations of business.

Between these chaste pursuits and the science of medicine, there would seem to be a natural alliance. Every age shows them to have been intimately associated, and in the beautiful mythology of antiquity, the disciples of Esculapius, and the votaries of the Muses, have the same tutelary divinity.

Extraordinary as were the powers of his mind, they did not surpass the qualities of his heart. What was said by Burke of Fox, that he was born to be beloved, is strikingly applicable to our friend.

As much as any man whom I ever knew, he was calculated to win attachments, and disarm enmities. Cordial, warm, generous, practising all the courtesies, and extending every kindness, in his intercourse with society, it was impossible to approach him without being conciliated, and further acquaintance, served only to confirm the agreeable prepossessions.

Frank, and unreserved, there was nothing in his deportment to inspire awe, or excite doubt or suspicion of his sincerity. No one, such was his habitual graciousness, however humble, was thrown at a distance, or rendered uncomfortable in his presence. Easy, cheerful, and good humoured, he diffused these pleasant feelings around him, and enlivened every scene into which he entered. Mixing much in the circles of fashion, his manners, naturally urbane, were highly polished, and his conversation, so various was his intelligence, and such the pliancy of his address, would amuse the gay, and instruct the illiterate, entertain the learned, and delight the grave and pious.

Yet, with this versatility of genius, and diversity of pursuits, he overlooked no important concern, or slighted any material duty. The review already presented, sufficiently shows, how attentive he was to his leading occupation, and its collateral engagements. Endowed with that peculiar constitution of character, which readily accommodates itself to circumstances, he could in the most remarkable degree, intermix amusement and business, without any serious encroachment, and preserve to a great extent, undisturbed, the order of systematised life.

As he lived so he died. Never shall I forget, the truly impressive scene. When, by his peremptory command, the awful communication was made of his irrecoverable state, he was composed,

firm, and resolute, confiding in the mercy, and resigned to the will of heaven.

As a christian, practising with more than ordinary punctuality the duties of his religion, death had to him fewer terrors. Emphatically, and with fervour, did he reiterate, the expression of his confidence in the atonement of his Saviour, and the comfort which he derived from this source. What else indeed can sustain us at such a crisis? An audacious spirit, roused by the pomp and pride of war, or a sense of duty or honour, will in the field affront death, and brave its consequences. But even he, in the gloomy chamber, and under the anguish of disease, where, no such adventitious impulse exists, without this only support, will shudder at the idea of dissolution, and the destinies of eternity.\*

As then, the foundation of all moral refinement, and as you regard your temporal and eternal interests, neglect not your holy religion. Next to its own immediate functionaries, it is incumbent on you, to nurture its spirit, and devote a decent attention to its external observances. Among other motives to do so, you will often be introduced into those vexed and troubled scenes, in which, while endeavouring to heal the infirmities of the body, it will be not less your duty to offer the *medicina mentis*, the solace, which it alone affords. At this conjuncture, he whom you may be invited to relieve, however much he might have previously confided in you, when the heart was light, and exulting in the plentitude of health, would shrink back, with instinctive horror, from the touch of the cold hand of scepticism.

But you also will require its consolations. No one can hope to escape the tempests of this life. There will be to you all, seasons of adversity, and days of trials. Deep afflictions will sooner or later cluster around you, and you will have to mourn over the ashes of departed joys. Then, will you learn, the impotence of reason, and, though philosophy may enable you to endure with becoming submission, these heavy dispensations, it is religion only, which can assuage the agony of grief, and prove a lenitive in sickness and in sorrow.

These are the more prominent incidents, and such the reflections they suggest, of the life of him, whose loss we deplore. It is now, in taking this sad leave, that we feel with renovated force the bereavement, which, in common, we have sustained.

Let us however endeavour to repress our unavailing regrets, and forbear to indulge any rebellious discontents. What, though his body lies covered with the sod of the valley, his soul has escaped to celestial regions, and partakes of the immortality of its God.

\* Smith's Eulogium on Washington.

ART. II.—*A Memoir* presented to the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race. December 11th, 1818, &c. By Prince Saunders. Philadelphia, 1818.

**M**R. Saunders (who we understand is of African descent,) appears desirous to persuade his sable brethren to emigrate to Hayti; the natural and political advantages of which country, he displays with great zeal. His design is certainly a good one, although it is to be feared, from this specimen of his intellectual powers, that he is not destined to be quoted by the abbe Gregoire as a proof of the mental equality of blacks and whites. At the conclusion of the memoir, he has introduced a letter from 'that distinguished philanthropist and enlightened statesman, sir Joseph Banks,' to the author, in which we were somewhat surprised to find the following passage. 'That the present possessors of the island of Hayti, hold it by *the best of human titles, that of conquest*, cannot be doubted.\*' Does sir Joseph mean that the conquest of a country confers a better title, in any sense of the word, than that which arises from the voluntary transfer of it by the inhabitants to another power? or if Napoleon had succeeded in the invasion of England, would this 'distinguished philanthropist' have acquiesced in his 'best of all possible titles.'

The subject of Mr. Saunders' memoir, is one which has not yet sufficiently excited the public attention. The situation of the free negroes, in a political and moral point of view, their future prospects, and the influence they are likely to possess upon our character and institutions, are considerations which seem generally to have escaped those who have remarked upon the genius, or speculated upon the destinies of the American people. We propose, therefore, to lay before our readers a brief view of their actual condition in Pennsylvania, and to offer a few remarks upon the course which, we conceive, ought to be adopted in regard to them, in the hope of inducing others to give the subject a fuller discussion. The population of the United States is divided, by the returns to the census of 1790, 1800, and 1810, into three classes. In the first are included the *whites*, in the second, *slaves*, and in the third, '*all free persons except Indians not taxed.*' By this loose and circumlocutory expression, free negroes are understood to be meant. The inhabitants, therefore, of the republic, appear to be separated into three distinct races. 1st. The aborigines, who form a very small portion of the whole number. 2d. The descendants of Europeans, and 3d. Those whose ancestors were brought from Africa; and this class is composed of slaves and freemen. In the year 1790, the number of inhabitants of the United States, amounted to 3,929,326, of whom 697,697 were slaves, and 59,481 free negroes. In 1800, the inhabitants were 5,303,666, of whom 896,849 were slaves, and 110,072 free negroes. In 1810, the inhabitants



were 7,239,903, of whom 1,191,364 were slaves, and 186,446 free negroes. In 1790, the proportion of whites to slaves was as 4 1-2 to 1;\* of whites to free negroes, as 53 to 1, and of whites to blacks, generally, as 4 1-7 to 1. In 1800, the proportion of whites to slaves, was as 4 7-9 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 39 to 1; and of whites to blacks, generally, as 4 1-4 to 1. In 1810, the proportion of whites to slaves, was as 4 10-11 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 31 4-9 to 1, and of whites to blacks, generally, as 4 3-13 to 1. It follows, from these statements, that notwithstanding the great and unprecedented increase of the white population of the United States, that of the blacks has been equally rapid, and that of the free negroes still greater. This important fact is, perhaps, still more clearly evinced by the following calculations, which we copy from Seybert's Statistical Annals.

'The annual increase per centum, of the free white population, during the 20 years, from 1790 to 1810, was 3,131; and the number of years required for a duplication, according to the ratio of the increase from 1790 to 1810, 22,48. The annual increase per centum, of "all other free persons except Indians not taxed," during the same period, was 5,879; and the number of years required for a duplication, according to the ratio of the increase from 1790 to 1810, 12,13. The annual increase of the slave population during the same period, was 2,711 per centum, and the number of years required for a duplication at that ratio, 25,99. The free white persons from 1790 to 1800, increased 36,30 per centum; from 1800 to 1810, 35,92 per centum, and from 1790 to 1810, 85,26 per centum. "All other free persons, except Indians not taxed," from 1790 to 1800, increased 185,05 per cent.; from 1800 to 1810, 169,29 per cent., and from 1790 to 1810, 313,45 per cent. The extraordinary increase of this species of our population, is owing to the emancipation of slaves by their masters, and the runaway slaves, who pass for free men in our cities.' P. 28, 29.

Let us now compare the population of three of the principal states; Maryland, New York, and Pennsylvania. The first abounding in slaves, the two last possessing legislative enactments against slavery. In 1790, the population of Maryland amounted to 319,728; the proportion of whites to slaves was, as 2 to 1; of whites to free blacks, as 25 9-10 to 1, and of whites to blacks generally, as 1 10-11 to 1. In 1800, its population amounted to 349,692; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 2 1-14 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 11 1-9 to 1; and of whites to blacks generally, as 1 9-12 to 1. In 1810, the number was 380,546; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 2 1-9 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 9 8-9 to 1, and of whites to blacks, as 1 7-12 to 1. Here then we find, that the increase of blacks, and particularly of that portion of them which is free, has been uniformly greater than that of the whites. In the state of

\* That is nearly so. The fractions may not be exactly correct, but they are sufficiently so for the present purpose.

New York, however, the whites have increased more rapidly than the negroes, although the number of free blacks has greatly augmented. The whole number of inhabitants of that state in the year 1790, amounted to 340,120; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 14 7-10 to 1; to free negroes, as 67 to 1; and of whites to blacks, generally, as 12 1-13 to 1. In 1800, its population amounted to 586,050; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 22 to 1; to free negroes, as 53 to 1; and to blacks, generally, as 17 4-5 to 1. In 1810, its population was 959,049; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 61 1-6 to 1; to free negroes, as 36 1-4 to 1; and to blacks, generally, as 22 7-10 to 1. In Pennsylvania, so long since as the year 1780, an act was passed for the gradual abolition of slavery; which provided, that none born within the limits of that state, after the passage of the act, should be deemed servants for life, or slaves.\* The number of persons in that condition, has consequently been gradually reduced, till in the year 1810, they amounted only to 795. The increase, however, of the blacks in Pennsylvania, will appear from the following calculation, to have been unusually great, when it is considered that the white population has nearly doubled itself since that time. The whole number of inhabitants of Pennsylvania in 1790, was 434,373, the proportion of

\* We are induced to quote part of the preamble of this act, both on account of the beauty of the expression, and for the edification of those who can see nothing morally excellent on this side of the Atlantic. The whole civilized world has rung with the praises of the virtue and justice of the British government in abolishing, not slavery, but only the future traffic in slaves; while it seems to be generally forgotten that the example of a magnanimous sacrifice of pecuniary interest at the shrine of humanity, was first set by the state of Pennsylvania. The act to which we allude, begins thus:—

‘When we contemplate our abhorrence of that condition to which the arms and tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us, when we look back upon the variety of dangers to which we have been exposed, and consider how miraculously our wants have been, in many instances supplied, and our deliverances wrought, when even hope and human fortitude have become unequal to the conflict, we are unavoidably led to a serious and grateful sense of the manifold blessings we have undeservedly received from that Being from whom every good and perfect gift cometh. Impressed with these ideas, we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power to extend a portion of that freedom to others, which hath been extended to us, and to release them from that state of thralldom to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from which we have now every prospect of being delivered. It is not for us to inquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion. It is sufficient to know that all are the work of an Almighty hand.’—‘We esteem it a peculiar blessing granted to us, that we are enabled this day to add one more step to universal civilization, by removing as much as possible, the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage; from which, by the assumed authority of the kings of Great Britain, no effectual legal relief could be obtained. Weaned, by a long course of experience, from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations, and we conceive ourselves at this particular period, extraordinarily called upon by the blessings which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our profession, and to give a substantial proof of our gratitude.’

whites to slaves was, as 113 1-2 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 64 5-6 to 1; and of whites to blacks, generally, as 41 1-4 to 1. In 1800, the population was 602,545; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 343 2-3 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 40 1-4 to 1, and of whites to blacks, generally, as 36 1-3 to 1. In 1810, the population was 810,091; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 989 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 34 7-9 to 1, and of whites to blacks, generally, as 33 2-3 to 1.—It is in the great cities, however, that we are to look for the most rapid increase of the black population. It is there that the fugitive slaves most easily escape detection; while the indolent disposition, and gregarious turn of this race, lead them almost invariably, when they have the choice, to prefer the occupations of towns to those of agriculture. We accordingly find, that by far the greater portion of the free negroes inhabit the Atlantic cities. In the city of New York, in 1790, the number of whites compared to the free blacks, was 26 4-5 to 1; in 1800, as 15 3-5 to 1, and in 1810, as 10 3-6 to 1. At Philadelphia, in 1790, the whites were, to the free blacks, as 24 2-3 to 1; in 1800, as 10 5-6 to 1, and in 1810, as 9 1-2 to 1. At Baltimore, in 1790, as 33 1-3 to 1, and in 1810, as 11 2-5 to 1.

It will be seen from these calculations, that the numerical preponderancy of the whites over the free negroes, has gradually, but steadily declined since the formation of the constitution; that the increase of the latter has not been confined to particular sections; and that their increase has been most rapid in the great cities. In Philadelphia, especially, the numbers of this class seem to have augmented at a much greater rate than that of the whites, although the white population has doubled itself in the twenty years which elapsed, previous to the census of 1810. The inhabitants of the city and county of Philadelphia, amounted in 1810, to 111,208, of whom 100,688 were whites, and 10,520 free blacks. It is probable that the number of the latter was much greater than is represented in the official returns, as many obvious motives would occur to induce a suppression, by the blacks, of the true state of their numbers. Admitting, however, this and the preceding enumerations to be correct, we shall find that the annual increase of the free negroes has far exceeded that of the whites. From 1790 to 1800, the increase of the latter had been at the rate of 4 2-7 per cent. per annum, and from 1800 to 1810, at the rate of 3 3-5 per cent. per annum; while on the other hand, the increase of the free blacks, during the first period, had been at the enormous rate of 22 1-3 per cent. per annum, and during the latter period, at the rate of 5 1-2 per cent. per annum. Supposing the increase to continue in the ratios last mentioned, the number of whites in 1820, will amount to about 137,000, and the blacks to about 16,300. The proportion between them will then be as about 8 3-8 to 1. The increase in their numbers, during the last five or six years, must have struck the most careless observer, even among those who see them only in the central parts of the city. But it is in the suburbs, and espe-

cially in the southern portion of them, that this growing mischief is most conspicuously exhibited.

No one can pass through those districts, without remarking at the same time, the increase and the profligacy of the negro population. The crowds of sturdy children, that may be seen at every door, show that no restraint is put upon their natural increase; while the indolence and vice which the countenances of their parents frequently exhibit, lead the observer to draw melancholy anticipations of their future destiny. If we add to this natural increase of the blacks, the accessions which they receive from the annual arrival of hundreds, who have either escaped from bondage, or otherwise made this city their place of residence, we shall probably be near the truth, in estimating their present numbers at about 17,000. Philadelphia has been expressively called, in some of the southern states, 'the paradise of negroes;' and when we remember the well-meant, but often indiscreet zeal of some of its inhabitants to better the condition of that class, it may well be considered in that light, by those among them who are content with personal freedom, and indifferent with regard to political rights.

We proceed in the next place to an examination of their political and moral condition. The constitution of Pennsylvania makes no distinction with regard to colour. 'All men,' says that instrument, 'are born equally free, and independent.\*' In conformity with this principle, are all its subsequent provisions. 'Elections shall be free and equal.†' 'Every freeman of the age of 21 years, having resided in the state two years next before the election, and within that time paid a state or county tax, which shall have been assessed at least six months before the election, shall enjoy the rights of an elector.‡' In relation to eligibility to office, the constitution is equally general and undistinguishing in its terms. The same comprehensive language is to be found in all the acts of Assembly, relating to the subject, which have been framed since the formation of the constitution, with the exception of that for the regulation of the militia, which provides, that 'all free, able bodied *white males*,' shall be liable to that duty. There seems nothing, therefore, in the constitution or laws of Pennsylvania, (with the exception last mentioned,) which creates a political distinction between the two races. It is in vain, however, that the principles of republicanism, as well as the words of the constitution, declare that all men are intitled to the same political rights. In the distinction of colour, nature seems to have fixed an insurmountable barrier to an union between the two great divisions of our population, in the exercise of the same privileges. Prejudices, arising from this cause, and from the real or fancied inferiority of the African race to the whites, which have been entertained since the introduction of negro slavery, prevent the latter from admitting the free blacks to an equality in political rights. They exhibit a

\* Art. 9, sect. 1.

† Art. 9, sect. 5.

‡ Art. 3, sect. 1.

spectacle anomalous under a form of government like that of Pennsylvania, but not altogether unprecedented in history, of freemen exercising no political rights, and liable to no political duties, separated into a class apart from the rest of society, but entitled, nevertheless, both on principle and law, to the full benefits of citizenship, and eligible to every office, not excepting that of chief magistrate. A more particular view of their political condition will show its incompatibility with the principles of republicanism. The negroes, then, are not permitted in practice, to exercise the right of suffrage, the first and most important privilege in modern republics. This right, as we have before observed, is made by the constitution to depend upon the payment of a state or county tax. Of the first, none, we believe, have as yet been directly levied. The county taxes, as well as those for the maintainance of the poor, and for other purposes, are annually assessed upon real estate, and upon the occupations or professions of individuals. And the acts by which they are governed, direct an enumeration and valuation of the 'taxable inhabitants' of each county; a form of expression, perhaps, designedly obscure, but which certainly draws no distinction between whites and blacks. It is only then through the indifference or forbearance of the free negroes, that they are not returned and assessed as 'taxable inhabitants;' because, we conceive, there can be no doubt that those who are omitted by the assessors, have a right to be inserted in the county books. They have, therefore, no voice in the formation of laws, upon which their happiness and security may naturally depend, nor in the choice of magistrates, by whom the laws are to be enforced. As a necessary consequence of this want of elective privileges, they are never candidates for office, nor employed in any public station. They are never summoned as jurymen, and of course, take no part in the administration of justice. The privilege, or as some choose to think it, the burthen of serving on juries, depends by law upon the same foundation as the right of voting; none but 'taxable inhabitants' being competent for either purpose. The same observation, therefore, will apply to both cases. The negroes have the same right, and are equally liable with the whites, although in consequence of not being taxed, they are, in practice, excluded. To those who have seen much of the trial by jury, especially in criminal cases, it is unnecessary for us to advert to the importance of this privilege. The best of men are liable to the influence of partiality and prejudice, although often unknown to themselves; and it is not, perhaps, to be wondered at, if juries, composed as they are now, altogether of whites, should sometimes lean in favour of those of their own colour, when the controversy is between them and negroes. The institution in England of juries *de medietate linguæ*, in cases in which foreigners are parties, owes its origin to a sense of this frailty of human nature, and the justice of this provision is as conspicuous as its humanity. One eighth part, therefore, of the population of Philadelphia is precluded from the exercise of the highest politi-

cal rights of freemen. Let us now take a view of their political duties. Society affords men protection in their lives and property, and receives, or ought to receive, in return, protection and support from each individual, and that in two ways; by personal service, or an equivalent for it in time of danger, and by pecuniary contributions for the purpose of defraying the expenses of government. Now in the state of Pennsylvania, all men are protected by the government, but the reciprocal duties of the citizen fall only upon one of the two classes into which its population is divided. The duty of personal service is provided for by the laws regulating the militia, which direct that only free white males shall be embodied for that purpose; and the custom has uniformly been in conformity with this direction. Those subject to militia duty are required to appear in arms twice in each year, in times of peace, under a penalty of two dollars from each individual.\* From this tax and the duty of defending the republic in time of war, the negroes are expressly exempted. *They* are not bound to undergo the labour and danger of camp service, nor the expense and temptation of peace trainings. *They* may pursue their ordinary occupations, and increase and multiply, unmolested by the din of war; while the blood and fortunes of the whites are lavished in defence of the country. The burthen of personal service is, however, one of the least which we owe to society. That of contributing in money to the support of the government, is an essential duty, from which no portion of the community ought to be exempted. We have seen, however, that one eighth part of the population of Philadelphia enjoys this singular and impolitic privilege, not from the express provision of the constitution or laws, but by a kind of tacit permission from the rest of their fellow citizens. The real estate of which they may happen to be owners, is, we believe, assessed like that of others,

\* Nothing, perhaps, could have been devised more inefficient for every good purpose, and at the same time more impolitic and prejudicial to the public morals and economy, than the militia system, as it exists in Pennsylvania, and probably in several other states. It falls with the most injurious inequality upon rich and poor. To the first, the payment of four dollars a year is a trifle, which can interfere only in the slightest possible degree with their comfort. The latter are compelled either to lose the profits of two days' labour; and which is far worse, are exposed to scenes of idleness and intemperance, or to submit to a deduction from their income of no trivial nature. It would require a volume to enumerate the imperfections of this and most of the systems by which the militia have been regulated. Dryden has described in strong and appropriate language the consequences of a similar plan.

'The country rings around with loud alarms,  
And raw in fields, the rude militia swarms;  
Mouths without hands; maintain'd at vast expense;  
In peace a charge, in war a weak defence;  
Stout, once a month. they march a blust'ring band,  
And ever, but in time of need, at hand;  
This was the morn when issuing on the guard,  
Drawn up in rank and file, they stood prepar'd  
Of seeming arms to make a short essay,  
Then hasten to be drunk, the business of the day.'

but from the payment of personal taxes, they are altogether privileged.

The free negroes of Philadelphia are, therefore, excluded from the exercise of political rights, and exempted from the performance of political duties. If we take a view of their moral condition, and compare it with that of the whites, the result will, we fear, be no less fruitful in serious and alarming considerations. The rank which they generally occupy in the scale of society is well known. The greater part of them are engaged in the occupations of domestic servants and daily labourers, and in the performance of most of the lower offices of the community. Many, however, and a rapidly increasing number, obtain their livelihood by keeping shops, in which no great amount of capital is required; and a few have been able to acquire real property. From men in the situation in which the great majority of them is placed, we are aware that no very refined virtue, either of principle or conduct is to be expected; but with all due allowance on this score, we are persuaded that an examination of their morals, as far as it is practicable, will exhibit an unusually extended degree of crime and vice.\* It is an old and well established maxim, that without a general degree of virtue in the community, the laws are fruitless and vain. The morality of a people may be said to depend upon the sense of honour, the effects of education and example; and, above all, upon their religious belief. The first exists chiefly in the upper orders of society, and may operate favourably to the interests of the community, when religion and the moral sense are wanting. But to render the bulk of a people virtuous, it is necessary that the principles of morality should be cherished by education and example, and enforced by the powerful aid of religion. When its terrible denunciations come to the assistance of the moral law, an observance of the latter must necessarily be more conspicuous in the character of a nation. But when by a strange perversion of the true ends of religion, it is separated from, or set in opposition to the principles of morality, the consequences are by so much the more injurious to the peace of society. This appears to apply to a considerable portion of the negro population of the United States.

\* At a very early period in the annals of Pennsylvania, we find the character of this race put on record by the legislature; and an attempt made to check their increase. An act of assembly, passed in the year 1725, after declaring that, 'Whereas, 'tis found by experience, that free negroes are an idle slothful people, and often prove burthensome, and afford ill example to other negroes,' provided, that every master or mistress emancipating a negro, should give security in the sum of 30 pounds, to indemnify the city or township, in case he should thereafter become chargeable and unable to support himself; and that free negroes neglecting to work, should be bound out by the year by the justices of the peace. Another very important section of this act declared, that 'if any free negro should marry a white man or woman, such negro should become a slave for life;' and heavy penalties were imposed on whites cohabiting with negroes. The law of 1725 was subsequently repealed, but we find many other proofs of the dislike and alarm with which the early assemblies of Pennsylvania viewed the increase of this people.

Nothing is more dangerous than the extravagant pretensions to superior sanctity, acquired by the obstreperous devotions and *epileptic* enthusiasm of a camp-meeting; and if, as there is reason to think, a large number of the blacks belong to that fanatical class of people who, usurping and abusing the name of a respectable sect of christians, entertain the belief that the practice of morality is not essential to salvation; but that, provided there be *faith*, the commission of crimes, however heinous, brings no punishment or peril; then there can be no doubt of the mischievous effects of such tenets. We could expect little from the morals of a class of people by whom such opinions are generally entertained. Beside these causes, however, two others peculiar to their condition, contribute to deteriorate the moral character of the blacks. We mean their colour, and the effects of slavery. The first, through the force of prejudice, cuts them off from the prospect of attaining any considerable height in the scale of society, and thus takes away one great incentive to refinement of morals. Let us suppose the case of two mechanics of different colours, each of whom may have acquired a competency. The one gives his children a liberal education, because he is sensible that by this means he opens to them the avenues to the most honourable distinctions of life, and fits them for the society and comforts of the highest stations. The consequence is, in a republican country, a general tendency to improvement. The other has no inducement to do this, because he perceives that his children can never hope to attain distinction or preferment in political life, and that a superior degree of refinement will render them disqualified for the only society they can partake of, that of their own colour. The effects of slavery too, on the human mind and disposition, it has often been observed, are equally enduring and debasing. It is long before the vices, which that state never fails to beget, are completely eradicated. They descend from one generation to another, unless strong causes exist to produce a radical reformation. These causes can hardly be said to exist among the negroes of the United States. The want of personal ambition, on the contrary, and the influence of colour, render their situation far more hopeless than that of others in similar circumstances, of which history has preserved a memorial. Under the Roman and Grecian republics, when a slave was once admitted to the full privilege of citizenship, he mixed, unnoticed, with the rest of his fellow countrymen, because no odious distinction of features or colour kept alive the remembrance of his former condition.\* It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if with all these causes operating against them, the negro population of Philadelphia should frequently become liable to the jurisdiction of the criminal law; but we believe that even those who are inclined to

\* Some of the Roman slaves were of African origin, but their number was small, and like Terence, they were generally natives of the Mediterranean coast. The Grecian slaves were mostly brought from Thrace and the surrounding countries.



judge most unfavourably of the character of this race, are not aware of the extent of the evil. We have taken some pains to ascertain the comparative number of blacks who have come under the cognizance of the civil magistrate for the commission of offences; and although we have not been altogether successful, yet enough has been obtained to give a satisfactory idea of the general state of their morals. It appears from an authentic statement in our possession, that during the period of five months which elapsed between the 1st of October, 1817, and the 1st of March, 1818, 1367 persons were committed to the prison of Philadelphia, charged with offences; of whom 917 were whites, and 450 free blacks, and that during the succeeding seven months, 1823 persons were committed; 1200 of whom were whites, and 623 free blacks, making for one year a total of 2117 whites, and 1073 free blacks. The proportion then which the number of white offenders bore to the black, was not quite two to one; whereas, our readers will remember that we have estimated the proportion of white inhabitants to negroes, within the city and county of Philadelphia, as about eight to one. In other words, it follows, that one out of every sixteen blacks, was committed to prison in the space of a single year; while of the whites, only one out of sixty became in like manner amenable to justice!\* This, however, it may be said, does not afford a fair criterion by which the comparative morality of the two races may be estimated. The partiality of the subordinate magistrates may induce them to lend too ready an ear to complaints against the people of colour, and thus a number who are on the records of the prison, may have been committed without just cause. Many of the negroes, it may also be said, by whom the prisons are crowded, have been committed merely as vagrants, and not as the perpetrators of crime. The records, however, of the criminal courts, afford a full and melancholy answer to this objection. We have before us a small pamphlet, published about two years since, by 'the Philadelphia Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons,' which affords a statistical view of the operation of the penal code of Pennsylvania. It appears from the statements in this work, that on the 19th of July, 1816, 407 convicts were confined in the penitentiary and prison, for a term of one year and upwards. Of these, 231 were whites, and 176 blacks; the proportion being about as one and one-third to one! The convicts, it should be observed, are brought from all parts of the state; but of this number, 281 were convicted in Philadelphia, of whom the greater number were probably blacks. The relative proportion has not changed since that period, in favour of the negroes, as we find from a table published in the newspapers, of the offenders tried at the last court of oyer and terminer. This court, in which the highest offences are examined, is held twice a year in Philadelphia. At the session

\* These calculations are made on the supposition, which is believed to be nearly correct, that the city and county of Philadelphia contain about 120,000 whites and 18,000 blacks.

which ended on the 18th of January 1819, twenty-eight prisoners were indicted, of whom sixteen were whites, and twelve blacks, and seventeen offenders convicted; *nine* of whom were blacks, and *eight* whites. The inferior species of crimes are tried at the quarter sessions and the mayor's court; in both of which we have reason to believe there appears the same proportion of negro offenders. These records, then, furnish convincing proof of the alarming state of the morals of the free negroes. The extraordinary proportion which the number of offenders bears to the whole amount of the coloured population is, we believe, unexampled in the annals of any race, and argues a general and deeply seated corruption, which ought to awaken the attention of those who are to take care *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*. In a country overstocked with population, or liable, like the manufacturing parts of England, to sudden vicissitudes in the demand for labour, the number of criminals may sometimes bear a considerable proportion to the whole number of inhabitants; but when the same ratio exists, in a land where absolute want is unknown, except in those who are incapacitated from committing crimes, by the same cause which renders them incapable of earning their bread, there must either be something defective in the penal system, or something radically bad in the morals of the people. To conclude this hasty survey of the condition of the free negroes. We have shown that they are rapidly increasing in numbers; that every year has lessened the numerical superiority of the whites, and that they exercise no political rights, and perform none of the duties of citizens. We think it manifest, that as a body, they are depraved to an alarming degree; and that in fine, they are a burthen upon the rest of the community, whose morals they are daily corrupting by the influence of example.

Ought this state of things to continue? is a question which naturally arises, and to which we conceive but one answer can be given. If the present comparative rates of increase are maintained on each side, which there is no ground to doubt, for reasons which are to be stated hereafter, then, in no long time, the number of blacks will approach nearly to an equality with that of the whites. But supposing the same population to continue as at present, the grievance is not of a nature to be suffered to remain without some attempt at least to reduce it. Virtue has been truly said by Montesquieu, to be the basis of a republican form of government. Not that every individual must necessarily be good in an eminent degree, but that there ought to exist so much morality and intelligence in the majority of the community, as to induce them to choose virtuous and intelligent men for their representatives and magistrates. If the corruption of morals, which exists among the negroes, could be confined to themselves, or prevented from communicating itself to the rest of our population, we should have no fear for the soundness of the latter. Every thing that we know of them, leads to the belief that they are quite as moral in general, and certainly far more enlightened than the mass of the population in the

ancient republics. But against the spreading of vice, when it has once attacked a portion of a people, there can be no moral vaccination. That the influence of example is the most potent of all persuasions, especially when it is on the side of evil, has been the constant theme of moralists and philosophers.

There is reason then to fear that the morals of the bulk of the community will in time be affected, if strong measures are not taken to produce a change in the black population. Education, and the other causes which operate in a republican country, may do much to elevate the character and condition of a white population, but they must at least be retarded in advancement by the vicinity and fellowship of a race like the negroes. But this is not all that is to be apprehended from the unfortunate diversity of our population. It is not to be supposed, that the negroes will long remain content with their present political condition. While they see others around them enjoying the full benefits and privileges of freemen, they will naturally ask why they are forced to be satisfied with the scanty pittance of personal freedom. Already they evince a disposition to follow the steps of the whites in the paths which lead to political distinction. They are daily becoming more confident of their strength, and better acquainted with the means of exerting it with effect. They have societies of all descriptions, from 'The Washington Benevolent Society of Africa,' downwards. They have their own clergymen, physicians, and teachers. The zeal of the abolitionists has put them in the high road to political importance, and it would be unreasonable to suppose that they will not be as eager as any other part of the community to participate in the enjoyment of privileges, which the constitution has promised to all. The feelings of the people, nevertheless, are strongly against admitting them to a footing of equality in this, or any other respect.\* If then they are condemned to continue in a state of political degradation, it does not require a prophetic spirit to foretell the evils that will result to the community. History is full of instances of the calamities which have befallen republics, from a political discrimination between different portions of the same people. In regard to the division of her population, Sparta bore a strong resemblance to many of the United States. The inhabitants of that republic were separated into three classes; citizens, helots, and slaves. 'The helots,' says the abbe Barthelemy, 'must not be confounded, as they have been by some authors, with the slaves, properly so called. They rather occupy a middle state between slaves and free citizens.† They were distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants by a particular kind of dress, as the *negroes* of the American population are by their colour, and were liable to the

\* This disposition was displayed not long since in a very pointed manner, when an attempt was made by some of the blacks to establish a fire engine company; a measure certainly harmless, except as leading to other things. The temper evinced by the other companies was so decided, that the former were compelled to abandon their project.

† *Travels of Anacharsis*, chap. xlii.

punishment of death on the slightest suspicion, but in most other respects, their servitude seems to have been merely nominal. They farmed the land of the Spartans, not as the slaves of this country, but at a rent which was by no means equal to the produce, and appear to have acquired considerable riches and importance. They served too in the army and navy, and might thus be considered as a more useful class of people than the free negroes. But their advantages were far more than counterbalanced by their insubordination and treachery. From the time of their first reduction, the republic was constantly exposed to the danger of civil war; and in one memorable instance, a large body taking advantage of the difficulties of the Spartans, seized upon an important post and went over to the enemy. The population of Athens bore a still more remarkable resemblance to that of the United States. It was divided into citizens, *Μέτοικοι*, and slaves. When a slave was enfranchised, he did not pass into the class of citizens, but into that of the *μέτοικοι*, or foreign settlers, which was connected with the latter by liberty, and with that of the slaves, by the small portion of influence or respect it possessed. ‘This intermediate class,’ says the same author, ‘to the number of about 10,000, consists of strangers, settled with their families in Attica; most of them exercising trades, or serving in the navy; *protected by, without participating in the government; free, yet dependent; useful to the republic, which fears them, because she dreads liberty detached from the love of country, and despised by a people at once proud and jealous of the distinctions annexed to the condition of a citizen.*’\* Like the free negroes with us, the intermediate class at Athens, was not inrolled in the militia; the privilege of defending their country (as it was considered in Athens), being granted only to citizens possessing property. Hence it happened, as we are told, that the loss of a battle, by enfeebling the class of citizens, tended to give the lower orders a superiority which might change the form of government.† But if history afforded us no examples, reason would teach us the danger of retaining a great and increasing portion of our population in a condition which gives them the power of doing the republic the most essential injury, without attaching them by ties of affection or interest to the cause of the country. Enjoying no political rights; connected with their rulers by none of those motives which bind the citizens of a republic to the officers of their choice; considered even as unworthy of contributing to the support and defence of the state; the objects of the scorn and insult, even of the lowest orders of the white population, what is to be expected of them, but turbulence and immorality, and a disposition to favour the cause of any foreign enemy with which the republic may be at war. We are not very sanguine, we confess, with regard to either

\* Travels of Anacharsis, chap. vi. They were not exempted from taxes, however, each family paying about three dollars a year of our money to the public treasury.

† Anacharsis, chap. x.

their moral or mental improvement, even though they should be admitted to a full participation of political rights; but without that, or without some alteration in the policy of the country in respect to them, we fear that at a future period, perhaps not very distant,

‘the curse of growing factions and divisions’

will avenge the wrongs of the Africans. We shall then add another to the numerous instances on record, of the misfortunes with which nature sooner or later punishes a violation of the great moral law. ‘*Lento gradu ad vindictam sui divina procedit ira; tarditatem vero supplicii gravitate compensat.*’

The next question that arises is, what course should be adopted for the future? Ought the free negroes to be admitted to a footing of perfect equality in privileges and duties, or should measures be adopted to restrain their increase, and finally to remove them from the country? The subject, it must be admitted, is one full of difficulty on all sides. Any measure which would have for its object an alteration in the condition of this race, would, on the one hand, be met by the rooted prejudices of a large portion of the population; and on the other, by arguments on the score of justice and humanity. Some decision of the question, however, is imperiously required by a regard to the interests of both races. The evil has been suffered to increase to its present height through inattention, and every year renders a remedy more difficult.

To admit the negroes to the enjoyment of the same political rights that are possessed by the whites, would, we are persuaded, be a measure fruitful with the most ruinous consequences to the republic. Waving the question, whether the descendants of Africans are, or are not, inferior in intellect to the descendants of Europeans, a question which has divided the opinions of many philosophers, still the radical difference of colour affords a sufficient reason why the road to privilege and preferment should not be thrown open to them. Political parties, may, in some cases, be serviceable to the interests of a republic, to prevent the growth of that apathy and indifference to public affairs which frequently precedes the downfall of a free government. But the divisions of party should be founded on questions of policy in regard to the administration of affairs, and not upon the form of government, and with still more reason, not upon physical or moral distinctions. Where parties are made up of the rich on one side, and the poor on the other, one of two evils would probably happen. Either the powers of government fall into the hands of the poorer classes, in which case the wealth and talents of the other party is withheld from the service of the community, or rendered dangerous to it, and probably Agrarian laws are passed, prejudicial to the interests of the country; or the rich, and consequently the least numerous party obtains the ascendancy, and then the form of government is changed to an oligarchy or aristocracy. But the contest of parties is still more fruitful of danger to a republic, when the division is on phy-

sical grounds, such as that of white and black, and where the prejudices arising from colour are carried to any considerable height; and this we conceive is the course which parties would take, if the blacks increased to any thing like an equality of numbers with the whites, and enjoyed the full benefits of citizenship. The temper of the white inhabitants of Philadelphia, must be considerably changed before they would suffer themselves to be governed by a black mayor and councils, or to be arrested and carried to prison by a black constable. Rather than submit to a degradation of this kind, they would trample upon the constitution; and if, as is probable, the blacks were disposed to assert their rights by force, an intestine and servile war would be the consequence. We are aware of two objections to this supposition. It may be said, that there is no probability that the number of blacks will ever equal, or approach that of the whites; and in the second place, that it is to be expected that the prejudices of the whites will gradually wear away. If the question turned upon the natural increase of the two races merely, the first objection would have some weight, although we are disposed to believe, that even in that case, the augmentation of the negroes would be more rapid than that of the whites, on account of the high wages of labour. Luxury is said by philosophers, to be as unfavourable to population as great poverty. The first may exist among the whites, but it will be long before the difficulty of subsistence imposes a check upon increase in this country. But the great increase of the blacks in Philadelphia will, we conceive, be derived from another source. It is probable that after the population of Europe shall have accommodated itself to the new order of things there, the emigration of whites to America will cease to be very considerable, or will go, if at all, to people the western country. But the addition to the numbers of the negroes will proceed in an increasing ratio (unless checked by some strong legislative provision), in consequence of emigration from other states. Every year hundreds of emancipated slaves will find their way to 'the paradise of negroes;' and if once all of this colour are put in the way to political distinction, those already free will flock from other cities to swell the numbers, and augment the importance of their brethren. An increase of this nature must, of course, be limited by the demand for employment; but we are speaking on the supposition, that every occupation would be thrown open to them; and we can conceive no reason why they may not as well be tailors, shoemakers, and storekeepers, as the whites. The latter, on the contrary, emigrate to the western country. Dr. Smith has remarked, that 'after all that has been said of the levity and inconstancy of human nature, it appears evidently, from experience, that a man is, of all sorts of luggage, the most difficult to be transported.\*' This observation, however true of Europeans, is re-

\* *Wealth of Nations*. B. 1. chap. viii.

markably contradicted in America. The constant tide of white emigration to the west, which

like to the Pontick sea,  
Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on,

evinces a restlessness of disposition, and a spirit of enterprise and independence, to which, perhaps, no other country can bear a parallel. The white population of our cities is thus kept from increasing in the ratio it otherwise would; while the emigration of the blacks being almost exclusively from the country to the cities, their augmentation is proportionally greater. We never hear of negroes removing to the west, except on compulsion. The same motives which lead the whites to that quarter, the hope, namely, of bettering their condition, induce the blacks to settle on the Atlantic frontier. These reasons are, we think, sufficient to show the probability that the blacks will continue to increase at the present rate. The next objection is one to which it is, perhaps, more difficult to give a satisfactory answer. Prejudices and antipathies, it will be conceded, do exist against the blacks in the great mass of the white population, whether well founded or not. There is nothing certainly in colour, of itself, nor any natural reason, perhaps, why a white man should be superior to a negro, and yet when one colour marks the descendants of slaves, and of the most ignorant and barbarous portion of the globe, and the other, the heirs of the wisdom, refinement, and freedom of Europe, they serve to perpetuate distinctions which otherwise might, in the lapse of time, like those of Rome and Athens, and the vassalage of the feudal system, be buried in oblivion. The discrimination is a matter of feeling, which will at least, for a long time, operate to keep the negroes out of the pale of white society, and separate them into a degraded and offensive cast, like that of the *Pariahs* of Hindostan. Is it likely that the present temper of the whites would be changed by such an alteration in the political and pecuniary condition of the negroes, as would bring them into competition with the better educated classes of society in politics and business? Already jealousies do exist between them and that part of the whites with whom they have a similarity of pursuits; and to suppose that the same feelings will not be created among the higher classes, when they shall hereafter come in contact, is to judge more favourably of human nature than experience warrants. Besides, are the advocates for negro improvement aware of the extent to which their philanthropy will lead? It is not in the nature of any us, black or white, to be satisfied with half-way measures. We must do all that others are allowed to do, or discontent will exist. If we were to give the negroes facilities to become our lawyers, physicians, and magistrates, we must throw open to them also the doors of our society; and then, in the course of time, the two races would, probably, be united by the marriage of our descendants with negroes and mulattoes. The abstract moralist may contemplate this pros-

pect with satisfaction, but we should consider it one of the greatest evils that could befall the country. We believe, therefore, for the reasons we have stated, that the consequences which would result from elevating the political condition of the blacks, would be more prejudicial to the true interests of the republic, than a continuance of the present system.

The plan of voluntary colonization, proposed by the society at Washington, appears to be eminently advantageous, if the consent of the blacks could be obtained; but in that lies the difficulty. It is to be feared that the scheme of persuasion is an hopeless one. No one who knows any thing of the character of the free negroes, can believe that, accustomed as they have now become, to the ease and security of civilized society, they will voluntarily leave it to encounter the barbarism of Africa. Their temperament is an African, not an European one. They have none of that enthusiasm and love of independence, which led our ancestors to endure the perils and labour of a new settlement in an unknown country, rather than submit to a diminution of civil or religious freedom. To them the slavery of their brethren in the southern states would be almost as acceptable as a removal from America. Probably not one in a thousand of this class could be induced, even if a bounty on exportation were offered, to accept the proposals of the colonizing society. Neither do we believe they will be much more disposed to follow Mr. Saunders' advice of emigrating to Hayti. The voyage, to be sure, is not long, and there they have the choice of two opposite forms of government in the same island. They may be *amici atque sodales* of the duke of Marmalade and the count of Limonade, and the other grandees of king Henry's court, or they may feel a taste for the more simple honours of senator or representative in the government of president Boyer. But the climate and language present formidable obstacles to those who would otherwise be disposed to emigrate; besides, that it is not altogether impossible that the French may again obtain possession of the island. Is there then, it will be asked, no way of escaping from the evils with which the increase of the black population appears to threaten us? We would venture to suggest a plan, which, though liable to objections, and not removing the complaint entirely, would still do much to repress its growth, and may pave the way for its ultimate eradication. In the first place, a law might be passed, forbidding the importation or emigration of blacks from any other portion of the United States; a stop would then be put to the introduction of fugitive or emancipated slaves, and the penalties might be of such a nature as would make it the interest of individuals to assist in carrying the provision into effect, while the punishment of transportation should be inflicted on those who clandestinely arrive after the passage of the law. It may be said that a measure like this would prove an obstacle to the emancipation of slaves in the southern states. If this would certainly be the consequence, we should not consider it of sufficient weight as an ar-



gument against some plan of the nature suggested. The abolition of slavery is certainly a desirable thing in the abstract; but if it is to be followed by an increase of the black population of our cities, the inhabitants of the latter would have the right to take precautionary steps against the consequences. But it is by no means clear that the plan we propose would have the effect of restraining emancipation, even if it were adopted in other quarters of the Union.\* Instead of giving his slaves their liberty unconditionally, the master would emancipate them on condition of their transporting themselves to some foreign country, and in this way the proposed settlement at Sierra Leone may be advantageously made. Their increase from abroad, being thus prevented, the next step would be to reduce their numbers at home. We would propose in the second place, to inflict the punishment of transportation upon every free negro convicted of a crime, for which he is not already liable to be punished by death; and we would add other penalties, so that the scale might still be preserved. This proposal may startle the philanthropy of some of our worthy citizens,† whose zeal in the cause of this race has often we fear, ‘outrun discretion;’ but when dispassionately considered, it will probably be found, upon the whole, as free from objection as any that could be devised. We see no difficulty on the score of constitutional principles. If an individual may be punished for a violation of the moral and municipal law, there is no reason why particular classes of individuals may not. We do not propose that they should be deprived of the same course of trial and defence that they now possess, but that the species of punishment only should be altered. As it is now, the enormous number of this people that crowd our prisons, is a grievance that calls loudly for reform. The difficulty of obtaining a suitable place for a colony of convicts, and the expense of maintaining them, are strong but not unanswerable arguments against this project. A settlement might, with proper care, be procured on the western coast of Africa, which would neither be objectionable on the score of climate nor of the hostility of the natives. The system pursued towards the aborigines by the founder of Pennsylvania might be tried, and little doubt can be entertained of its success. The expense of the colony would certainly be great for the first few years; but if the measure were adopted by the general govern-

\* We believe some provision of this kind exists in the state of Ohio.

† The punishment of transportation is, however, not new to the penal code of Pennsylvania. So far back as the year 1705, an act of assembly provided that negroes should be tried by two justices of the peace, and any six freeholders of the neighbourhood, and that for the crimes of murder, burglary, and certain others, they should be punished capitally; and for those of robbery, stealing, &c. they should be exported within six months after conviction, ‘never to return within the province, under pain of death.’

A very severe provision of the same law forbade more than *four* negroes to assemble together at a time on *Sundays* or other days, and a violation of the act was to be punished on notice to, and at the discretion of, a single justice of the peace, by whipping, not exceeding 39 stripes.

ment, and with the example of the English settlement at Botany bay before their eyes, a system might, we conceive, be adopted, of economy, without unnecessary severity towards the convicts.

It is sometimes objected to every scheme which has for its object the removal of the free negroes, that the country will suffer severely from the loss of their labour, which in many departments it will be difficult to supply. There is, however, very little cause for anxiety on this subject. In all the branches of labour, the vacancy created by their removal, will be speedily filled up, either by our own natives or by emigration from Europe, because, when men are free, there will generally be enough to supply the demand for their labour. We should then exchange an unsound and incongruous population for one descended from the same stock, and with a mental and physical conformation similar to our own.

ART.—III. *Letters, &c. Relative to Wayne's Exploit at Stony-point.*

**A**MONG the many exploits of gallantry and prowess which shed a lustre on the fame of our revolutionary army, the storming of the fort at Stony-point has always been considered one of the most brilliant.

‘To general Wayne, who commanded the light infantry of the army, the execution of the plan was intrusted. Secrecy was deemed so much more essential to success than numbers, that it was thought unadvisable to add to the force already on the lines. One brigade was ordered to commence its march, so as to reach the scene of action in time to cover the troops engaged in the attack, in case of any unlooked for disaster; and major Lee, of the light dragoons, who had been eminently useful in obtaining the intelligence which led to the enterprise, was associated with general Wayne, as far as cavalry could be employed in such a service.

‘The night of the 15th of July 1779 was fixed on for the assault; and it being suspected that the garrison would probably be more on their guard towards day, twelve was chosen for the hour.

‘Stony-point is a commanding hill, projecting far into the Hudson, which washes three-fourths of its base. The remaining fourth is, in a great measure, covered by a deep marsh, commencing near the river on the upper side, and continuing into it below. Over this marsh, there is only one crossing place. But at its junction with the river is a sandy beach passable at low tide. On the summit of this hill was erected the fort, which was furnished with a sufficient number of heavy pieces of ordnance. Several breast-works and strong batteries were advanced in front of the principal work, and about half way down the hill, were two rows of abattis. The batteries were calculated to command the beach, and the crossing place of the marsh, and to rake and enfilade any column which might be advancing from either of those points towards the fort. In addition to these defences, several vessels of war were

stationed in the river, so as, in a considerable degree, to command the ground at the foot of the hill.

‘ The fort was garrisoned by about six hundred men, under the command of lieutenant colonel Johnson.

‘ At noon of the day preceding the night of the attack, the light infantry commenced their march from Sandybeach, distant fourteen miles from Stony-point, and passing through an excessively rugged and mountainous country, arrived about eight in the afternoon at Spring Steel’s, one and a half miles from the fort, where the dispositions for the assault were made.

‘ It was intended to attack the works on the right and left flanks at the same instant. The regiments of Febiger, and of Meiggs, with major Hull’s detachment, formed the right column, and Butler’s regiment, with two companies under major Murfree, formed the left. One hundred and fifty volunteers, led by lieutenant colonel Fleury and major Posey, constituted the van of the right; and one hundred volunteers under major Stewart, composed the van of the left. At half past eleven, the two columns moved on to the charge, the van of each with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. They were each preceded by a forlorn hope of twenty men, the one commanded by lieutenant Gibbon, and the other by lieutenant Knox, whose duty it was to remove the abbattis and other obstructions, in order to open a passage for the columns which followed close in the rear.

‘ Proper measures having been taken to secure every individual on the route, who could give intelligence of their approach, the Americans reached the marsh undiscovered. But unexpected difficulties having been experienced in surmounting this and other obstructions in the way, the assault did not commence until twenty minutes after twelve. Both columns then rushed forward, under a tremendous fire of musketry and grape shot. Surmounting every obstacle, they entered the works at the point of the bayonet, and without having discharged a single piece, obtained complete possession of the post.

‘ *The humanity displayed by the conquerors was not less conspicuous, nor less honourable, than their courage. Not a single individual suffered after resistance had ceased.*

‘ All the troops engaged in this perilous service manifested a degree of ardour and impetuosity, which proved them to be capable of the most difficult enterprises; and all distinguished themselves whose situation enabled them to do so. Colonel Fleury was the first to enter the fort, and strike the British standard. Major Posey mounted the works almost at the same instant, and was the first to give the watch-word—“The fort’s our own.” Lieutenants Gibbon and Knox performed the service allotted to them, with a degree of intrepidity which could not be surpassed. Out of twenty men who constituted the party of the former, seventeen were killed, or wounded.

'The loss sustained by the garrison was not considerable. The return made by lieutenant colonel Johnson, represented their dead at only twenty, including one captain, and their wounded at six officers, and sixty-eight privates. The return made by general Wayne states their dead at sixty-three, including two officers. This difference may be accounted for, by supposing, that among those colonel Johnson supposed to be missing, there were many killed. The prisoners amounted to five hundred and forty-three, among whom were one lieutenant colonel, four captains, and twenty subaltern officers. The military stores taken in the fort were also considerable.

'The loss sustained by the assailants was by no means proportioned to the apparent danger of the enterprise. The killed and wounded did not exceed one hundred men. General Wayne himself, who marched at the head of Febiger's regiment in the right column, received a slight wound in the head, which stunned him for a time, but did not compel him to leave the column. Being supported by his aids, he entered the fort with the regiment. Lieutenant colonel Hay was also among the wounded.'\*

The intrepidity, joined with humanity, its noblest companion, displayed on that occasion by general Wayne and his brave followers, cannot be too highly esteemed nor too frequently commemorated. It is therefore with great pleasure we give a publication to the following letters, not heretofore in print, from several of the most distinguished men of that period, showing the light in which they viewed the conduct of the *Pennsylvania hero*.

*General orders, for the attack. (rough draught.)*

The troops will march at — o'clock and move by the right, making a short halt at the creek, or run on this side, next Clement's; every officer and non-commissioned officer will remain with, and be answerable for every man in his platoon; no soldier to be permitted to quit his ranks on any pretext whatever, until a general halt is made, and then to be attended by one of the officers of the platoon.

When the head of the troops arrive in the rear of the hill, colonel Febiger will form his regiment into a solid column of a half platoon in front as fast as they come up. Colonel Meiggs will form next in colonel Febiger's rear, and major Hull in the rear of Meiggs', which will form the right column.

Colonel Butler will form a column on the left of Febiger, and major Murphy in his rear. Every officer and soldier will then fix a piece of white paper in the most conspicuous part of his hat or cap, as a mark to distinguish them from the enemy.

At the word *march*, colonel Fleury will take charge of one hundred and fifty determined and picked men, properly officered, with arms unloaded, placing their whole dependence on fixed bayonets, who will move about twenty paces in front of the right column, and enter the sally-port; he is to detach an officer and twenty men

\* Marshall's Life of Washington.

a little in front, whose business will be to secure the sentries, and remove the abbattis and obstructions for the column to pass through. The column will follow close in the rear with shouldered muskets, led by colonel Febiger and general Wayne in person:—when the works are forced, and *not before*, the victorious troops as they enter will give the watchword—————with repeated and loud voices, and drive the enemy from their works and guns, which will favour the pass of the whole troops: should the enemy refuse to surrender, or attempt to make their escape by water or otherwise, effectual means must be used to effect the former and prevent the latter.

Colonel Butler will move by the route (2), preceded by one hundred chosen men with fixed bayonets, properly officered, at the distance of twenty yards in front of the column, which will follow under colonel Butler with shouldered muskets. These hundred will also detach a proper officer and twenty men a little in front to remove the obstructions; as soon as they gain the works they will also give and continue the watchword, which will prevent confusion and mistake.

If any soldier presume to take his musket from his shoulder, or to fire, or begin the battle until ordered by his proper officer, he shall be instantly put to death by the officer next him; for the misconduct of one man is not to put the whole troops in danger or disorder, and he be suffered to pass with life.

After the troops begin to advance to the works, the strictest silence must be observed, and the closest attention paid to the commands of the officers.

The general has the fullest confidence in the bravery and fortitude of the corps that he has the happiness to command—the distinguished honour conferred on every officer and soldier who has been drafted into this corps by his excellency general Washington, the credit of the states they respectively belong to, and their own reputations, will be such powerful motives for each man to distinguish himself, that the general cannot have the least doubt of a glorious victory; and he hereby most solemnly engages to reward the first man that enters the works with five hundred dollars and immediate promotion, to the second four hundred dollars, to the third three hundred dollars, to the fourth two hundred dollars, and to the fifth one hundred dollars; and will represent the conduct of every officer, and soldier, who distinguishes himself in this action, in the most favourable point of view to his excellency, whose greatest pleasure is in rewarding merit.

But should there be any soldier so lost to every feeling of honour, as to attempt to retreat one single foot, or skulk in the face of danger, the officer next to him is immediately to put him to death, that he may no longer disgrace the name of a soldier, or the corps or state he belongs to.

As general Wayne is determined to share the danger of the

night—so he wishes to participate in the glory of the day in common with his fellow soldiers.

*Resolutions of Congress.*

In Congress, 26th June, 1779.

Resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of congress be given to his excellency general Washington for the vigilance, wisdom, and magnanimity with which he has conducted the military operations of these states; and which are among many other signal instances, manifested in his orders for the late glorious enterprise and successful attack on the enemy's fortress on the banks of the Hudson river.

Resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of congress be presented to brigadier general Wayne, for his brave, prudent, and soldierly conduct, in the spirited and well conducted attack of Stony-point.

Resolved unanimously,—That congress entertain a proper sense of the good conduct of the officers and soldiers, under the command of brigadier general Wayne, in the assault of the enemy's works at Stony-point, and highly commend the coolness, discipline, and firm intrepidity, exhibited on the occasion.

Resolved unanimously,—That lieutenant colonel Fleury and major Steward, who by their situation in leading the two attacks, had a more immediate opportunity of distinguishing themselves, have by their personal achievements exhibited a bright example to their brother soldiers, and merit in a particular manner the approbation and acknowledgments of the United States.

Resolved unanimously,—That congress warmly approve and applaud the cool determined spirit with which lieutenants Gibbons and Knox led on the forlorn hope, braving danger and death in the cause of their country.

Resolved unanimously,—That a medal emblematical of this action be struck. That one of gold be presented to brigadier general Wayne, and a silver one to lieutenant colonel Fleury and major Steward respectively.

Resolved unanimously,—That brevets of captain be given to lieutenant Gibbons and lieutenant Knox.

Resolved unanimously,—That the brevet of captain be given to Mr. Archer, the bearer of the general's letter, and volunteer aid to brigadier general Wayne.

Resolved unanimously,—That congress approve the promises of reward made by brigadier general Wayne, with the concurrence of the commander in chief, to the troops under his command.

Resolved unanimously,—That the value of the military stores taken at Stony-point be ascertained and divided among the gallant troops by whom it was reduced, in such manner and proportion as the commander in chief shall prescribe.

Extract from the minutes,

CHAS. THOMSON, *Sec'y.*

*Letter from Mr. Jay, to general Wayne.**Philadelphia, July 27th, 1779.*

Sir,—Your late glorious achievements have merited, and now receive the approbation and thanks of your country. They are contained in the enclosed act of congress, which I have the honour to transmit.

This brilliant action adds fresh lustre to our arms, and will teach the enemy to respect our power, if not to imitate our humanity. You have nobly reaped laurels in the cause of your country, and in fields of danger and death. May these prove the earnest of more, and may victory ever bear your standard, and Providence be your shield.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY, *Presid't.*

*Brigadier General Wayne.*

*Letter from General Wayne, to Mr. Jay.**West Point, 10th Aug't. 1779.*

Sir,—Your very polite favour of the 27th ultimo, with the extract of an act of congress, I have just now received.

The honourable manner in which that respectable body have been pleased to express their approbation of my conduct, in the enterprise on Stony-point, must be very flattering to a young soldier; but whilst I experience every sensation, arising from a consciousness of having used my best endeavours to carry the orders of my general into execution, I feel much hurt that I did not in my letter to him of the 17th of July, mention, among other brave and worthy officers, the names of lieutenant colonel Sherman, majors Hull, Murphey and Posey, whose good conduct and intrepidity justly entitled them to that attention.

Permit me, therefore, through your excellency, to do them that justice now, which the state of my wound diverted me from in the first instance. And whilst I pay this tribute to real merit, I must not omit major Noirmont de Luneville, a French gentleman, who (in the character of a volunteer) stepped among the first for glory. I will only beg leave to add, that every officer and soldier, belonging to the light corps, discovered a zeal and intrepidity, that did and ever will secure success.

I am with every sentiment of esteem, &c.

ANT'Y. WAYNE.

*His excellency John Jay, Esq. Pres't of Congress.*

*Marquis de la Fayette, to General Wayne.**Havre, 7 October, 1779.*

Dear sir,—With the greatest pleasure I take this opportunity of congratulating you on your admirable expedition at Stony-point.

Besides the general and hearty satisfaction I feel from any advantage which may bless the arms of my fellow American soldiers, I was particularly delighted in hearing that the glorious affair had been conducted by my good friend *general Wayne*.

I beg, my dear sir, you would present my compliments to my friends and acquaintances in the army, and believe me most affectionately yours,

LA FAYETTE.

*The Honourable Brigadier General Wayne.*

*General St. Clair, to General Wayne.*

*New Windsor, July 17th, 1779.*

Dear general,—It was with true pleasure that I received the news of your success at Stony-point, on which I beg leave to present you my cordial congratulations. It is an event that makes a very great alteration in the situation of affairs, and must have important consequences, and the more glorious from being effected with so little loss. It is, in short, the completest surprise I have ever heard of. Please to present my compliments to the gentlemen of your family and all our friends, and believe me with much esteem,

Dear general, &c.

AR. ST. CLAIR.

*General Joseph Reed, Governor of Pennsylvania, to General Wayne.*

*Philadelphia, July 20, 1779.*

Dear general,—Until you receive more substantial marks of honour and public regard, accept the sincere congratulations of one of your best friends on your late success. It is not the surprise of a post, or the capture of five hundred men that pleases me, so much as the manner and address with which it has been executed. You have played their own game upon them, and eclipsed the glory of the British bayonet, of which we have heard so much.

God grant you health and long life to enjoy your laurels.

Yours most sincerely,

JOS. REED.

*General Schuyler, to General Wayne.*

*Saratoga, July 31, 1779.*

Dear sir,—Yesterday I was honoured with a line from our amiable general, advising me of the reduction of Stony-point, and dwelling on the propriety and bravery with which it was executed. It was not the least part of my satisfaction to learn that *you* conducted it. And I most sincerely congratulate you on the increase of honour you have acquired. Such of the enemy as have hitherto held erroneous ideas of the military prowess of our troops, must now be perfectly convinced of their mistake.

Pray make not my compliments only, but my love to St. Clair, and do you and he continue yours to that great good man to whom we are so much indebted.

Remember me to your family, in which I include those I have been happy with at your quarters. Adieu.

I am, dear sir, &c.

P. SCHUYLER.



A slight remains of an indisposition prevents me from a visit to the army: I hope however soon to have the pleasure of seeing you.

*Honourable General Wayne.*

*\* General Washington to General Wayne.*

*West Point, July 30, 1779.*

Dear Sir,—Your favour of this date came duly to hand. I shall certainly not undertake any thing (capital) without your knowledge—I wish for your opinion as friend—not as commander of the light troops—whether another attempt upon Stony-point by way of surprise is eligible.—In any other manner, under present appearances and information, no good, I am sure can result from it.

Lord Cornwallis is undoubtedly arrived, and I have information, that bears all the marks of authenticity, that admiral Arbuthnot with the grand fleet left Torbay the 26th of May, with (as it is said) 7000 troops, Hessians and British, for America—a deserter, who left the city of New York on Tuesday last, says it was reported that a number of transports had arrived at Sandy Hook. Firing he himself heard. I have not heard, nor is it my belief, that lord Cornwallis supersedes sir Harry.

I am very sincerely and affectionately, &c.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

*Mr. Thomas Burke, Member of Congress, to General Wayne.*

*Philadelphia, July 19, 1779.*

Dear sir,—I congratulate you on the signal and brilliant success of your enterprise against Stony-point. This gallant and important affair has filled us all with very high satisfaction, and mine, I assure you, is peculiarly improved, because an officer of whom I had conceived a very high opinion, and for whom I have a very great esteem and regard, has conducted it and obtained such singular glory.

The happy effect of your good conduct has saved your humanity the pain it would have felt, had your enterprise cost you the lives of many of your brave soldiers and gallant officers, and even had you been under the necessity of slaughtering many of the enemy. To the humane (and such are all the brave and good), this is a very pleasing circumstance attending your success. Every one remarks, that your magnanimous generosity has triumphed over the enemy, as much as your courage and conduct.

I was much concerned when I heard you were wounded, but learning on inquiry that it was but slight, I considered it not worth attention in so great an affair; and I find by your letter to general Washington you did not think it of consequence enough to mention it.

*\* This is the third letter written by Washington to general Wayne after the affair of Stony-point; the first, which contained expressions of the warmest approbation and thanks, has already been published.*

Having mentioned your letter, I must declare I think it a just model of martial eloquence, equalled by none but Cæsar's *veni, vidi, vici*. I wish your example may be followed in this as well as in the other parts of your military character. I wish you long life, I need not add glory, for you will have it, and am,

Dear sir, very truly, &c.

THOS. BURKE.

*General Wayne.*

*Dr. Rush, to General Wayne.*

*Philada. August 6, 1779.*

My dear sir,—There was but one thing wanting in your late successful attack upon Stony-point to complete your happiness, and that is, the wound you received should have affected your *hearing*, for I fear you will be stunned through those organs with your own praises.

Our streets, for many days, rung with nothing but the name of general Wayne. You are remembered constantly next to our great and good general Washington over our claret and madeira. You have established the national character of our country. You have taught our enemies that bravery, humanity, and magnanimity, are the national virtues of the Americans. Accept, my dear sir, of my share of gratitude for the honour and services you have done our cause and country; Mrs. Rush joins in the offering; and when our little ones are able to repeat your name, we shall not fail to tell them, in recounting the exploits of our American heroes, how much they are indebted to *you* for their freedom and happiness.

Adieu, my dear friend, and be assured of the sincere affection of  
Yours, &c.

BENJN. RUSH.

P.S. Many congratulations on count D'Estang's victories in the West-Indies. Britain, I hope, will soon enjoy the heroic pleasure of dying in the *last ditch*. Are not peace, liberty, and independence before us? There will be no end to our commerce, freedom, and happiness. I had liked to have added *grandeur*; but *grandeur* belongs not to republics.

Best compliments to colonel Butler and major Stewart, who shared so largely in the danger and glory of your late victory.

*General Charles Lee, to General Wayne.*

*Berkely County, August 11th, 1779.*

Sir,—You will do me the justice to acknowledge that at the time I was taught to think (I am sure without foundation), that you were one of the most active in my prosecution, I gave it as my opinion that you were a brave officer, and an honest man. You must likewise recollect, that when you sent me a certain message at Elizabeth town,\* I told you that if I was appointed to a command,

\* The allusion is to an unfortunate misunderstanding which had existed between them.

and had my choice of brigadiers, you should be one of my first election; I hope therefore that what I am going to say you will not consider as paying my court in this your hour of glory, for as it is, at least, my present intention to leave this continent, where I have been so scurvily and ungratefully treated, I can have no interest in paying my court to any individual: what I shall say, therefore, is dictated by the genuine feeling of my heart.—I do most sincerely declare, that your action in the assault of Stony-point is not only the most brilliant, in my opinion, through the whole course of this war, on either side, but that it is one of the most brilliant I am acquainted with in history:—upon my soul, the assault of Sweidnitz, by marshall Laudun, I think inferior to it. I wish you, therefore, most sincerely, joy of the laurels you have deservedly acquired, and that you may long live to wear them,—and if you have leisure, as I am curious in these details, to inform me of the particular order of your disposition, you will much oblige one who is, without flattery, with respect and no small admiration, your most humble servant,

CHARLES LEE.

*General Armstrong\* to General Wayne.*

*Philada. 15 Sept'r. 1779.*

Dear general,—I consider you now, as your friends and fellow citizens generally do, a favourite in the dispensation of great and brilliant events, which the supreme agent so specially bestows even on soldiers of the first natural firmness once in an age, or in the course of some great revolution, heaven marks out some particular leader for an acquisition like yours at Stony-point. Not for the aggrandizement of the individual so making a feeble indirect mode (for you know the frailties of our nature), but rather for the illustration of his own will and approbation of the cause he has vouchsafed to espouse, is this lustre thrown on the infant arms of America. You will then ask what share of these distinguished honours belongs to you? I answer enough, and more than your feeble shoulders, or the mind of any soldier on earth is able to bear without the same aid that first led you up to the charge, but *operating in a different manner*; nor is there less heroism and true magnanimity requisite in supporting under, and properly improving, such signal honour attended with her infectious train, than that which possessed the breasts of your brave little army when contrasted to every implement of death, ‘greater is he who ruleth his own spirit under every temptation, than he who taketh a city.’

I have on purpose deferred this short congratulatory letter, old fashioned as I designed it to be, in order that time might be given for the evaporation of aerial particles as generally mix with those of modern complexion, and whilst I rest assured of your candid construction, I beg you to believe the high sense I am happy to possess of the obligations of the public to your merit, and that of your

\* Father of the late secretary at war of that name

† Solomon.

gallant assistants, and that I am with every sentiment of gratitude and esteem, dear general,

Your affectionate friend, &c.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

ART. IV.—*A History of the United States, before the Revolution, with some account of the Aborigines*, by Ezekiel Sanford. Philadelphia, 1819.

**E**VERY attempt at a history of the United States, made by a writer even of common industry and talents, may be considered as deserving of a general welcome. Although it should be far from supplying the great desideratum, it cannot fail to open some new views, or produce some recondite facts, conducive to the perfect success of future and more adequate labours in the same department. Besides, it is read, at its first appearance, by many whose attention might not otherwise be drawn to the subject, which is thus rendered familiar; and it may fall into the hands of some, who would, without this additional chance of instruction, remain wholly ignorant of our national annals.

The present essay of Mr. Sanford has, unquestionably, these advantages; and some more positive recommendations to the favour of the public. The author is, we learn, an American by birth;—a very young man, uncommonly well educated; devoted to the most liberal studies, and animated by a lively desire of winning distinction for himself and his country in the world of letters. He has not ventured forth now, in so formal a manner, without having published much before, although anonymously; and without having met with a degree of success sufficient to entitle him to place a certain reliance on his powers. He conducted this magazine, for sometime with signal ability, and has enriched it with many articles remarkable for their superior tone and texture. The whole strain of the production, which we are now offering to the notice of our readers, bespeaks habits of research and combination; considerable practice in composition, and a wide acquaintance with elegant literature, independently of the proper knowledge of the books appertaining to his theme.

Our national history and concerns are the subjects with which every patriotic and judicious citizen would wish the American youth to be principally conversant, after their scholastic education is terminated. It is about our own affairs that we would have them write, when they are so mature in their attainments, and expert in their literary exercises, as to be entitled to commit themselves to the press. An immense field is open at home for all the nobler kinds of writing—for the employment of the highest faculties; scope is not wanting for any measure of excellence, and reputation, in history, political philosophy, and the moral sciences generally. There is one most important and fruitful subject—man in his natural or savage state—which would assure the fame of a Tacitus to whomsoever should undertake it with the ordinary qualifications

of a philosophical historian. It holds out such strong temptations to literary ambition that, making even every allowance for the state of society in this country, we are at a loss to comprehend why we have yet to lament the want of a full and standard work on the aborigines of North America. A pretty voluminous account of some of the principal tribes, has been recently issued under the auspices of the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society. It was prepared for the press, from the manuscripts of the author,—the reverend Mr. Heckweider—by Mr. Duponceau of Philadelphia, who has added to it much preferable matter of his own, on the Indian languages. This accomplished and indefatigable philologist has displayed in his additions, his characteristic ingenuity, and has left nothing to be regretted, for the main treatise, on the score of literary execution. The whole does not, however, constitute that comprehensive and finished monument to which we have alluded above.

Mr. Sanford has prefixed to his sketch of our History before the Revolution, a copious dissertation on the aborigines, to which we would ascribe more merit than to the history itself, without meaning to disparage the latter. The third section of this dissertation presents a sort of historical map—more complete than any we had before seen,—of all the various tribes within the territory of the union. He has endeavoured, as he suggests in his preface, to throw some light upon all the questions connected with their origin, their revolutions, their numbers and their disappearance. He begins with a review of the several claims to the discovery of this continent, and exposes the absurdity of those advanced in favour of the Phœnicians, the Welsh, the Chinese, and the Carthaginians respectively. The origin of our Indians is a problem which has exercised the learning and sagacity of many eminent writers. Mr. Sanford shows much reading on the subject; he discusses at length the prominent theories, and combats, with no inconsiderable address and effect, those built upon ‘similarities, of language, traditions, manners, and monuments.’

In handling the knotty point—whether the territory of the United States was originally inhabited by a race of Indians half civilized,—our author refers to the earliest authorities, Veragan and the relater of Ferdinand de Soto’s expedition. He furnishes his readers with a very interesting abstract of De Soto’s travels, which we should be glad to think as authentic, as they are entertaining and curious. But we are disposed in common with critics of more weight than ourselves, to question the truth of the details concerning the numbers, pursuits, and general advancement of the tribes whom the Spaniard is said to have visited. The story of the expedition wears throughout an air of the marvellous suited to the temper of the times in which it was written. Our author does not appear to entertain any doubts, and concludes his skilful abstract with the following observations.

‘From the foregoing detail it will appear, that, at the time of De Soto’s expedition, this country was occupied by extensive communities of people; separated from each other by belts of hunting forests; living in comparative peace; and given chiefly to agricultural pursuits. They planted extensive fields of corn; and cultivated such other vegetables as were necessary to their subsistence, or conducive to their gratification. The bow and the trap easily supplied them with the requisite animal food; and in the midst of peace and abundance they found both the disposition and the time to improve the circumstances of their domestic economy. They erected walls about their towns; made their houses more commodious and of better materials; became more refined in their ideas of government, law, and morality; more luxurious in their dress and equipage; more tasteful in their ornaments; more cleanly in their persons, and more dignified in their manners. But with the tastes and notions of the savage, they lost their strength and ferocity; and, though still formidable by their numbers and discipline, would, without much difficulty, fall a prey to a more hardy and warlike race. That such a race existed in the north, there can be little doubt,’ &c.

Mr. Sanford terminates his historical survey of the tribes within the actual territory of the union, by a train of general and for the most part solid remarks, on their institutions, dispositions, and domestic habits. We are tempted to quote the following passages.

‘Distant observers are apt to represent the Indians, like the Cyclops, as totally destitute of policy or government; while those, who have too near a view, are fond of painting their state as the most perfect, in both these respects, of which the nature of the species is susceptible. The truth never lies in extremes. The Indians are neither Cyclops nor angels. That they have some government, it would now be ridiculous to deny; and that the different nations are capable of associating for the attainment of a joint object, is manifest from the whole history of the United States. While we were yet in infancy, they foresaw the inevitable consequences of our growth; and often formed extensive confederacies, for our extermination. Through all our wars with the French, too, they observed the invariable policy of joining the strongest party, or selling themselves to the highest bidder; and a brief review of the conduct pursued by the western clans, will show, that while their allies tendered them bribes for their co-operation, they only paid them for serving their own purposes.

‘There are, however, certain customs, so deeply rooted in the savage character, that it is impossible to bend or control them in any manner. When, for instance, they have resolved to burn or tomahawk a captive, no moral power on earth can shake their purpose. They become, at once, a frantic mob; and wo be unto the chief who attempts to rescue the victim from their clutches! We may observe, too, that like all other nations, they have as much law as they need. Most of the laws which swell our own statute-books,

are made for the regulation of private property; but the property of the Indians is for the most part, in common: almost the only question, which seems to have arisen on the subject, was, whether infants should have as much adults; and this has been wisely resolved, by giving to each individual an equal share, without regard to age.

‘We wish that the religion of the Indians was as little doubtful as their government. According to some, they have the most sublime notions of Deity; others find them grovelling in the basest superstition; and if the suffrages were taken, we fear that the latter would constitute the majority. “The Indian,” says one, “considers himself as a being created by an all-powerful, wise, and benevolent Manitto; all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him or allotted for his use, by the Great Spirit who gave him life: he therefore believes it his duty to adore and worship his Creator and Benefactor,” &c. Now, it is a little singular, that when the Swedes first landed in Delaware, the natives gave the same name, Manitto, to a being which is as far from being all-wise, as it is from being benevolent. “Over against Poætquessingh,” says their historian, “there useth a sort of fish there with long great teeth, which the Indians call *Manitto*, that is, the devil: he plungeth in the water very much, and spouts the water up as a whale, and the same sort is not seen or found elsewhere in the river.” The truth, probably, is, that the Indians have some vague idea of a being who is far superior to themselves; but their ideas are too apt to become definite, at the appearance of any extraordinary phenomenon.

‘It appears to be an absurdity to think of instilling into a savage, while he remains a savage, such notions of deity as are entertained by the christian world. The whole state of an Indian,—his system of habits, thoughts, and persuasions, is so completely opposed to that of the civilized man, that what the latter teaches for one thing, the former receives as another; or, if the doctrine penetrates him at all, it is only to be debased by an association with his own peculiar ideas. He mistakes the purpose of the simplest objects. When sir Francis Drake put manacles upon a Patagon, in order to carry him away, the unsophisticated being supposed them a most magnificent decoration, and could only express his delight in an obstreperous roar. The Dutch, on their arrival at New York, supplied the Indians with axes, hoes, stockings, and other articles. They went their way, but returned, in the following season, with the axes and hoes suspended from their necks, as ornaments, and the stockings turned into tobacco-pouches. Their notions of christianity seem to be equally irrational. One of the Jesuits took great pains to convert an Indian chief; and, to all external appearances, he had completely succeeded. “The French,” (at Montreal), says our author, “gave him christian burial in a pompous manner; the priest that attended him at his death, having declared that he died a true christian; for, said the priest, while I explained to him the

passion of our Saviour, whom the Jews crucified, he cried out: Oh! had I been there, I would have revenged his death, and brought away their scalps."

' In their marriages too, the Indians have nothing in common with civilized men. The contract generally begins, and ends, in mere convenience; or, if the parties are sometimes swayed by a more refined motive, there is so little in their habits to keep it alive, that one or two years are generally sufficient to dissipate the charm. The chief duties of the husband are, to provide a cabin, game, and utensils for cooking. The squaw tills their ground; fetches all their wood; and, when on a journey, transports all their baggage. It is considered as a privilege, that she can change husbands when she pleases; but this is only the privilege of leaving one master, who has ill treated her, for another, who will treat her in the same manner. It is a privilege, however, that when she quits her husband, the children follow her; for, as each person, whether old or young, receives an equal dividend of national property, the more numerous the family, the more easy are their circumstances.

' Some authors represent the Indians as little superior to beasts of prey; while others make them the most innocent beings on this side of paradise. The former only look at their treatment of enemies; and the latter have an eye merely to their conduct towards friends, strangers, and each other. There is some truth on both sides of the picture. The Indians are as extreme in their benevolence, as they are extravagant in their cruelty. They can neither do too much for a friend, nor too much against an enemy. Many of the tribes were accustomed to set apart houses for the sole use of strangers; and upon the arrival of a guest, a whole village contributed their efforts to give him fit entertainment. Experience has taught each tribe too, that nothing but the most perfect harmony among themselves, will enable them to maintain their station in the Indian commonwealth; and we have it from a white, who has been an Onondaga chief for about forty years, that during all that time, he has never seen one Indian give another an ill-natured word,—much less a blow.

' The writers who have hitherto speculated upon the decrease of the Indians, are prone to lay great stress upon the destructive operation of ardent spirits; attributing extravagant effects to what, in its immediate effects, is comparatively a trifling cause; and passing over those acknowledged principles, by which the population of every country must be regulated. The ravages of drunkenness must, we admit, be greater among the Indians than among ourselves; and for this extremely plain reason, that the practice is more universal. But, if their disappearance is not the effect of something more radical than an attachment to strong drink, why are they running in a continual stream to the west,—abandoning the land of their forefathers, to live in hopeless temperance, beyond the reach of civilization?



‘ According to the writers on political economy, the two great causes of all depopulation, are, *first*, a diminution in the quantity of that kind of provision which has been customarily used; and, *secondly*, an increase in the expensiveness of living, occasioned by the introduction of more costly food. The Chinese (if it be necessary to take examples), subsist chiefly upon fish; and the Persians upon melons; but should the fish no longer continue to swim in the rivers of China, or the melon be no longer able to extract nourishment from the soil of Persia, it is obvious that the inhabitants of each of these countries must suffer a very serious numerical diminution. As the commonalty are by far the most numerous class of population, and as they are barely able to support themselves, by the ordinary supply of that kind of provision to which they have been accustomed, the moment that such a supply is unattainable, the prospect of marriage is removed from their view; for, with few exceptions, it may be laid down as a truth, that no man will burden himself with the weight of a family, until he knows that he shall be able to sustain it.

‘ The same observations may be applied to the other division of the subject. Should any revolution in the manners of the Chinese, or of the Persians, make *animal* food a necessary constituent of their diet, a decrease of population would be the inevitable effect: for, although the supply of ordinary food may still continue to be afforded, yet flesh has become an article of domestic necessity; and no man will be likely to marry, unless he has a prospect of being able to support a family, in the use of this new species of sustenance. It is in vain to allege, that the old kind of diet is sufficient for all the purposes of actual necessity. The laws of fashion, though mutable, are imperious. “Men will not marry,” says a philosopher, “to *sink* their place or condition in society, or to forego those indulgencies, which their own habits, or what they observe among their equals, have rendered necessary to their satisfaction.” We have confined our view to the article of food; but it is evident that the same reasoning is applicable to dress, to drink, to houses, to furniture, and, in short, to every thing connected with the economy of life.

‘ Nearly all the land, which is now owned by the United States, or by the states separately, has been fairly purchased from the aborigines; and some of it has been purchased several times over. To civilized men, perfidy appears to be a leading trait in the character of the Indians; but they are certainly faithful, so far as their principles go; and perhaps it would be difficult to find the people that can boast of doing more. They consider no treaty as binding, unless it is begun and concluded, on their part, in the most unconstrained and voluntary manner. A lack of food, or a superiority of force, has often compelled them to treat of peace; and they never suppose such treaties obligatory, any longer than their new supplies continue, or their numbers appear too small. The whites have

a different opinion; and questions of this kind can only be decided by arms.

‘But while we are enforcing our rights, let us not forget our magnanimity. The Indians are not equal to us in any respect; and whatever may have been the justice of treating them with severity, while we were yet a cluster of feeble and distracted colonies, it is now our duty to take care of beings, who are no longer competent to take care of themselves. It is the genius of our government to be humane; and cases have often occurred, in which it has voluntarily parted two nations, who would otherwise have exterminated each other. But the Indians seldom come within the sphere of its immediate influence. It is almost impossible to obtain true information, or disinterested advice; and the government is obliged to commit such affairs to its representatives, who do not always partake of its humanity.’

Our author professes to do no more, in the body of his volume, than glance at the summits of affairs—*sequari fastigia rerum*. We cannot refrain from complaining that he is too general, and we must be permitted to intimate that the title *Outline* of the History—would be more appropriate for his work than that of—*History* of the United States, &c. He has, indeed, presented a more connected view than is to be found elsewhere, of the settlement and progress of the several colonies; but the scene wants animation and dramatic interest, in the absence of particular traits and leading personages.

‘General facts,’ says Blair, ‘make a slight impression on the mind. It is by means of circumstances and particulars properly chosen, that a narration becomes interesting and affecting to the reader. These give life, body and colouring to the recital of facts, and enable us to behold them as present and passing before our eyes. It is this employment of circumstances, in narration, that is termed historical painting.’

It is not merely because the work is too summary, and deficient in picturesque, descriptive narration, that we consider this title as ambitious. ‘Gravity and dignity,’ remarks the same great teacher whom we have just quoted, ‘are essential characteristics of history. There must be no flippancy of style, no quaint or colloquial phrases; no smart sayings.’ Mr Sanford writes in a clear, forcible, and spirited manner; his turns of expression are often elegant, and, occasionally, very happy. He does not, however steadily maintain the elevation of language required for this branch of composition. We could adduce several instances of terms and forms of speech, which might bring his taste and judgment into disrepute, were it not evident from the context, that they are the effect of hurry and loose habits of authorship. To possess a great facility in writing or speaking is, perhaps, a misfortune, unless there be a constant endeavour after refinement and dignity. We have, in American literature, but few specimens of correct and finished diction—of ‘masterly and high execution:’—and this arises from the want not of capacity and tact, but of the leisure or resolution to select, ex-

punge, recast and polish. The style of Marshall in his introduction to the *Life of Washington*,—which embraces the subjects treated by Mr. Sanford,—is manly, nervous, and flowing, yet neither animated, graceful, nor graphic. The narrative of the Chief Justice is more copious than that of our author, though he has not combined so skilfully, nor unfolded in the same clear and distinct order the settlement of the several colonies. ‘Nothing,’ has it been justly said, ‘tries an historian’s abilities more, than so to lay his train beforehand, as to make us pass naturally and agreeably from one part of his subject to another; to employ no clumsy and awkward junctures; and to contrive ways and means of forming some union among transactions which seem to be most widely separated from one another.’

The first volume of Dr. Ramsay’s *United States* is devoted to what is styled ‘the Colonial Civil History,’ and comprehends almost every event and circumstance in any degree important or striking. Ramsay was accurate, impartial, and perspicuous; and this is his whole panegyric as respects the ‘Colonial Civil History,’ which falls far below his account of the revolution. His transitions are awkward, and the general distribution of his subject is slovenly; in his details he is prolix; sometimes even garrulous, not to say childish. Witness the following passages taken at random from his first volume. ‘The few settlers at James Town were the germe of the United States. The continent of North America was then one continued forest. There were no horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, or tame beasts of any kind; but a plenty of deer, moose, bears, elks, buffaloes, and a variety of other wild animals. There were no domestic poultry; but the woods were full of turkeys, partridges, pigeons and other birds. Wild geese, ducks, teal, and other water fowl abounded in the bays, creeks, rivers and ponds. There were no gardens, orchards, public roads, meadows, or cultivated fields. The food of the Indian was coarse and simple, without any kind of seasoning. They had neither spice, salt, bread, butter, cheese, nor milk. Their drink was water. They fed on the flesh and entrails of moose, deer, bears, beasts, and birds of all kinds; on fish, eels, and creeping things. Nothing came amiss. In the hunting and fishing seasons, they had venison, moose, fat bears, racoons, geese, turkeys, duck and fish of all kinds. In the summer, they had green corn, beans, squashes and the various fruits which the country naturally produced. In the winter they subsisted on corn, beans, fish, nuts, ground-nuts and acorns. The ground was both their seat and table. Trenchers, knives, forks, and napkins were unknown.’

‘Connecticut when first settled was a vast wilderness. In it were neither fields, gardens, public roads, nor cleared grounds; but much valuable timber, &c. The first settlers were strangers in the country, and knew not what kinds of grain would be most congenial with its soil. They had neither bread for themselves, nor the children; neither habitation nor convenient clothing,’ &c.

In taking some exceptions, as we have done, to the work of Mr. Sanford, we had an eye chiefly to the continuation in which, we trust, he is now engaged. He divides our history into three separate periods—Before the Revolution—During the Revolution—and Since the Revolution. The two last mentioned periods remain to be treated by him, and they call for the utmost pains, as well in ennobling and embellishing the style, as in collecting, arranging, and digesting the materials. He should be encouraged to proceed; but required at the same time, to task all his resources and powers, and to submit to the wholesome delay, which at his age,—with so much ardor of enterprise and facility of action,—it is by no means easy to bear. The lectures of Blair are in the library of every one, and on that very account, perhaps, not often recollected. It may be worth while to recall some part of what he exacts of the writer of history. ‘The historian must sustain the character of a wise man; writing for the instruction of posterity; one who has studied to inform himself well; who has pondered his subject with care, and addresses himself to the judgment. He must study to trace to their springs the actions and events which he records. He must have a thorough acquaintance with human nature and with government. We demand from him profound and instructive views of his subject. He should make us acquainted with the political constitution, the force, the revenues, the internal state of the country of which he writes, and with its interests and connexions in respect of foreign countries. He should place us on an elevated situation, whence we may have an extensive prospect of all the causes that co-operate to bring forward the events which are related. The historian must be completely master of his subject; he must see the whole at one view, and comprehend the chain and dependence of all its parts,’ &c. &c.

The present volume is, on the whole, a respectable performance in itself, and of much promise. It will instruct such as are not versed with the matters of which it treats, and will agreeably refresh the memory, and perhaps connect and enlarge the notions of those who have attended to the important and curious subject of our aborigines. Much more, certainly, remains to be done for our anti-revolutionary history, without a thorough knowledge of which, neither that of the revolution, nor our present national character and institutions can be properly understood. Of Mr. Sanford’s compendious account, we prefer the penultimate chapter, and would have dispensed with the last, although it possesses much merit. The biographical notice of Washington properly belongs, in our opinion, to the second period. The notes are highly entertaining, judiciously placed, and of reasonable length. It is rare to find so excellent an index to any American book. We ought not to dismiss this book without giving some additional samples of the author’s manner. The following *excerpta* may suffice.

‘It was during the protectorate, that the colony of Massachusetts saw its most prosperous days. Its exemption from all commercial

duties could not but cause it to grow rich: riches naturally introduced the refinements of more polished society; and among the other beneficial results, four hundred pounds were bestowed by the general court upon a public school at Newton, (now Cambridge,) so early as 1636. The endowment was soon after greatly increased by Mr. John Harvard; in 1642, the school was exalted to a college; and in 1650, obtained a charter of incorporation. For these, and for a variety of other acts, the colony is intitled to our warmest praise; though, at the same time, there was such a spirit of canting and intolerant bigotry in all they did, that our praise must be taken with many grains of qualification. Their conduct towards other sects appears the more unpardonable, because it was an apostacy from their former professions, and added impolicy to intolerance. They punished others for exercising those religious rights which they so strenuously asserted in the mother country; and were so weak as to suppose that new denominations of Christians might be kept down by the scourge and the gallows. The event proved how little they knew of human nature, and how little they had learnt from experience. The quakers grew under their auspices, and were established by their persecutions.

‘ Indeed, it is chiefly to religious intolerance that we must attribute the comparative rapidity with which New England was colonized. Its first planters were bigots and enthusiasts. Every individual was more or less occupied with religious topics; and as it was impossible that all should think alike, different persons frequently hit upon principles, or found authorities in scripture, which militated against the general doctrines of the sect. An attempt to suppress such principles, or to controvert these authorities, was considered as an infringement of that religious liberty, which they had all quitted their native country to enjoy. The disputant grew stubborn by opposition; was denounced as a heretic; and, gaining followers as a persecuted man, became the leader of a new sect, and like the parent colony, departed, to exercise freedom of conscience in another land. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were thus settled; and no sooner had they become somewhat numerous, than intolerance produced new sects, and new sects founded new settlements. Many of the towns in Connecticut were settled in this manner; and some could not have been settled in any other.

‘ Nothing but motives of religious enthusiasm could have induced these successive swarms to bear the hardships which they were compelled to undergo. Placed in the midst of the hostile aborigines, they durst not sow their fields, for they knew not that they should reap the harvest; and such were the famines which sometimes occurred, that they were reduced almost to a state of nature, and obliged to subsist upon acorns. The Indians were paid for their lands; but as soon as the purchase-money was gone, they violated their treaties; and knowing themselves to be the strongest party, continued to exact contributions, make and break treaties,

until the settlers grew powerful enough to defend themselves, and at last to extirpate their enemies. Sectarian fanaticism was able to keep up those settlements, which the mere hope of gain would never have continued; and it is worthy of remark, that though Virginia was founded more than a dozen years before New England, the population of the latter, in 1673, was three times as great as that of the former.

‘Mr. William Burnet, the new governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, had received express instructions from the king, to see that the general court settled upon him a fixed and certain salary. Soon after his arrival, the assembly voted seventeen hundred pounds for defraying the expenses of his voyage, and for supporting him in the discharge of his office. He said he could not assent to such a vote. They then voted for the first purpose, three hundred pounds; which were accepted; and for the last, fourteen hundred pounds; which were refused. The legislature asserted, that it was their privilege, as Englishmen, to raise and apply their own money; and, when the governor answered, that he would never accept such a grant as had been made, the council were for establishing a fixed salary,—but the representatives requested, that the court might rise. Mr. Burnet would not grant the request. It was again made; and again refused. The house then sent up a long message, in which they detailed their reasons for refusing to establish a fixed salary; and once more reiterated their wishes, that they “might not be kept sitting there,” to the manifest prejudice of their constituents. The governor answered them promptly enough; but not at all to their satisfaction; and, after resolving to adhere to their old method of appropriating monies, they drew up a statement of the controversy, and transmitted it to the several towns. Many spirited messages were exchanged in quick succession between his excellency and the house. The latter again repeated a request, that the court might rise: he told them, they could not expect to have their own wishes gratified, when they paid so little attention to those of his majesty; and the altercation was waxing so high, that the council thought it best to interfere,—and to propose, that some certain sum should be fixed upon, as a salary for the governor. The representatives voted three thousand pounds in their own money,—equal to about one thousand pounds sterling; but, as the act contained no provision for the continuance of the same sum, Mr. Burnet refused his assent; and, apprehending, that the house was somewhat influenced by the people of Boston, who had unanimously voted against a fixed salary, he adjourned the court to the town of Salem. At Salem it met, on the 30th of October, 1728. The battles of messages re-commenced as briskly as ever. The representatives appointed agents to plead their cause in England: the council would not concur in the act, because they had not been consulted; and the project must have failed for want of money, had not the people of Boston subscribed for the necessary sums. The agents soon transmitted a report of the board of

trade; in which the conduct of the house was entirely disapproved. They were told also, that unless *they* fixed a salary, the parliament would:—"It is better (they answered) that the liberties of the people should be taken from them, than given up by themselves." Both parts of the administration went all this time without pay; for, as the representatives would vote no salaries, the governor would assent to no drafts upon the treasury. At length there was a recess between the 20th of December, 1728, and the 2d of April, 1729; when the court assembled at Salem; and after several fruitless meetings, were adjourned to Cambridge. They met there on the 21st of August; and a few days after, Mr. Burnet died of a fever at Boston.

Mr. Belcher, his successor, came over in the beginning of August, 1730, with a fresh packet of instructions to insist upon a fixed salary. The king said it was the "last signification of the royal pleasure on this subject;" and he threatened to bring the whole history of the province before parliament, if it were not immediately complied with. The house voted one thousand pounds currency, to defray the charges of his excellency's voyage, and a sum equal to one thousand pounds sterling, to aid him in managing public affairs. The council added an amendment, to make the appropriation annual. The amendment was rejected. The council modified it, by confining the yearly allowance to the duration of Mr. Belcher's government. The representatives again refused their assent; and the resolution was dropped. The controversy continued for some time longer; but the governor was at length wearied out; and leave was, in the end, obtained of the king, to let the legislature take its own way in the regulation of his salary.'

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ART. V.—*Letters from the British Settlement in Pennsylvania*,  
&c. By C. B. Johnson, M. D. Philadelphia, 1819.

**T**HE author of this little work appears to be a sensible, honest, well-informed man, who writes with earnestness and candour, and not without a considerable degree of force and elegance. He is desirous of directing the attention of his countrymen to a settlement in a part of the United States, which he believes to be better adapted to their constitutions, and more favourable to their moral and pecuniary interests, than that which has been so agreeably, but fancifully, described by Mr. Birkbeck. With several others, whom the increased pressure of taxes and poor rates had driven from England, he arrived in Philadelphia, intending, as we suppose from his first letter, to proceed to the western states, with a view of fixing there his permanent residence. The unfavourable accounts, however, which he and his companions received from some of their countrymen, who had returned thence, after a journey of nearly three thousand miles by land, altered this resolution, and determined them to seek for a place of settlement on this side of the mountains. It was not long before an eligible situation was offered to

their notice, in the state of Pennsylvania, at a comparatively trifling distance from the two greatest cities of the United States, and which was represented to combine every advantage of soil, climate, and price, that could be desired by practical farmers. In consequence of this offer, a meeting of the emigrants was held, at which it was resolved, that a committee of their number should proceed immediately to the proposed place of settlement, for the purpose of making a personal examination of its situation. The committee was composed of Dr. Johnson and four others; and the work before us is the result of their inquiries and observations. It is apparently addressed to a friend in England; and seems more particularly intended for the information of emigrants from that kingdom; but a great part of it is important and interesting to our own countrymen, and our readers will probably be pleased with some account of its contents.

Susquehanna county, in which the new settlement of Britannia is located, is situated in the forty-second degree of north latitude, on the line which divides Pennsylvania from New-York; and is of an oblong form, being thirty-four miles in length, and twenty-four in breadth. The number of inhabitants is supposed to exceed ten thousand; most of whom have emigrated from the eastern states, and brought with them the industry, sobriety, and acuteness, so frequent in that quarter of the union. Montrose, the seat of justice, is in the centre of the county, one hundred and seventy miles from Philadelphia, and about one hundred and thirty from New York, by a turnpike not yet completed. With the practical farmer, one of the first considerations is, the proximity of the land to a market, at which his produce may find a ready and regular sale. In this respect, the local situation of the settlement in Susquehanna, is eminently advantageous. Its productions can be conveyed by a direct water-communication to Baltimore, and, when the proposed canals are completed, to Philadelphia; while the roads to the latter city and to New York are numerous and excellent; and the farmer finds in both a constant and increasing demand for his produce. The reproach of indifference to internal communication, so long urged against Pennsylvania, is now in a fair way of being removed; and from the spirit which seems to animate both the legislature and individuals, it may be confidently predicted, that she will before long be surpassed by no one State in the Union, in the extent and usefulness of her roads and canals. In the superior facilities for the sale of produce, consists one of the great advantages of this settlement over that of Mr. Birkbeck; of the value of which so much has been said. Value, however, is merely a relative term, and as far as regards the immediate profits of a cultivator of land, depends materially upon the price which he can obtain for his produce, and that which he is obliged to pay for the labour of raising it. A tract of land, therefore, however fertile or delightfully situated, may, in consequence of its distance from a market, be of less value than one comparatively less productive,



and for which the farmer pays a higher price, but in a different local situation. If Mr. Birkbeck can obtain, as he states, only seventy-five cents a bushel for wheat, and twenty-one cents for Indian corn, at his settlement in Illinois, while in Susquehanna county the former is sold for a dollar and a half, and the latter for a dollar, it is evident, that the advantages arising from the superior fertility of his soil, are greatly reduced. He must, in the one case, raise twice, and in the other, four times as much grain to the acre to compensate for the inferiority of price. But this is not the only disadvantage of a remote settlement, as regards the value of produce. With all the simplicity of a country life, men require in these days articles of clothing or consumption, which must be brought from foreign countries, or at least cannot be raised on their farms. The greater quantity of these they can purchase with their wheat or corn, the greater is the value of the latter, and consequently, with every mile of distance from the manufacturing or importing town, must the value of produce be diminished. ‘The shopkeeper,’ observes our author, ‘who is at a great distance from the place where the articles he deals in are procured, will add to the price, when he disposes of them, the additional expense of bringing, and the time lost in procuring them. To him who is obliged to take a journey of a thousand miles, to procure the articles that are to fill his warehouse, the cost and trouble must be very great; and that cost and trouble he expects to be paid for by the consumer. The journey, which he is annually compelled to take, is a very serious one, compared to that of the shopkeeper of Susquehanna county, who can go to New York and back again in four days. The latter, in consequence of his situation, can trade with a smaller amount of capital than the former, because he can, at any time, procure a supply of those articles of which he is in immediate need; while the former can lay in a supply only once a year. All these difficulties are to be paid for by the farmers and mechanics, who consume the articles imported; and the difference to them in the course of a twelvemonth, by *receiving less for the articles they sell, and paying more for those which they purchase*, will be found to be very great.’ Whatever, therefore, may be the case hereafter, when population shall increase on the Mississippi and Illinois, the present advantages of a settlement near the Atlantic cities, seem to be greater than those so far west as Mr. Birkbeck’s. Climate is an important, it ought indeed to be a primary object with an emigrant. Dr. Franklin, when in England, is said to have replied to an inquiry, relative to the longevity of his countrymen, by observing that some of the first settlers were still living: and our author, on making a similar inquiry, in regard to Susquehanna county, was informed, that out of one hundred and forty heads of families, only one had died during the nine years which had elapsed since their settlement in it. This simple fact speaks more than the most laboured treatise, in favour of the salubrity of the climate: which is, however, further established by

its exemption from any endemical diseases; and the autumnal intermittents, so prevalent in the vallies of the western rivers, seem totally unknown here. 'In Susquehanna county,' says Dr. Johnson, 'nothing of the kind is found. I cannot learn of a single instance of fever and ague having occurred within it. I see no sallow sickly looking complexions. Every log hut abounds with children, whose brown faces indicate health and hardihood. This is a bad place, you will say, for my profession. I am very happy that it is so. I came to seek for land, and shall be more pleased to practise farming than phlebotomy.' Pure water, which contributes so much to health, abounds here. 'There is no farm and scarcely a field, without a stream or spring in it, of excellent water, and as clear as crystal.' 'There are no stagnant waters, no swamps, nor marshes, nor musquitoes, which abound so much in many other parts of the United States.' 'Indeed the aspect of the country gives promise of its healthiness:

The fountains fall, the rivers flow,  
The woody vallies, warm and low,  
The windy summit wild and high,

all so opposite to the stagnant waters and dead levels of the western 'prairies,' indicate the purity of its streams, and the salubrity of its air. Its exemption from musquitoes is indicated by its freedom from the 'green mantle of the standing pool,' so common in the western countries, whose musquitoes and frogs chase sleep from the eyes of many a weary traveller.' 'The character of the soil is not very minutely described by our author. We are merely told, that it is from one to four feet deep; and that the inferior stratum is composed of clay, and fine silicious sand, intimately commingled. But of its fertility, the usual crops are said to bear abundant proof, notwithstanding the loose and careless manner in which agriculture is managed. The oak, hemlock, beech, chesnut, silver-pine, and sugar maple, abound here, and grow to a prodigious size. The extracting of sugar from the latter, is said to be a very profitable operation. We are told of one settler, who 'purchased a lot of eighty-four acres, and before he began his work of clearing, tapped a number of the sugar-maple trees on the lot, and the price of the sugar which he made in three weeks, amounted to two-thirds of the price he was to pay for the whole lot. This, you will observe, was done *before a tree had been cut down on the lot*, except what was necessary to boil the sugar.' Currants and other berries grow wild in the woods. Apples, pears, plums, and cherries, are said to thrive well. Salt has been found on one of the streams in this county, and it is supposed might be manufactured extensively and profitably. Iron ore is said to exist in the neighbourhood, and a species of coal, resembling the Welsh culm or Kilkenny coal, is found in great abundance near the southern boundary of the county. Game, of almost every description, requires only the trouble of killing. The finest haunches of venison are sold at two pence a pound. In Scotland, the apprentices

are said to have formerly stipulated, that they should not be fed on salmon oftener than twice a week; and a similar condition, in regard to venison, we believe, is required in some parts of Pennsylvania. Wild pigeons, which in Canada are excommunicated, are here killed and eaten. The price of lands, near this settlement, depends materially upon the ability of the purchaser to pay cash or otherwise. The society, by whom this undertaking was commenced, was offered a large body of lands, (forty thousand acres,) at the rate of four dollars an acre, one tenth part paid, the remainder in nine annual instalments, or three dollars fifty cents; one fifth paid, and the remainder in four annual instalments, or three dollars, payable within one year. Or, they were offered lots on the turnpikes, at five dollars an acre; one eighth payable within twelve months, and an eighth part annually afterwards; and lots back from the turnpikes at four dollars, payable in like manner. To the last proposal, they appear to have acceded. The profits of farming in this county must, of course, be considerable, when so small a sum is paid for the fee simple of land. Dr. Johnson has entered into some calculations on this point which give a very satisfactory result. The cost of clearing land here, is estimated at twelve dollars an acre; and the sowing, harrowing, harvesting, and threshing, (for it seems they do not plough,) at ten dollars twenty-five cents; making the whole charge of the first crop, twenty-two dollars and twenty-five cents an acre. Fifteen bushels of wheat, therefore, to the acre, would pay all these expenses. But the average produce is twenty bushels, leaving the net gain of seven dollars and seventy-five cents an acre. The profit, however, is often much greater. We find one farm producing twenty-five bushels, and another thirty-three bushels of wheat to the acre; leaving a gain in the first case of fifteen dollars and twenty-five cents, and in the last, of twenty-seven dollars and twenty-five cents an acre. The improvement in the character and condition of the settlers is, of course, very rapid; but some of the instances mentioned by Dr. Johnson are truly wonderful, and could have occurred no where but in this happy and delightful land. 'A few days ago, two men came into Mr. Rose's office. He said to me "Here are two of my industrious settlers, ask them how they have made out." I did so. One of them had come into the country three years before; he brought with him about five hundred dollars worth of property; not money, but cattle, furniture, &c.; his farm of two hundred acres, which he has paid for by his industry, and his stock are now worth three thousand dollars. The other came into the country eight years ago; he brought with him property worth six hundred dollars; he has also paid for two hundred acres of land, and is now worth five thousand dollars. They had scarcely gone before a very decent looking man came on some business with Mr. Rose. After it was done, Mr. Rose said to him, "Squire Bosworth," for he had been a magistrate, "this gentleman is desirous of procuring all the information he can respecting this county; I believe

your circumstances are very comfortable; I presume you were worth but little when you came, and I know you have so much good sense as not to be ashamed of it; tell him how you have prospered here." "You say right;" replied the other, "I am not ashamed of having been poor, there is no disgrace in that, when poverty is not attended with bad conduct. I served sometime with a blacksmith before I came here. When I arrived, I had a knapsack on my back, with some clothes in it, and twenty-seven dollars in my pocket. I was industrious and moderately careful. I have lived very comfortably, and have never denied myself or my family any thing in reason. When my circumstances permitted it, I put others into my shop, and attended to my farm and other business. I do not know what my property is worth, but I believe I should not overrate it, to say ten or twelve thousand dollars." 'The rise in the value of land is equally astonishing. 'Mr. Rose sold one hundred acres of land, where Montrose now stands, for one hundred and fifty dollars; and the person to whom he sold it, before the time expired in which he was allowed to pay for it, sold half an acre of the same ground for five hundred dollars. This to be sure was a village, but farms rise in value astonishingly. One lot I saw, which Mr. Rose sold to a young man for one hundred and fifty dollars, and gave him several years to pay it in. The person who bought it, and who had little or no property, went to work, and by his industry, cleared a part, and built a log house and frame barn on it, and before he had paid any thing for it, sold it for two thousand dollars. I could mention many other instances of this kind, which are very common to those who are industrious and careful.' In another part of the work, the author enters into a calculation, for the purpose of proving that the rent, taxes, tithes, manure, and stock of a farm of one hundred acres of land, in England, will *purchase* the fee-simple of double the quantity of land in Susquehanna county, with one hundred acres of it cleared, and put the same stock upon it! The rent of the English farm is estimated at two hundred pounds, or eight hundred and eighty-nine dollars; all which is clear gain to the American farmers. Tithes, on a farm of one hundred acres, in England, amount to eighty-eight dollars; taxes and poor-rates to two hundred and twenty-two dollars. The first is unknown here; the only taxes paid in Susquehanna county, are the county and road tax; the first of which seldom exceeds one dollar on an hundred acres, and the last is paid by labour, and is so far from being considered a hardship, that 'in some townships the settlers have voluntarily doubled the amount of labour which the law permitted to be imposed upon them.' *There are no poor in this county.* The whole amount of poor-rates assessed on Mr. Rose, the largest proprietor in the county, during the nine years he resided in it, was six dollars and ninety-eight cents, and this was for the purpose of conveying home a person, not an inhabitant of the county. The price of labour here, we find, is from three-quarters of a dollar to a dollar a day.

A carpenter or mason gets from one dollar and a quarter to one dollar and three-quarters per day. For a dollar may be purchased twenty pounds of beef, or sixteen pounds of mutton or veal; or one bushel of rye or Indian corn, or two-thirds of a bushel of wheat; and thus three or four days' work will provide food for a month. The rent of a house, suitable for a labourer or mechanic, is estimated at twenty-four dollars a year. There are no houses, however, to rent; they must be built, and will cost about four hundred dollars. It is evident therefore that this country offers inducements to labourers, as well as to farmers and capitalists. The population of Susquehanna county is, as we have before observed, composed chiefly of emigrants from the eastern states. Their morality, and intelligence, are highly spoken of by our author, and have been praised by all who have had occasion to visit that quarter of Pennsylvania. Religion is yet without its regular professors in so new a country; but we are glad to find that different ideas on that subject are entertained from those which, we fear, will prevail in Mr. Birkbeck's settlement. 'It is customary for the settlers to assemble on Sundays; prayers are said by some one, with much apparent devotion; a hymn or psalm is sung in parts, for most of them have been taught psalmody, accompanied by instrumental music, as violoncellos, flutes, &c. a sermon from some approved divine is read;—and, I must say, that this simple family worship has effects upon me, as powerful as a discourse in a cathedral.'

If the picture given by Dr. Johnson be not overcharged, which we see no reason to think, we can conceive of nothing more delightful than a residence in this beautiful and fertile country. How much more in unison with the best feelings of our nature are its simple and honest enjoyments; the

*secura quies et nescia fallere vita,*

than the low traffic of business or the fever and vexation of political life! How much more conformable too, to the dignity and virtue of republicanism, are the pursuits of agriculture, the most pure and manly of human occupations, than the dependance upon others; the condescension to the follies and caprices of the great and wealthy, which in populous cities, are often necessary to pecuniary advancement. Indeed, with the attractions, as well as advantages, which many parts of our country offer to every class of the community, it is a matter of surprise, that so few of the great landholders, and of those who have received liberal educations, make it of choice their residence. Scarcely any part of England is without a resident gentry, who diffuse a taste for science and the liberal arts, and a general degree of refinement through the whole community. It is not that the natural charms of our scenery are inferior; for nothing can be purer than our sky, or more beautiful than our landscape. Nor should it be said that a residence in large cities offers greater opportunities for pecuniary and political advancement, for at least, in the present state of commerce, on which the liberal professions are necessarily

dependent, nothing can be more certain or lucrative than agriculture; and in the country, we conceive, men whose dispositions lead them to political life, find, at least, as much prospect of preferment as in cities. In Europe, where one great city, such as Paris, or London, gives the law to the rest of the nation, the aspirants for political distinction may find it to their interest to reside there; but it is otherwise in America. The great objection to a country residence here, is the want of such society as one meets with in cities. With the general improvement of the people, however, this objection must soon be considerably removed, and might be at once obviated by an union of several in the same place of settlement.

We recommend Dr. Johnson's work to the attention of our readers, and believe few will rise from the perusal of it without feeling an increased attachment to our country, and its republican institutions and manners.

ART. VI.—1. *Observations on the Geology of the United States of America.* By William Maclure. Philadelphia, 1817. 8vo. pp. 127.

2. *An Elementary Treatise on Mineralogy and Geology.* By Parker Cleaveland, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and Lecturer on Chemistry and Mineralogy, in Bowdoin College. Boston, 1816. 8vo. pp. 668.

[From the Edinburgh Review.]

**I**N a former number,\* we gave an account of a new Mineralogical Journal, published in America, by Dr. Bruce of New York. We hailed the appearance of this work as a proof of the attention that had been excited to this interesting branch of science, in a field so sure to yield an abundant harvest; and it was with regret that we learned, that a journal which promised so well at its outset, had very soon been discontinued.

We have now great pleasure in introducing to the notice of our readers, two very excellent publications, which abundantly prove that the study of mineralogy is pursued with no less eagerness and success in the United States, than it has been for some years past in most of the countries of Europe. There is not perhaps any department of science which, at the present time, merits a greater degree of attention in that great and prosperous country, from its various practical applications to some of the most important sources of national wealth and power; and the more especially that, from the limited researches already made, nature appears to have added, in abundance, some of her most valuable mineral productions to the other internal resources which she has lavished in that part of the world.

The geological part of Mr. Maclure's book was first published in the sixth volume of the *American Philosophical Transactions*; in the present edition there are some additions and corrections.

\* Vol. xvii. p. 114.

besides two new chapters, which the author informs us in his preface, are 'an attempt to apply geology to agriculture, in showing the probable effects the decomposition of the different classes of rocks may have on the nature and fertility of soils. It is the result of many observations made in Europe and America, and may perhaps be found more useful in the United States than in Europe, as more of the land is in a state of nature not yet changed by the industry of man.'

Mr. Maclure appears to be very thoroughly conversant with his subject, and to have studied with great attention the geological structure of a considerable part of Europe. He is a disciple of Werner; but we recognise him as such, more by the descriptive language he employs, than by his theoretical opinions. His general views are much more enlarged and philosophical, than is usually met with in the geologist of that school; and, like most of those who have had opportunities of extensive observation, he has found that the theory of the Freyberg professor is of a very limited application. The following remarks in his preface are a sufficient proof that his geological creed is not that of Werner.

'In all speculations on the origin, or agents that have produced the changes on this globe, it is probable that we ought to keep within the boundaries of the probable effects resulting from the regular operations of the great laws of nature, which our experience and observation have brought within the sphere of our knowledge. When we overleap those limits, and suppose a total change in nature's laws, we embark on the sea of uncertainty, where one conjecture is perhaps as probable as another; for none of them can have any support, or derive any authority from the practical facts wherewith our experience has brought us acquainted.'

While we acknowledge the valuable information which this little work conveys, we cannot bestow any praise on the manner in which the materials are put together. There is a great want of method and arrangement; for, although the author has laid down a very good plan, he has not adhered to it, but has mixed up one part of his subject with another, so as to cause considerable confusion; and, were it not for the accompanying coloured map, it would often be very difficult to comprehend his descriptions.

The *Elementary Treatise* of Mr. Cleaveland, is a work of considerable merit. He has derived his materials, as he informs us, chiefly from the works of Hauy, Brochant, Brongniart, Lucas, Kirwan, and Jameson; but he has adopted Brongniart as his model; and in doing so, we think he has followed the most judicious and most useful of all the mineralogical writers who have preceded him. We entirely concur in the following remarks on the treatise of Brongniart, by the author in his preface.

'Many of the writers of the French and German schools appear to have indulged an undue attachment to their favourite and peculiar system, and have hereby been prevented from receiving mutual benefit; the one being unwilling to adopt what is really ex-

cellent in the other. But it is believed, that the more valuable parts of the two systems may be incorporated, or, in other words, that the peculiar descriptive language of the one may, in a certain degree, be united to the accurate and scientific arrangement of the other. This union of descriptive language and scientific arrangement has been effected with good success by Brongniart, in his *System of Mineralogy*—an elementary work, which seems better adapted both to interest and instruct, than any which has hitherto appeared.'

Although this book is necessarily compiled, in a great degree, from the writings of others, it contains much valuable information respecting the mineral productions of the United States. It is to this part of the work that we shall confine our remarks; and we feel disposed, for the sake of our general readers, to dwell chiefly on the information Mr. Cleaveland conveys, respecting those mineral substances that are connected with the advancement of that active and enterprising people in wealth and political importance, rather than upon the rarer productions, which are only interesting to the mineralogist.

There is one merit of Mr. Cleaveland's book that ought not to pass unnoticed; we mean the form in which it is published. It is printed upon excellent paper, with a neat and perfectly distinct small type; and the same matter is contained in one volume, which in England, would have been scattered over the surface of three. We should be glad to see it reprinted exactly upon the plan of the original; and we have no doubt that it would be found the most useful work on mineralogy in our language.

Coal exists in several parts of the United States in great abundance. We have already spoken of the vast series of coal strata westward of the Alleghany range, and of an extensive coal formation near Richmond in Virginia. In Pennsylvania, it is found on the west branch of the Susquehannah; in various places west of that branch; also on the Juniata, and on the waters of the Alleghany, and Monongahela. In Connecticut, a coal formation, commencing at Newhaven, crosses Connecticut river at Middleton, and embracing a width of several miles on each side of the river, extends to some distance above Northampton, in Massachusetts. There are also indications of coal in the states of New York and New Jersey. In Rhode Island, anthracite is found, accompanied by argillaceous sand-stone, shale with vegetable impressions, &c. similar to the usual series of coal strata. The coal at Middleton, in Connecticut, is accompanied by a shale which is highly bituminous, and burns with a bright flame.

'It abounds with very distinct and perfect impressions of fish, sometimes a foot or two in length; the head, fins, and scales being perfectly distinguishable. A single specimen sometimes presents parts of three or four fish, lying in different directions, and between different layers. The fish are sometimes contorted, and almost doubled. Their colour, sometimes gray, is usually black; and the



finns and scales appear to be converted into coal. The same shale contains impressions of vegetables, sometimes converted into pyrites.'

Neither Mr. Cleaveland nor Mr. Maclure give us any information respecting the extent to which the coal has been wrought in any of the numerous places where it has been found, or the thickness of the seams. A scarcity of wood for fuel must be felt before coal will be sought after with much spirit; and there is probably still wanting in the United States that profusion of capital which can be risked in the uncertain operations of mining.

Iron is found in the United States in a great variety of forms, and is worked to a considerable extent. In the year 1810, there were five hundred and thirty furnaces, forges, and bloomeries, in the United States, sixty-nine of which were in the state of New York; and the iron manufactured at Ancram, New York, is said to be superior, for many purposes, to the Russian and Swedish iron. It is made from a hematitic brown oxide. Mr. Maclure informs us, that there is a bed of magnetic iron ore, from eight to twelve feet thick, wrought in Franconia, near the White Hills, New Hampshire; that there is a similar bed in the direction of the stratification, six miles north-east of Philipstown on the Hudson river; and, still following the direction of the stratification, that the same ore occupies a bed nearly of the same thickness at Ringwood, Mount Pleasant, and Suckusanny, in New Jersey; losing itself, as it approaches the end of the primitive ridge, near Blackwater—a range of nearly three hundred miles. This immense deposit of iron ore is contained in gneiss, and is accompanied by garnet, epidote, and hornblende. In the state of New York, magnetic iron ore is found in immense quantities on the west side of lake Champlain, in granite mountains. The ore is in beds, from one to twenty feet in thickness, and generally unmixed with foreign substances: large beds of this ore extend, with little interruption, from Canada to the neighbourhood of New York. Clay ironstone is met with in considerable quantities. In Maryland, there are extensive beds of it three miles S.W. of Baltimore, composed of nodules, formed by concentric layers. Bog iron ore occurs in such abundance in many places, as to be smelted to a great extent.

Copper in the native state, and most of its ores, have been found in different parts of the United States; but there are no mines of this metal except in New Jersey, and these do not appear to be worked with much success.

Lead has been discovered in a great variety of forms; and there are several extensive mines of it. In Upper Louisiana, at St. Genevieve, on the western bank of the Mississippi, there are about ten mines. The ore, which is a sulphuret, is found in detached masses of from one to five hundred pounds, in alluvial deposits of gravel and clay, immediately under the soil; and sometimes in veins or beds, in limestone. One of the mines produces annually about 245 tons of ore, yielding 66 2-3 per cent. There are mines also at Perkiomen, in Pennsylvania, 24 miles from Philadelphia.

The ore is chiefly a sulphuret; but it is accompanied by the carbonate, phosphate, and molybdate. In Massachusetts, there is a vein of galena, traversing primitive rocks, six or eight feet wide, and extending twenty miles from Montgomery to Hatfield. The ore affords from 50 to 60 per cent. of lead.

Gold has only been found in North Carolina. It occurs in grains or small masses, in alluvial earths, and chiefly in the gravelly beds of brooks, in the dry season; and one mass was found weighing 28 lib. In 1810, upwards of 1340 ounces of this gold, equal in value to 24,689 dollars, had been received at the mint of the United States.

Native silver, in small quantities, is met with at different places, but in no other form. Mercury and tin have not been found. Cobalt occurs near Middleton, in Connecticut; and a mine of it was at one time worked. Manganese and antimony are found in several situations. Sulphuret of zinc is found in considerable quantity in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. In New Jersey, a new variety of this metal has been discovered, in such abundance, that it promises to be a very valuable acquisition to the United States. It is a red oxide, composed, of zinc 76, oxygen 16, oxides of manganese and iron, 8. It is reduced without difficulty to the metallic state.

The chromate of iron, both crystallized and amorphous, occurs in different situations; particularly near Baltimore, and at Hoboken, in New Jersey. This mineral is employed to furnish the chromic acid, which, when united with the oxide of lead, forms chromate of lead—a very beautiful yellow pigment, of which there is a manufactory at Philadelphia. It is sold under the name of chromic yellow, and is employed for painting furniture, carriages, &c.

ART. VII.—*Memoires et Correspondance de Madame D'Epinay*, &c. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris 1818.

[From the Edinburgh Magazine.]

**G**REAT light has of late years been thrown upon the interior of that brilliant, but corrupt system of society and manners, which at one time, gave the tone of politeness and of literature to all Europe, and made Paris the grand centre of fashion and philosophy. In this country its fascination, indeed, was happily always looked upon with something more than suspicion, and under the external polish no slight flaws were observed to be lurking. We scarcely, however, were so uncharitable as to suppose that it was really so bad as it has turned out to be, and the additional information which every new publication gives us on the subject, only further increases our wonder at the degrees of vice and profligacy which may be concealed under the mask of liberality and elegance. This publication of the Memoirs of madame D'Epinay is, we are inclined to hope, the last of the kind that will appear; there is no need to darken the picture farther; and enough has been shown of a society totally loosened from all those principles of religion and

morality on which alone any society can firmly rest, to make us perfectly comprehend that such a state of things could not go on long, and that the horrors which we have witnessed, in our day, were its just and natural termination. We have seen enough, too, perhaps, of the distinguished men of that period. With all their genius and dazzling qualities, there is something melancholy in the spectacle. It is melancholy to see men of their powers, working like moles in the dark, and only adding to that chaos and perplexity which had so sadly bewildered their age and nation. Even their very gayety is melancholy,—resting, as it does, entirely on a careless epicureanism, and contrasting so awfully with the gloom of that misery and bloodshed which were so soon to ensue. The only circumstance which gives a relief to all this picture, is the genuine lightness and airiness of the French character. There is a sort of *naïveté* and childish simplicity in their very vices, which takes off a good deal from their atrocity. They think, say, and do all sorts of things possible that are bad, yet we have some how or other an impression, from the ease with which they carry it off, that they do not very well know what they are about. We do not, at least, blame the individuals, so much as the manners and circumstances of their age; and this, too, makes the picture less dangerous. It is so different from any thing we are ourselves accustomed to, and hangs upon such opposite principles, that it is little more apt to make an impression upon us, than the representation of the idolatry and vices of ancient times. French atheism, and French licentiousness, appear little less whimsical and extravagant to our soberer conceptions, than the worship or the debaucheries of the Greeks or Romans.

Madame D'Epinay is commemorated in the Confessions of Rousseau. She was one of the benefactors of that singular genius,—gave him a house called 'the Hermitage,' near her own chateau, where he composed his *Heloise*, and some of his other most brilliant works; and like every other person who attempted to be kind to him, became, of course, an object of his jealousy and suspicion. He has blackened her memory as one of that knot of male and female philosophers, the whole object of whose life, it would seem, by his account of them, was to plot his destruction; and while they were probably never thinking of him, except with admiration or ridicule, he conceived that they were incessantly winding around him their malicious and inextricable snares. She has now given her own story, and not merely that part of it which relates to Rousseau, but her life from the very outset, which she has whimsically thought fit to exhibit in the form of a romance. It was found among the papers of Grimm, and originally gave false names to the characters which were introduced. The editor, whoever he is, has restored most of the names, at least all those of any persons of note, so that the book, as it is published, is a very entertaining supplement to what is already known of some of the most extraordinary individuals of those times. Whether or no she has

coloured over her own story, we do not know; we apprehend not; the incidents are certainly not such as would most naturally present themselves to a female writer, if she were writing merely for effect. In Fielding's *Amelia* there is a story of a Mrs. Bennet, which contains distresses similar to some of the most tragical in this book; but unless they had been true in the present instance, we scarcely think Madaine D'Epinay would have fixed upon them as figuring incidents in her romance. She makes, indeed, the most of the *embarras* which they occasion, but not more than was likely to arise from them; she gives, too, perhaps, the best view that was possible of her own character; but this, we are also inclined to think, is fairly enough represented. It is a very natural character, that of an affectionate and well disposed woman, growing quite as incorrect as her neighbours, from *existing circumstances*. Had her husband been any thing but a shocking profligate, or at all inclined to retain her affections, there is no doubt he would have succeeded; or if such a woman had lived in England, even with a bad husband, the probability is, that she would have continued a very amiable and virtuous person. That unfortunate necessity, it is true, of having the void in *the heart* supplied, is apt at times, in all countries, to lead women astray; but it was a whim more peculiar to the French ladies than to any others, and appears, indeed, in Madame D'Epinay, to have been nothing but a whim, for she was quite capable of having her whole thoughts and affections interested in the care and education of her children. However, she took it into her head, very much by the persuasion of an impudent *she-dog*, to make use of Fielding's elegant periphrasis, whom she unfortunately had made her friend and confidante, that a lover was an indispensable requisite; and so, of course, a lover she must have. But we are writing on, we find, as if our readers were as well acquainted with the story as ourselves.

It is supposed to be narrated by a M. Lisieux, who, upon the death of the lady's father, an officer of the name of D'Esclavelles, became her tutor. Whether or no this gentleman is a fiction, like our excellent contemporaries, Jedediah Cleishbotham, and Mr. Peter Pattieson, we cannot pretend to say, but it is certain that he is quite of as little use in the narrative as either of these illustrious personages; and unless he can pretend, like the former (poor Peter Pattieson, we believe is dead), that he has acquired a *posse* or *pendicle* by the success of his work, we would be very much inclined to *chasser* him out of the concern. Be this as it may, however, he tells us that his young pupil, soon after her return from the convent in which she was educated, was married to her own cousin M. D'Epinay, son of a M. de Bellegarde, whose wife (her mother's sister) was dead, and in family with whom, her mother, Madame D'Esclavelles, seems to have lived. The youthful couple came likewise to reside with the good old folks, and for a time, who more kind than D'Epinay, and who a happier wife than Madame? However, the husband is a sad rake. He very soon stays

out all night, long after the poor lady has been in bed, and, to her infinite horror, she is not long in hearing rumours of opera girls, and such kind of elegant gallantries. M. Lisieux every now and then drops his narrative, and letters are introduced from the different characters concerned. At last, when the plot is thickening, and Madame D'Epinay, in consequence of her husband's desertion, is beginning to look about for some other resource, she begins a long journal addressed to her tutor, and in this form the greater part of the narrative is afterwards conveyed, although Jedediah is every now and then stepping in with a remark or connecting paragraph. What is given in the form of the letters and journal, is much the best part of the book, and is really very interesting, in spite of all its oddity and profligacy. Madame D'Epinay, is as we have said, an extremely well-meaning woman upon the whole; she is deeply in love with her husband, and long looks for his amendment; but the Mrs. Bennet adventure to which we alluded, and which was only the close of a series of brutal outrages, pretty well cures her of her attachment, and when, after accepting of a lover, she finds the results of that adventure extending to him, she is in such a fit of despair, that she is on the point of throwing herself out of a window, and is only prevented by the sudden bursting into the room of her little son. Before she gave up all hopes of her husband, she had a son and daughter, and it was most unfortunate that she did not at once dedicate her thoughts and care to them: however, we suppose, there is no resisting one's destiny. A Mademoiselle D'Ette became very intimate with her, a vile, worldly minded intriguer, and to her councils, aided by the delicate and persevering attentions of a M. Francueil, poor Madame falls a prey. She never separates from her husband, but is very little troubled with his company; and continues to live comfortably with her mother and father-in-law, who discover no secrets that she wishes to conceal, the mother a devotee, and M. Bellegarde a very good natured, but weak old gentleman, whose chief delight is to see her perform comedy, in which she makes a great figure. When she is finally arranged with her lover, her life for sometime flows along quite as calmly as if he had been her husband—she is much occupied with her children, her private theatre, and her numerous acquaintance, which began now to extend among the men of letters. Rousseau was a friend of M. Francueil, and used frequently to be at Epinay; it was in a piece of his composition, that Madame made her debut as an actress, and there is something very pointed, and well put in a short sketch, which she gives of him, as he appeared to her in the first hours of their acquaintance.

'We began our theatricals (she says) with *l'Engagement temeraire*, a new comedy of M. Rousseau, a friend of Francueil, who presented him to us. The author played a part in his own piece. Although it is only a comedy designed for private representation, *une comédie societé*, it has had a great success. I have my doubts,

however, how it would succeed on the stage; but it is certainly the work of a man of much power, perhaps of a very singular cast of mind. I am not very sure, at the same time, whether my judgment is formed on what I have seen of the author, or of his piece. He is given to compliment without being polished, or at least without having the air of being so. He seems ignorant of the usages of the world, but it is easy to see that he has an infinite deal of talent. He has a dark complexion; and eyes full of fire, animate his physiognomy. When he speaks, and you look at him, he seems handsome, but whenever you call him to your recollection, it is as being ugly. He is said to be in bad health, and to have sufferings which he carefully conceals, I know not from what principle of vanity; perhaps it is this which gives him, every now and then, a very savage look (*l'air farouche*).'

But the literary hero of the work, for a length of time, is Duclos, whom Madame D'Epinay first met at the house of a decayed actress, celebrated for her wit and intimacy with wits, of the name of Mademoiselle Quinault. The conversation which passed here, and which she minutely records, is of a very singular kind. It is a philosophical investigation into the nature and origin of modesty. Duclos, and M. St. Lambert, who are the chief speakers, see no reason why people should not go about naked; and are extremely eloquent on that bright idea, and several others of a concomitant class. The old harridan, in whose house they were, chuckles over the picture which they draw, with extreme satisfaction, although, before this talk began, she had the grace to send her niece out of the room, which seemed to be the signal for the commencement of the utmost freedom of discourse. The scene seems very exactly copied from memory, and it is certainly a most curious *trait* of manners, if conversation of this kind was at all admissible in the company of a woman like Madame D'Epinay, who at least maintained a good reputation in the world. She seems to have taken no offence at it; on the contrary, Duclos became immediately one of her chosen intimates. A most extraordinary monster, to be sure, he is. His affectation is that of extreme openness and plain speaking. Rapid, abrupt, even vulgar, in his diction and images; he is commonly saying acute things, sometimes things ridiculous for their vanity and egotism; but he can never be denied the merit of the most consummate impudence and effrontery. There is a scene in which he makes love to Madame D'Epinay, which is quite unique in its kind. After a great many inquiries about her husband, her connexions, her manner of passing her time, he comes up to her with open arms, and professes the greatest passion for her; she says that she can only look upon him as a friend. When he sees she is serious, 'then,' says he, 'you must have another lover?' He soon penetrates her secret. 'O very well, then the matter is at an end. I will never speak to you of love again in my life.' And then he goes on talking in his old way, and is quite on as intimate and familiar a footing with her as ever. There is

an excellent dialogue between him and a M. Linant, a pedant, who undertook the education of Madame D'Epinay's son. She had the good sense to suspect that the boy was quite losing his time, and carries Duclos with her to his college to examine his master. He attacks him in his blunt downright way, and very soon succeeds in showing him (for he happens to have less vanity than most pedagogues), that he is not at all up to his business.

“Very little of your Latin, sir,” says he, “very little of your Latin, and don't talk to me of your Greek. Teach your pupil to read well,—to write well. Occupy him seriously with his own language. There is nothing more absurd than people passing all their lives in the study of foreign languages, and neglecting their own. You are not to make an Englishman of him, a Roman, an Egyptian, a Greek, a Spartan; he is born a Frenchman, then a Frenchman let him be; that is to say, a man who can turn his hand to any thing. Bring him to that point, and then it is Madame's office to lead him to some particular object. A little history, a little geography, but only conversing over a map; he is too young yet to make a serious job of it; teach him to count, sir, every thing turns on counting and calculations. In a little time carry him on to geometry; that, too, is a necessary science, every thing is subjected to measurement,—it is the best logic, and keeps the mind in the right road; a very important matter, for nothing will put it right if it has once gone wrong.”

So much for Duclos, whose intimacy with Madame D'Epinay was not at all liked by her friends, because, under this appearance of freedom and openness, he was generally regarded as a man of no morals, and as a dangerous and designing character. There is a great peculiarity in his manner, a wonderful contrast, for instance, to Rousseau's, yet he is a fair specimen of a Parisian philosopher; and there is, indeed, a common character of thought running through all that class of men, which sufficiently marks them. Their most valuable quality (even Rousseau has a great deal of it), is shrewd practical sense, and a rapid judgment of what is reasonable within the narrow limits which they prescribe for the objects of human choice. They have no ‘thoughts that wander through eternity;’ their whole views are confined to the world as it lies before them; they leave out of their consideration, therefore, a great many of the most powerful affections and aspirings of the human mind; but they had ransacked and examined, backwards and forwards every thing within ‘this visible diurnal sphere,’ and the result is often, amidst all their paradoxes, their licentiousness, and their fearlessness, a very strong and sagacious hold of truth as far as they go. We have not time to dilate upon this; we are certainly no cordial admirers of these worthies, but we believe there was never yet any class of acute observers of human life, who have not done some good in their day, although the bad may unfortunately, in this instance, have greatly predominated. There is one advan-

tage, however, that the good will remain, while the bad will pass away.

Madame D'Epinay's lover does not, as might be expected, continue to retain all his original ardour. She grows jealous, and at last, in a fit of dissatisfaction with the world, thinks of devoting herself to God. Her mother brings to her a very excellent spiritual guide, the abbe Martin, who gives her a great deal of good and sensible advice.

"I am disgusted with the world," she says; "If I could venture, if my children could dispense with me, I would go into a convent, and make a vow never to leave it." "For my part, Madam," said the priest, "I have no great notion of such extremes, and put very little confidence in these hasty conversions. They have little solidity in them, and the relapses are always troublesome. True devotion, Madam, and the disposition of mind most agreeable to God, is to turn to the best possible account the situation in which providence has placed us. A married woman, a mother of a family, is not intended to be a Carmelite, and cannot live as such."

He goes on in the same strain, till at last he brings her to confess that her unhappiness arises from the coldness of her lover.

"I am not surprised, Madam," said the abbe, "that this circumstance has occasioned your projects of reform, but I have less confidence than ever in their solidity. My advice is, that you should endeavour, by virtuous recreations, to calm the violent and contradictory emotions which despair has produced in you. If you wish that the repentance of your errors should be agreeable to God, it must, in the first place, be sincere; and it can only be in a state of calm, that you and I can form any sound judgment of your dispositions. In your present state I will not permit you so much as to approach the sacraments. I see more pique than remorse in your expressions. Occupy yourself, first of all, Madam, with the real duties of your station; form the plan of a new life; the care of Madame your mother, the education of your children, continual watchfulness over the interests of your husband—these are the points where your reform ought to begin, and then if, in some years afterwards, you persist in the desire of attaining to the perfection of the devout life, I shall have the honour of seeing you again."

We must stop at present with this advice of the good abbe, which we are disposed to recommend to the consideration of such of our fair readers as, without Madame D'Epinay's offences upon their conscience, have become still more eager, perhaps, than ever she could be, to give themselves up entirely to devotion. We wish they were always within reach of as sound a counsellor as the abbe Martin.



**ART. VIII.—***The Sacred Edict*; containing Sixteen Maxims of the Emperor Kang He, amplified by his son the Emperor Yoong Ching; together with a Paraphrase on the whole, by a Mandarin. Translated from the Chinese original, and illustrated with Notes. By the Rev. William Milne, Protestant Missionary at Malacca. 8vo.

[From the Literary Panorama.]

**T**HE Chinese are an extraordinary people, and though their indefatigable historian, Du Halde, has done much towards making known their political and civil history, religion and literature; yet, until the present time, their moral and religious writings have, in a great degree, been as ‘sealed books’ to Europeans. Sir George Staunton first communicated the penal code of China in an English dress, and the learned and pious author of this work has conferred an additional favour on literature in his translation of the ‘Sacred Edict.’

The Sixteen Maxims which form the ground work of this book, were delivered, in an edict, by the emperor Kang He, the second of the present dynasty, towards the close of his life. Their nature, and the mode in which they are promulgated to the people, are thus stated by Mr. Milne.

‘These maxims, each of which, in the original, contains seven characters or words, were neatly written out on small slips of wood, and placed in the public offices, where they are to be seen at the present day.

‘The emperor *Yoong Ching*, the son and successor of *Kang He*, wisely considering that the conciseness of these maxims would necessarily prevent their general utility, wrote an *Amplification* of them, which he published in the second year of his reign; and ordered it to be read publicly to the people, on the first and fifteenth of each month.

‘The style of *Yoong Ching*’s publication, though not so concise as that of the ancient Chinese books, is yet considered classical, but, from its artificial structure and the length of the paragraphs or periods, it is above the capacities of most of those who have had but a common education. Hence, though classically written, the work was not calculated to produce all the benefit intended; in as much as the lower classes of people, even in countries the most enlightened, both by religion and science, do not generally profit by books of high classic taste. Under the influence of this conviction, *Wang-yew po*, superintendent of the salt revenue in the province of *Shen See*, wrote a paraphrase on the whole book and simplified the style. By numerous proverbs, quaint sayings, colloquial phrases, and provincialisms, he rendered the sense easy, and the style acceptable to the people; for in every country we find, that these qualities, though not approved by the learned, take much with others, and have a certain point and force which would,

in some measure be lost, were the same ideas expressed in a more elegant and finished style.

'The practice of publicly explaining the laws to the people of China, commenced in the dynasty of *Chou*; at which time, part of the first day of the month only was devoted to that purpose. At present the law is read, or should be read, twice a month, viz. on the first and fifteenth. The manner of it is as follows.—Early on the first and fifteenth of every moon, the civil and military officers, dressed in their uniform, meet in a clean, spacious, public hall. The superintendent, who is called *Lee-Sang*, calls aloud, "stand forth in files." They do so, according to their rank: he then says, "kneel thrice, and bow the head nine times." They kneel, and bow to the ground, with their faces towards a platform, on which is placed a board with the emperor's name. He next calls aloud "rise and retire." They rise, and all go to a hall, or kind of chapel, where the law is usually read; and where the military and people are assembled, standing round in silence.

'The *Lee-Sang* then says, "respectfully commence." The *Sze-kiang-Sang*, or orator, advancing towards an incense altar, kneels; reverently takes up the board on which the maxim appointed for the day is written, and ascends a stage with it. An old man receives the board, and puts it down on the stage, fronting the people. Then, commanding silence with a wooden rattle which he carries in his hand, he kneels and reads it. When he has finished, the *Lee-Sang* calls out, "Explain such a section, or maxim, of the sacred edict." The orator stands up, and gives the sense. In reading and expounding other parts of the law, the same forms are also observed.'

The moral doctrines and precepts here taught are those of the school of Confucius, or of the sect of the learned. The philosophers of this sect, since the days of Choo-foo-tsze and Ching-tsze, (in the twelfth century) who paraphrased most of the ancient books, have, according to Mr. Milne, degenerated from the simple philosophy of their master, to the extreme of scepticism; after ridiculing the idea of a created Deity, yet unable to give clear and definite views of the uncreated; professing great regard for truth, yet coolly doubting of almost every thing; and, like their ancient Grecian brethren, exposing the absurdity of idolatry, yet serving the scene and joining in it. The morality of the Sacred Edict is valuable as far as it goes; but it is certainly very defective, and is generally enforced by motives drawn from no higher source than self love or self interest. In short

'It is a mere *political* morality, founded on no just view of man's relation to his Great Creator. As for the final destinies of man, it scarcely recognizes them; and certainly does not profess to make them an object. Political government is its *ne plus ultra*: the centre in which all its lines meet, and the circle beyond which they do not extend. Wherever it commences there it is sure to end. To compare this philosophy, and this morality, with those of the

Gospel of Jesus, would be like placing the dim taper in competition with the meridian sun.\*

The subjects discussed in this curious specimen of Chinese morality are, The Duties of Children and Brothers,—Respect for Kindred—Concord among Neighbours—Importance of Husbandry—the Value of Economy—Academical Learning—False Religion exposed—On the Knowledge of the Laws—Illustrations of the principles of Good Breeding—Importance of attending to the essential Occupations—The Instruction of Youth—The Evil of False Accusing—The consequences of Hiding Deserters—The payment of the Taxes—The necessity of extirpating Robbery and Theft, and the Importance of Settling Animosities.

We shall extract the first Maxim, with its Amplification, and an extract from the paraphrase on it, as a specimen of Chinese morality.

‘MAXIM FIRST.—Pay just regard to filial and fraternal duties, in order to give due importance to the relations of life.

‘AMPLIFICATION.—Our sacred father, the benevolent emperor, reigned sixty-one years; imitated his ancestors; honoured his parents; his filial piety was inexhaustible. He commented on the *Heaou-king*; explained the text; clearly unfolded the doctrines. His precise design was, by filial piety, to govern the empire; hence the Sacred Edict commences with filial and fraternal duties. Intrusted with his mighty concerns, and reflecting on past admonitions, we\* have diffusely explained the sense of his instructions; and now commence by proclaiming the doctrines of filial and fraternal duty to you, soldiers and people.

Filial piety is [founded on] the unalterable statutes of heaven, the corresponding operations of earth, and the common obligations of all people. Have those who are void of filial piety never reflected on the natural affections of parents to their children?

Before leaving the parental bosom, if hungry, you could not feed yourselves; if cold, you could not put on clothes. Parents judge by the voice, and examine the features of their children; their smiles create joy; their weeping grief. On beginning to walk they leave not their steps; when sick, attempts to sleep or eat are in vain; thus nourishing and teaching them. When they come to years they give them wives, and settle them in business, exhausting their minds by planning, and their strength by labour. Parental virtue is truly great and exhaustless as that of heaven!

‘The son of man that would recompense one in ten thousand of the favours of his parents, should at home exhaust his whole heart, abroad exert his whole strength. Watch over his person, practise

\* *We*, the original word *Chin* does not properly signify the first person plural of the personal pronoun; it is a pronoun used by the emperor alone when speaking of himself in the singular; were any other person to use it, he would subject himself to punishment. But not knowing any synonymous English word of the singular number, the first person plural, used in a *courtly* style, seemed the best; and *Chin* is rendered by it throughout this translation.

economy, diligently labour for, and dutifully nourish them. Let him not gamble, drink, quarrel, or privately hoard up riches for his own family! Though his external manners may not be perfect, yet there should be abundant sincerity! Let us enlarge a little here: as for example, what *Tsang-tsze* says "to move unbecomingly is unfilial; to serve the prince without fidelity, is unfilial; to act disrespectfully as a mandarin, is unfilial; to be insincere to a friend, is unfilial; to be cowardly in battle, is also unfilial." These things are all comprehended in the duty of an obedient son.

'Again, the father's eldest son is stiled viceroy of the family; and the younger brothers [after the father's death] give him the honourable appellation of family superior.

'Daily, in going out and coming in, whether in small or great affairs, the younger branches of the family must ask his permission. In eating and drinking they must give him the preference; in conversation yield to him; in walking, keep a little behind him; in sitting and standing, take the lower place. These are illustrative of the duty of younger brothers. Even a stranger, ten years older than myself, I would serve as an elder brother; if one, five years older, I would walk with my shoulders a little behind his; how much more then ought I to act thus towards him who is of the same blood with myself! Therefore, undutifulness to parents and unbrotherly conduct are intimately connected. To serve parents and elder brothers are things equally important. The dutiful child will also be the affectionate brother; the dutiful child and affectionate brother will, in the country, be a worthy member of the community; in the camp, a faithful and bold soldier. You, soldiers and people, know that children should act filially, and brothers fraternally; but we are anxious lest the thing, becoming common to you, should not be examined, and you thus trespass the bounds of the human relations. If you can feel genuine remorse, springing from an upright heart, then exert your whole strength; from one filial and fraternal thought, proceed by gradations, till every thought be of the same stamp. Do not affect mere empty externals. Do not overlook the minutiae. Do not buy fame and purchase flattery. Be not diligent at first and slothful afterwards. Then, probably, the duties of filial piety and brotherly affection may be attended to. For the undutiful and unbrotherly, the nation has a common punishment; but punishment can restrain only those evils, the traces of which become manifest; what is done in secret is not cognizable by law. Should you be void of remorse, and throw yourselves into contempt, our heart could not endure it. Therefore warnings are often repeated. Perhaps\* you, soldiers and people, will realize our wish, renovate and exalt your character; and each carry to the utmost, the duties of children and brothers. How lovely the virtue of the sages, which arose from

\* 'Perhaps,' this mode of expression is very common among the Chinese. They seldom affirm or deny, dogmatically, but prefer to express themselves in a way which they think indicates greater modesty and self-diffidence.

the human relations! Even the doctrines of *Yaou* and *Shun*, extended not beyond filial and fraternal duty! *Mung-tsze* said, "were all dutiful to their parents, and respectful to their elder brothers, under heaven there would be rest." Soldiers and people! do not view this as a mere common place address.'

[*Contains six hundred and thirty-two words.\**]

*Extract from the Paraphrase on the above.*

'Let us first take the doctrines of filial piety and fraternal affection, and discourse of them in the hearing of all you people. Well, what then is filial piety? It is great indeed! In heaven above, in earth below, and among men placed between, there is not one that excludes this doctrine. Well, how is this proved? Because filial piety is the breath of harmony. Observe the heavens and the earth! If they did not harmonise,† how could they produce and nourish so great multitudes of creatures? If man do not practise filial piety, he loses [his resemblance to] the harmony of nature—how then can he be accounted man?

'Let us now take the ardent affection of the heart, and the yearnings of the bowels of your parents towards you, and enlarge on them a little—When you hung in their tender embrace, were you hungry? You yourselves knew not to eat food.—Were you cold? You yourself knew not to put on clothes. Your aged father and mother observed the features of your face, and listened to the sound of your voice. Did you smile? They were delighted. Did you weep? They were unhappy. Did you begin to walk? They followed at your heels, step by step. If you had the least degree of illness, then their sorrow was inexpressible. Tea was not tea; rice was not rice to them.‡ They waited [with anxiety] till you recovered: then their minds were composed. Their eyes were intent on you, watching your growth from year to year. You have no conception of how many anxious toils they bore, and of how

\* In works of great moment the Chinese frequently number the characters. Many of them have a veneration for the words of their language, equal to what the Jews are said to have had for the Hebrew letters. Hence they never use any paper on which their characters are written or printed, as waste paper, or for common purposes.

† The nature of the harmony here alluded to, is not easily understood. The idea is founded on the theories of the Chinese concerning the system of the universe, and the laws of nature. Their notions on these subjects are extremely obscure and unsatisfactory. They ascribe personality to the visible heavens and the earth; and suppose that, in the production of creatures, there is a certain *conjunction* of the heavens and the earth, somewhat analagous to that which takes place in the generation of animals. Hence it is often said, 'heaven and earth are the parents of all things;' and 'heaven is the father, and earth the mother, of all things;' and 'heaven covers and earth produces.' With respect to this *conjunction*, the *Lee-kee* says, 'in the first month of the spring, the celestial air descends, and the terrestrial air ascends; then a *junction* of the heavens and the earth takes place, by which nature is set in motion and caused to vegetate.' Probably they may mean by these expressions, certain laws inherent in the physical universe, by which the proportions of cold and heat, rain and wind, &c. &c. are so regulated, as to produce all things in their proper time, and due quantity.

‡ That is they did not relish them, or know the taste.

many painful apprehensions they endured, in nourishing and in educating you. When you grew up to manhood, they gave you a wife to bear you a son. They waited in expectation, that your learning should raise you to fame. They strove to lay by a little property to enable you to set up in life. Now, which of all these things, did not require the heart of a father and mother? Can this kindness be ever fully rewarded? If you are not aware of the kindness of your parents, you have only to consider for a moment the heartfelt tenderness with which you treat your own children, and then you will know. The ancients said well, "bring up a child, then you will know the kindness of a father and mother." But if you indeed know the kindness of your parents, why do you not go and exercise filial piety towards them? For filial piety is not a thing difficult to practise. In ancient times, in order to display filial affection, some slept on the ice, some cut the thigh, and one buried her own child.\* This kind of service it would be difficult to imitate; nor is it necessary thus to act, in order that it may be denominated filial piety. It only requires the heart and thoughts placed on your parents; then, all will be well. If you really would recompense their kindness, you must leave nothing undone that your powers can accomplish for the comfort and service of the aged. Better that you yourself should have little to eat and to use, and have sufficiently to give them to eat and to use; and [thus] lessen their toils. You must not gamble, nor drink wine; you must not go and fight with persons; you must not privately hoard up money for yourself, or love your own wife and children, and overlook your father and mother. What if your external motions should not exactly accord, that will by no means impede the business: internal sincerity alone is required; then you will be successful. Suppose [for example] you can give them only daily coarse vegetables and dry rice; yet cause them to eat these with pleasure:—this then is filial piety and obedience.

We shall, therefore, take this principle and extend its application to other things. Thus, [to give a few instances] if in your

\* This refers to three persons who, it is said, remarkably distinguished themselves in the discharge of filial duty. 'One slept on the ice,' in order to catch a certain fish which his mother, when sick, longed to eat. Another cut out a portion of flesh from his own thigh, to mix the blood with the medicine which was to be administered to his mother; under an idea that it would prove an effectual cure, provided she knew not of it. It is said that there are some in China at the present day, who, when their parents are sick, go out into the fields at mid-day, worship towards heaven, and cut either the arm or thigh, to mix a little of their own blood in their parent's medicine. 'A third, buried her child.' The story says, that this woman was very poor, had an only child, and an aged mother, whose teeth were decayed and came out, so that she could eat nothing, but sucked the breasts of her daughter along with her child. This dutiful daughter, not being able to hire a nurse, and not having milk sufficient to nourish both, was reduced to the necessity of parting either with her mother or child. She resolved on the latter: and, while digging a grave, in which to bury the child alive, she found under ground, a certain quantity of gold, which heaven had deposited there as a reward for her filial piety. Thus she was enabled to provide both for her mother and child.

conduct, you be not correct and regular, this is throwing contempt upon your own bodies, which were handed down to you from your parents: this is not filial piety. When doing business for the government, if you do not exhaust your ideas, and exert your strength; or if, in serving the prince, you be unfaithful, this is just the same as treating your parents ill:—this is not filial piety. In the situation of an officer of government, if you do not act well, but provoke the people to scoff and rail; this is lightly to esteem the substance handed down to you from your parents:—this is not filial piety. When associating with friends, if, in speech or behaviour you be insincere; this casts disgrace on your parents:—this is not filial piety. If you, soldiers, when the army goes out to battle, will not valiantly and sternly strive to advance; but give persons occasion to laugh at your cowardice; this is to degrade the progeny of your parents:—this also is not filial piety. In the present age there are very many disobedient children. If their parents speak a word to them, they instantly put on a surly face; if their parents scold them, they pertly answer again—if called to the east, they go to the west. Again, there are some whose wives and children are warmly clothed and fully fed, while on the other hand, their parents are empty and suffer hunger. They rush into misery, and embarrass and disgrace their parents. They themselves transgress the law, and their parents are involved, and brought before the magistrate.\*

‘It is needless to say that the laws of superior powers will not tolerate this description of persons; but their own children, beholding their example, will follow closely at their heels imitating them. Only observe those who have themselves been undutiful and disobedient; where did they ever bring up a good child? Do think a little—will you still not be aroused?’

The nature of the subject must be our apology for the length of the preceding extract.

In preparing this very curious treatise for the press, Mr. Milne professes to have aimed only at fidelity; we have heard that he has attained this in an eminent degree; and he has illustrated his original authors with many important and explanatory notes. Altogether it is a most singular work, and justly claims a place in the library of every one who delights in studying the history of man.

\* ‘*Their parents are involved,*’ &c. This arises from the peculiar feature of the Chinese polity, viz. that of making persons mutually responsible for each other’s conduct; and of extending the consequences of a man’s transgression to his neighbours; especially to his relatives. Hence the law says, ‘whosoever shall plan sedition or rebellion, whether put into actual execution or not, shall all of them, without distinguishing the accessories from the principals, be cut in pieces. The father and grandfather of the *principals*, their sons and grandsons, their brothers, and all who dwell under the same roof, without distinction of sir name—their uncles and nephews, whether dwelling with them or not; the males among them, from sixteen years old and upwards, not excepting the blind, lame, or decrepit, shall all be beheaded. Males belonging to them under fifteen years of age, their mothers, daughters, wives, concubines, and sisters; together with the wives

ART. IX.—*Original Letters, from an American Gentleman at Calcutta, to a friend in Pennsylvania.*

### LETTER I.

*Non cuivis homini contingit adire Calcuttam!*

*Calcutta, March 4th.*

MY DEAR H.

AGREEABLY to my promise, I embrace the first opportunity which has presented, to give you some intelligence of your wandering friend. During the whole of our tedious passage we did not speak a single vessel that was bound to America. On our arrival here, however, we found a ship on the eve of sailing for Philadelphia; and I have accordingly taken my seat, to endeavour to convey to you some idea of the novelties, and remarkable occurrences, to be witnessed in an East India voyage. We left New Castle, as you know, on the 9th of October last, and on the 13th of the same month, being favoured with a fine N.W. breeze, we got under way from Port Penn, where we had been laying since the 9th, and stood down the bay in company with a considerable fleet of merchantmen. About noon we dismissed the pilot, and lunched forth into the seemingly boundless expanse of the western ocean. The awful sublimity of the scene before us, at once so novel and so grand, combined with the view of the receding shores of my beloved country, awakened emotions in my breast which I should vainly attempt to describe.

But I will not detain you with the narration of circumstances which have been the theme of every enthusiastic voyager, and are common to *all* who commit themselves to the bosom of the deep. I shall merely notice, in the order of their occurrence, those events of the voyage which I shall believe calculated to gratify the curiosity, or excite an interest in the breast of my friend. It would afford you but small amusement, to enter into the details of the navigation of the ship,—as you are too much of a landsman to be interested by such particulars: neither is it worth while to attempt your edification, by a history of the intolerable sea-sickness with which I was annoyed, for a number of days, after losing sight of land. But as you have a taste for philosophical inquiry, I will just observe that I am now entirely satisfied of the correctness of Dr. Darwin's theory of this disagreeable affection: for, when my attention was strongly occupied by any object in the ship, or when I kept my eyes shut, I was always considerably relieved of the vertigo and nausea.

and concubines of their sons, shall all be delivered over to the most meritorious officers of state, be domestic slaves, and their whole property confiscated to government.' Vide *Lew-lee*. Canton edition.

May it not be, in a great degree, owing to this singularly severe feature of the Chinese law, that their government has continued for so many ages unchanged, as to the radical principles and great lines of it? The principle is carried through the whole of their government, and applied to small offences as well as to those that are great.



We had not been long at sea, before I had an opportunity of witnessing that curious phenomenon, of which you have often heard—I mean the *luminous appearance* of the water at night. This appearance is not constant; but seems to depend on a certain condition of the atmosphere:—at least, I have always observed that the light was by far the most brilliant when the air was damp, and somewhat foggy,—or what, in common language, is denominated dull and ‘*heavy weather*.’ The light appears only where the water is ruffled or agitated: of course, it is most conspicuous at the bow, and along the sides of the ship. When the weather was such as favoured this appearance, the ruffled waves exhibited a brilliant, greenish light; and the water, which was agitated by the progress of the ship, was so luminous, that she seemed to be floating in liquid fire. It shed a silvery radiance upon the sails and rigging, almost equal to that of moonlight. I had some of the sparkling water dipped up, and examined it. I found the light was emitted from innumerable, small, whitish specks of glutinous looking matter, diffused through the water; and which appeared to me to be entirely inanimate—but whether really so, I could not absolutely determine.

After having been four weeks on the ocean, and nothing but *marine objects* having greeted our view in all that time, I was agreeably surprised, on the 11th of November, to see a number of barn swallows (*Hirundo rustica*) skimming in playful circles round the ship. You know it has been a famous question among naturalists, whether these birds migrate southwardly during the winter, or not. Some gentlemen, whose faith seems to have been very accommodating, have given credence, and currency, to a number of strange stories about their hibernating in ponds and rubbish, and emerging again, on the return of summer, to mount the air on flippant wing, and cheer the husbandman with their agreeable twittering. For my own part, I did not require this evidence of their ability to seek for better winter quarters than mud and mire;—but still the fact may not be unimportant. Our situation, when the swallows approached us, was in latitude 6° 30' north, and longitude 20° west of the meridian of Greenwich. They appeared to skim around us with the same vigour and vivacity which characterizes them, when among our sheds and pastures. In the evening, they settled very sociably about the channels, and other parts of the ship,—and next day took their final leave of us.—We crossed the equator without having old Neptune brought on board, or any of the fresh-water part of the crew, being subjected to the customary tonsorian operation. Our respectable captain very properly considered the custom as ‘more honoured in the breach than in the observance;’ and refused his sanction to the performance of that vulgar and outrageous ceremony. On the 27th of November, we passed within sight of a pile of immense rocks, called *Martin vaz*, or *Trinidad*, which elevate themselves in the air to an incredible height. They were at a great distance, and appeared like

black clouds in the horizon; as I afterwards found all high lands did,—except that their outlines were better defined, and more fixed, than those of clouds. Having lost sight of those rocks, we continued to traverse the dreary waste of waters, uncheered, by even a glimpse of land, until the 7th of February, when we made the high mountains on the west coast of *Sumatra*. They appeared of a dark blue colour, and rose to an immense height in the clouds—in fact, they left a number of clouds hanging half way down their sides,—and forcibly reminded me of the beautiful lines of *Goldsmith*—

‘ As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,  
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,  
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,  
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.’

This appears to be literally the case with these mountains.—Next day we entered the limits of the bay of Bengal, which stretch from *Acheen head* to the southernmost part of the *island of Ceylon*,—and passed to the westward, though within sight of the *Nicobar*, and some other small islands. Being out of season, as it is termed, in our voyage, we had the monsoon against us; but we got soundings on the night of the 18th of February,—and next morning saw the coast of *Orixa*, distant about ten or twelve miles. The sea-water, where the bottom cannot be found, is of a deep blue, or rather black colour; but when we got on soundings it changed to a fine green. After some delay in cruising off the sound heads for a pilot, we had the satisfaction finally to obtain one; and on the 26th of February, we entered the muddy waters of the far-famed Ganges. We continued to beat up the river, whenever the tide suited, until we reached our destined harbour; where we anchored yesterday morning, after a passage of twenty weeks, from the capes of the Delaware.—I would willingly give you a description of the scenery on the shores of this celebrated river, as it appeared to me on our passage up it, but indeed, I am too much bewildered with the innumerable novelties, which surround me on all sides, to attempt it in this letter. Every thing which meets the eye in this wonderful city is so different from what we are accustomed to in our own country, that I am absolutely lost in the stupor of amazement. The contrast in the country, the people, the dress (if *dress* it may be called), the manners, the *tout ensemble*, could hardly be more striking, or the effect more imposing, if we had been translated to another planet.

But it shall be the business of another letter, when I shall have had time to observe, and convince myself that what I behold is sober reality, to depict to you the scenes which surround me. I am sensible that my efforts, on the occasion, must be feeble and inadequate; but to the charge of inadequacy shall not be justly added that of the traveller's reputed foible—

‘ *Multum mentitur qui multum vidit.*’

I shall take care to relate nothing but what my own senses shall investigate; and nothing but what you may safely receive without

harbouring a supposition injurious to the veracity of your friend. And now,

‘from the orient to the drooping west,

I transmit my most affectionate regards, and beg you to believe me, as ever, yours, &c.

(*To be continued.*)

## ART. X.—*Notoria; or Miscellaneous Articles, &c.*

### ARABIAN MANNERS.

*From Paddock's Narrative of his Captivity among the Arabs.*

As our situation was comfortable in comparison to the suffering condition we had lately been in, we now could be more cheerful, and had opportunities to look about us, and make our observations upon things. At night we had about half as much boiled barley meal as we needed, and we slept sound all the night. From the moment of the shipwreck to the present instant, from nothing we had taken as food or drink, did we ever experience any harm or inconvenience. That very pond-water, though as foul as the water of a mud-gutter, and even worse, sat well on our stomachs, as also did the raw barley taken afterwards. And I can say for myself, I never had an unpleasant dream during the whole time I was with those cruel monsters.

On the 16th, in the morning, our former masters appeared to be making some preparations for moving off; they were situated a few rods south of us. I, with Laura, walked over to them, to intercede once more for our two black companions, and I assured Ahamed, who was with them, that if these men were of any more value to their masters than the rest of us, the surplus of their value our consul would pay for them. He answered plainly, that he did not believe me. While we were engaged in this conversation, we were sitting on the ground, and my old master coming to me, ordered me to haul off my coat, which he claimed as his own, saying he was once in possession of it, and had only lent it to me. I refused to give it up. Ahamed then said it was his, and they disputed it warmly for a few minutes, my old master alleging that he sold him the carcass only, and that all the clothes upon it belonged to himself, while Ahamed, on his part, claimed the clothes as an appendage to the body.

At last the fellow said he would have the clothes or my life, and at that moment he sprung upon me, got hold of my coat, hauled it over my head, dragged me a few paces, and drawing his dagger, he swore by his own beard, and by the prophet, that he would take away my life. Laura, understanding all that he said, begged me to give up my coat, or he would kill me. My mates also were much alarmed on my account, and entreated me to give it up; but I persisted in my refusal. Upon my looking up, I saw that fellow and Ahamed standing face to face, prepared for a battle about my coat; the fellow's anger was wrought up to so high a pitch, that he foamed horribly at the mouth. I was sensible of danger, yet hoped to save both my life and the coat. At last Ahamed fell upon his knees, and kissed the feet of his antagonist; upon which Laura cried out to me, ‘It is all over; you are safe!’ Laura informed me afterwards, that whenever a superior humbles himself so low to an inferior as to kiss his feet, his demand or request is always granted. This matter thus settled, the seven mountaineers took all their luggage, and the black men, and walked off south-eastward. The poor negroes wept bitterly, and, for our part, we were sorely afflicted with the parting:—we never saw them more.

We now returned to our lodgings, where we got some boiled meal. George's master, it seemed, was willing he should be with us very often, and Laura's master turned him over to our mess; he was owner of Jack also, but the little two-sided Jack was not willing to keep our company so constantly. He and Laura had been in the habit of quarrelling together, and I prevailed on Laura to make friends with him, as we might profit from it; Jack having a considerably perfect knowledge of the Arabic, he could, if he would, inform us

from time to time of the intentions of the Arabs we were with. In consequence of this advice of mine they got on better terms, but were never so friendly together as I wished.

Being now much encouraged in regard to obtaining our ransom, and fast recruiting, we had spirits, as well as leisure, to make our observations upon the strange beings we were amongst. I found out by the boys, that the place we were in was as far west as the Arab shepherds could ever find pasture for their flocks, and also as far south, as it was on the edge of the desert. I also was informed, by the same means, that they had been only a few days here when we first came among them. The number of their tents, according to the best of my remembrance, was ninety-seven, averaging about eight persons to a tent, and thus making the whole population of the tribe amount to seven hundred and seventy-six. This, the boys told me, was the largest tribe they ever had met with, although the natives frequently talked of a thousand in each large tribe, and five hundred in the small ones. Among the tribe we were in there was a variety of colours, from a light copper colour to a complexion very dark, and almost black; but their features were still the same, sharp nosed, and raw boned. The average weight of these Arabs would very little exceed one hundred pounds each, and their average height was about five feet nine or ten inches. They were so much in the habit of sitting or squatting upon the calf of the leg, that that part was of a more considerable size than the rest of their bodies. The women, however, showed a much better leg, as well as arm, than the men: they, generally, were but little more than four feet high; their breasts were monstrously large, and their immodest exposure of them was, to us, the more disgusting, on account of the continual abusiveness we experienced from them. Their inhumanity to us may be partly accounted for, however, from the degraded condition in which they were held by their husbands.

The barley which we found growing was such as had sprung up spontaneously, and in some places were seen patches of wild oats; the grass thereabouts was very scarce. On account of this scarcity of feed, the boys expected

that we should soon remove further eastward for the sake of finding pasture for their flocks, which were very large. To this tribe belonged thirty camels, fifty fine horses, and a thousand sheep and goats; the chief being the greatest proprietor in the stock. At night, when the flocks are brought in, it is singular to see how entirely tamed they all are. The women milk first the camels and then come forward the sheep and lambs; each parcel of sheep stop at the tent they belong to, before which is a long rope, hauled tight, each end of it being fastened to a stake in the ground. In the rope, at suitable distances, are placed becketts with small lines; the lambs come of their own accord to the rope, when the woman of the tent separately fastens each lamb to its beckett, and drives away, at a little distance, the sheep, which all lie down; the lambs also lie down, and remain so till morning, when the woman milks the sheep, and releases the lambs, and all are driven off together. In the course of the day the lambs suck all the milk which their dams give. As to the camels, they are milked night and morning; the young camel, if a young one there is, being prevented, to the utmost of the keeper's power, from sucking.

All this milk of different kinds, is poured together into a sack, that is, the skin of a goat curiously taken off. When a sufficient quantity is collected for churning, say half a skin full, the woman blows the skin up tight with her breath, like a bladder, and ties it up, each end of it fast, with a small string; it is then fastened to the ridge of the tent; and while thus suspended, one of them, most commonly a child, stands and shakes it violently, till the woman, judging from the time of its agitation, thinks the milk sufficiently churned; the skin is then taken down, and the butter-milk poured off, leaving the butter adhering to the skin; the hole being large enough for the arm to enter, she, with her fingers claws it out, appearing about the colour of her arms, and puts it into a bowl. This finishes the process of their butter making; it is never worked over nor salted, nor did I ever know of the skin being washed or cleansed. Having given the process and the colour of the butter, I will leave my readers to judge of the smell and the taste.

Their water is kept in the same kind of skin, for family use. When a call is made for water, the woman pours out from the skin a quantity into a small bowl, and whatever is left after the person or persons have done drinking, she carefully pours back again. The smell of the water is not, however, so offensive as that of the butter, nor of quite so dark a colour. Any one may form a pretty clear idea of its qualities, from the filthiness of the vessel it is kept in. The water of this country is bad I mean such as is obtained by these wandering tribes in a dry season. At the time we came amongst this tribe, the English boys informed us there had not fallen a drop of rain in more than two months; that, with the exception of some small bunches of green barley, what little food their flocks could collect, was dry grass, of but very little nourishment; but notwithstanding this, the sheep and horses were in excellent plight; though the camels appeared lean, and some of them were sickly.

*Arabian Wedding.*—On the 18th, in the morning, there appeared an uncommon stir in the tribe. The horses were brought up, and rigged out in great style; all was glee, male and female running from tent to tent; our English boys were in as great surprise as ourselves. For the sake of information, Laura and George went after Jack, who of course was knowing to the cause of this great muster. Jack was not to be found then, but soon after the little villain came, and informed us there was to be a wedding that day; this quieted our minds. Upon this time he and Laura fell into familiar discourse between themselves as follows.

*Jack.* You, Laura, know Afdalla, that fellow that murdered his wife about two weeks ago.

*Laura.* O yes, I remember all about it.

*Jack.* Well, he is going to marry that short, thick, yellow girl, that lives in that tent there; you know who I mean.

*Laura.* O yes, I know her.

This conversation between the two boys, excited in me a curiosity to know the story of that murder, and Laura related it to me. ‘About two weeks ago,’ said Laura, to me, ‘this fellow went into his tent, and asked his wife where his knife was. She told him she had lent

it to such a one, naming a man belonging to the tribe. Do you not know, he said, that you have no business to meddle with any thing belonging to me? She acknowledged she had not; that she was sorry if it had displeased him, and would go immediately and fetch the knife back. He made no other reply to her than by saying, I will see if I can’t have a wife who will obey my commands better; I always told you not to meddle with any thing of mine. Having a club in his hand, he struck her upon the breast; she fell, and he continued to maul her as long as there was any breath in her body. Neither man nor woman went near them, although her cries and screams were heard through the whole tribe. That evening,’ continued Laura, ‘we went to the funeral, and observed what was done there. The women measured her length, her breadth across her arms, and her whole thickness, with as much exactness as they could, and then they dug a grave to fit her, digging it no deeper than the measure of her breadth, and put her in sideways, all naked; then, the women standing upon the body, trode it down with their feet, till the upper part of it was just level with the surface of the earth; after which, they all fell to gathering stones to cover the body with, so as to prevent its being removed by the wild beasts.’

I asked Laura what followed in regard to the murderer. The account he gave me was this: ‘The next day after the murder was committed, the chief assembled all the principal men of the tribe to examine into the case. The murderer was called before the council, and heard in his own defence; he voluntarily related the facts as they were, and was then dismissed for a few minutes. Upon this, the chief, who always speaks first in such cases, gave his opinion. “Afdallah,” says Ahamed to his counsellors, “has not acted agreeably to the law; he should first have complained to me of the disobedience of his wife, and if she should persist therein, he would then have been at liberty to punish her according to his pleasure. For breaking the law in not making his complaint beforehand to me, he is worthy of punishment; wherefore, my sentence is, that he be fined four sheep, seeing his flock is small, and that those sheep be dressed for our supper to-

night.” Laura added, ‘the murderer was sent for, his sentence was pronounced, and he, without uttering a word, had his flock brought up, killed the four sheep, and the company ate them—and we, you know,’ added he, addressing himself to Jack, ‘got the heads.’ After Laura had gone through with his story, I desired him to look out for the bride and bridegroom. He went to the place where the tribe was assembled, a few rods south of our tent, where he found the women preparing the bride for her nuptials; and soon after they all made their appearance. We then walked towards the crowd, taking a circuit round their rear, full as high as it was prudent for us to approach. The couple stopped, fronting a man who officiated in the capacity of a priest; he read over to them a passage engraved on a board, taken originally from the Alcoran, and joined their hands, using a ceremony of words that we could not distinctly hear, but which pronounced them husband and wife. A tent had been previously prepared by the bridegroom; on it was displayed a white flag or fly; he took his bride, who had been blindfolded by the priest with a piece of cloth tied over her eyes, led her to his tent, set her down on a mat, and said to her, ‘You are at home.’ Then he left her, and returned to the place where the ceremony was performed, and had a white cloth, in the form of a turban, tied round his head; after which he joined with the company, in their singing, shouting, and firing of guns; most of the company taking part in this merriment. When night came, the whole company went to his tent, but none of them entered it, not even himself; instead of which, they formed in a circle in the front of it, where was prepared a great feast, consisting of boiled meal and milk, along with several sheep, cooked and eaten without spice or salt. Their feasting continued till after midnight, when the company having retired, the bridegroom visits his spouse, takes off her blind, shows himself to her by the light of the fire, to satisfy her that there is no mistake as to the identity of his person, and then blinds her again, and retires. She continues in this condition of utter darkness for the term of one week. During the whole of this week, after the first day, all the women that choose it visit

her; one of their number is appointed to cook the victuals, and perform all the other domestic duties, until the spouse is brought out to the light of day, when she beholds, as her husband, a capricious vagabond, and a bloody monster, for the least deviation from whose mandate she is liable to suffer death. Assuredly the American fair will not envy her happiness!

The next day after this marriage the horses were all brought up again, and there was exhibited the master piece of horsemanship that I ever saw. There were about forty of those animals, the most beautiful that can be described, of full size, the most part gray, some either sorrel or bay, all in a state of nature, their saddles of the Arabian make, and superior to all others, (being so high before and behind, and so well secured by strong girths, that the rider is never in danger of falling off,) the bridles of such a construction as brings the horse under so complete command, that the rider can either stop him instantly or break his jaw, the stirrups after the European kind. They mounted their horses thus equipped, formed themselves into platoons, each man with his musket in his hand. And now their feat begins; from before the tent of the bridegroom they start off on a gallop, holding the bridle in the left hand, and their musket between the thumb and the two fore fingers of the right; by the power of these fingers and the thumb, the musket is so swiftly whirled round that a spectator would be at a loss to determine whether it were a gun, a staff or whatever else. While the horses are in full gallop, on the word *stop*, which is so instantly and simultaneously obeyed, that it is not uncommon for the horse and his rider to be down in the sand together,—at the word *stop*, each of the horsemen throws up his gun into the air, and catching it again in such a manner that his thumb and the fore finger are upon the trigger, he fires it off in the air, and all their guns, thus fired together, make but one report. This dexterous feat I beheld with astonishment; it really seemed too much for any of the human kind, with the aid of brutes, to perform. Our English boys told me that this kind of amusement was very common there.

In the first stage of the exhibition that has now been related, one man

was down together with his horse; the stirrups were so short that one of his legs was clear of the horse, which, by means of his spurring him with one foot, arose with the rider. The fellow, appearing much mortified at the accident returned to the tent, and rode round the several tents, apparently angry with his poor beast, which, as we thought, was not at all to blame. The boys said they never knew of a man dismounting in a case of this kind; that if he did so he would be considered by his companions as unworthy of an equal rank with them, and of course would fall into disgrace. They kept it up riding and firing in this way for more than half an hour. Their poor horses fared hard, so deep did their spurs cut their sides, as to make the blood flow pretty copiously. The weather being very hot, the sweat ran down their legs, and at the same time these sons of Ishmael showed some signs of uncommon warmth themselves. At length their horses were unrigged, and sent out to feed in this dry and barren ground, where only in small patches could be found even so much as dry grass; after all, they were not very lean of flesh.

After the horses were gone, a horse shoe was picked up, which upon examining it, I found different from any thing of the kind I had ever seen. I can give no better description of it than the following one. Set the horse's foot upon a plate of thick sheet-iron, upon which draw a mark round the hoof, cut the iron to the mark, punch in it small nail holes near the edge and cut out from the middle a round piece, about the size of an English shilling—and then you will have an Arabian horse shoe. These people, that is to say, the wild Arabs, keep their horses shod only when they are about going a long journey over rocky mountains.

Soon after they had recovered from the fatigue of riding, they betook themselves to another of their amusements, which was firing at a mark; the mark was a feather, stuck on a heap of sand, and raised above its level about two feet; their distance about forty yards. So expert were they, that three out of four hit the feather with a single ball. This and their other amusements, such as singing, leaping, and so forth, finished the day. During this time we peeped into the tent, and saw the recently

married fair one sitting on a mat, blindfold, and much engaged in conversation with a dozen, or more, of these miserable wretches of her sex. *1b.*

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CHARACTER OF THE LATE SAMUEL  
DEXTER OF BOSTON.

*From a charge delivered to the grand jury at Boston, by judge Story of the United States supreme court.*

In his person Mr. Dexter was tall and well formed, of strong well defined features, and bold muscular proportions. His manners were at a first interview reserved and retiring; and this was sometimes mistaken by a careless observer for austerity or pride. But this impression vanished on a farther acquaintance; and it was soon perceived, that though he made no effort to court popularity, he was frank, manly and accessible; and at the bar conciliatory and respectful. His countenance was uncommonly striking; and yet perhaps scarcely gave at once the character of his mind. Unless awakened by strong interests his features relaxed into a repose, which betrayed little of his intellectual grandeur. In such situations his eyes had a tranquil mildness, which seemed better suited to an habitual indolence of temperament, than to fervid thoughts. Yet a curious observer might read in his face the traces of a contemplative mind, sometimes lost in reveries, and sometimes devoted to the most intense abstractions of metaphysics. When roused into action, his features assumed a new aspect. A steady stream of light emanated from his eyes, the muscles of his face swelled with emotion, and a slight flush chafed his pallid cheeks. His enunciation was remarkably slow, distinct, and musical; though the intonations of his voice were sometimes too monotonous. His language was plain, but pure and well selected; and, though his mind was stored with poetic images, he rarely indulged himself in ornaments of any kind. If a rhetorical illustration, or striking metaphor, sometimes adorned his speeches, they seemed the spontaneous burst of his genius, produced without effort, and dismissed without regret. They might indeed be compared to those spots of beautiful verdure, which are scattered here and there in Alpine regions amidst the dazzling whiteness of surrounding snows. In the

exordiums of his speeches he was rarely happy. It seemed the first exercise of a mind struggling to break its slumbers, or to control the torrent of its thoughts. As he advanced, he became collected, forcible and argumentative; and his perorations were uniformly grand and impressive. They were often felt when they could not be followed.

Such was the general character of his delivery. But it would be a great mistake to suppose, because his principal favourite was ratiocination, that his delivery was cold, tame, or uninteresting. I am persuaded, that nature had given him uncommon strength of passions. The natural characteristics of his mind were fervour and force; and, left to the mere workings of his own genius, he would have been impetuous and vehement. But he seemed early to have assumed the mastery of his mind; to have checked its vivid movements by habitual discipline; and bound his passions in the adamant chains of logic and reasoning. The dismissal of the graces of fancy and of picturesque description were with him a matter of choice, and not of necessity. He resigned them, as Hercules resigned pleasure, not because he was insensible of its charms, but because he was more enamoured of wisdom. Yet, as if to show his native powers, he has sometimes let loose the enthusiasm of his genius, and touched with a master's hand every chord of the passions, and alternately astonished, delighted, and melted his hearers. Something of the same effect has been produced, by, what may be fitly termed, the moral sublimity of his reasoning. He opened his arguments in a progressive order, erecting each successive position upon some other, whose solid mass he had already established on an immovable foundation, till at last the superstructure seemed, by its height and ponderous proportions, to bid defiance to the assaults of human ingenuity. I am aware, that these expressions may be deemed the exaggerations of fancy, but I only describe, what I have felt on my own mind; and I gather from others, that I have not been singular in my feelings.

It would be invidious to compare Mr. Dexter with other illustrious men of our country, either living or dead. In general acquirements he was unques-

tionably inferior to many; and even in professional science he could scarcely be considered, as very profound, or very learned. He had a disinclination to the pages of black-lettered law, which he sometimes censured as the scholastic refinements of monkish ages; and even for the common branches of technical science, the doctrines of special pleading, and the niceties of feudal tenures, he professed to feel little of love or reverence. His delight was to expatiate in the elements of jurisprudence, and to analyze and combine the great principles of equity and reason, which distinguish the branches of maritime law. In commercial causes, therefore, he shone with peculiar advantage. His comprehensive mind was familiar with all the leading distinctions of this portion of law; and he marked out with wonderful sagacity and promptitude, the almost evanescent boundaries, which sometimes separate its principles. Indeed it may be truly said of him, that he could walk a narrow isthmus between opposing doctrines, where no man dared to follow him. The law of prize and of nations were also adapted to his faculties; and no one, who heard him upon these topics, but was compelled to confess, that if he was not always convincing, he was always ingenious; and that when he attempted to shake a settled rule, though he might be wrong upon authority and practice, he was rarely wrong upon the principles of international justice.

In short there have been men more thoroughly imbued with all the fine tinctures of classic taste; men of more playful and cultivated imaginations; of more deep and accurate research, and of more various and finished learning. But if the capacity to examine a question by the most comprehensive analysis; to subject all its relations to the test of the most subtle logic; and to exhibit them in perfect transparency to the minds of others:—If the capacity to detect, with an unerring judgment, the weak points of an argument, and to strip off every veil from sophistry or error:—If the capacity to seize, as it were by intuition, the learning and arguments of others, and instantaneously to fashion them to his own purposes:—If I say, these constitute some of the highest prerogatives of genius, it will be difficult to find many rivals, or superiors to



Mr. Dexter. In the sifting and comparison of evidence, and in moulding its heterogeneous materials into one consistent mass, the bar and the bench have pronounced him almost inimitable.

His eloquence was altogether of an original cast. It had not the magnificent colouring of Burke, or the impetuous flow of Chatham. It moved along in majestic simplicity, like a mighty stream, quickening and fertilizing every thing in its course. He persuaded without seeming to use the arts of persuasion; and convinced without condescending to solicit conviction. No man was ever more exempt from finesse or cunning in addressing a jury. He disdained the little arts of sophistry or popular appeal. It was in his judgment something more degrading than the sight of Achilles playing with a lady's distaff. It was surrendering the integrity, as well as honour, of the bar. His conduct afforded, in these particulars, an excellent example for young counsellors, which it would be well for them to imitate, even though they should follow in his path with unequal footsteps.

His studies were not altogether of a professional nature. He devoted much time to the evidences and doctrines of christianity; and his faith in its truths was fixed after the most elaborate inquiries. That he was most catholic and liberal in his views, is known to us all; but, except to his intimate friends, it is little known, how solicitous he was to sustain the credibility of the christian system; and how ingenious and able were his expositions of its doctrines.

As a statesman, it is impossible to regard his enlightened policy and principles without reverence. He had no foreign partialities, or prejudices to indulge, or gratify. All his affections centered in his country; all his wishes were for its glory, independence, and prosperity. The steady friend of the constitution of the United States, he was, in the purest and most appropriate sense of the terms, a patriot and a republican. He considered the union of the States as the pole-star of our liberties; and whatever might be his opinion of any measures, he never breathed a doubt to shake public or private confidence in the excellence of the constitution itself. When others sunk into despondency at the gloomy aspect of public affairs, and seemed al-

most ready to resign their belief in republican institutions, he remained their inflexible advocate. He was neither dismayed by the intemperance of parties, nor by the indiscretion of rulers. He believed in the redeeming power of a free constitution; and that, though the people might sometimes be deceived, to their intelligence and virtue we might safely trust to equalize all the eccentricities and perturbations of the political system. He had the singular fortune, at different times, to be the favourite of different parties, occupying in each the same elevation. It is not my purpose to examine, or vindicate his conduct in either of these situations. I feel indeed, that I am already treading upon ashes thinly strewn over living embers. The present is not the time for an impartial estimate of his political conduct. That duty belongs, and may be safely left, to posterity. Without pretending to anticipate their award, we may with some confidence affirm, that the fame of Mr. Dexter has little to fear from the most rigid scrutiny. While he lived, he might be claimed with pride by any party; but now that he is dead, he belongs to his country.

To conclude,—Mr. Dexter was a man of such rare endowments, that in whatever age or nation he had lived, he would have been in the first rank of professional eminence. It is unfortunate, that he has left no written record of himself. The only monument of his fame rests in the frail recollections of memory, and can reach future ages only through the indistinctness of tradition or history. His glowing thoughts, his brilliant periods, and his profound reasonings, have perished for ever. They have passed away like a dream or a shadow. He is gathered to his fathers; and his lips are closed in the silence of death.

I rejoice to have lived in the same age with him; and to have been permitted to hear his eloquence, and to be instructed by his wisdom. I mourn that my country has lost a patriot without fear or reproach. The glory, that has settled on his tomb will not be easily obscured; and if it shall grow dim in the lapse of time, I trust, that some faithful historian will preserve the character of his mind in pages, that can perish only with the language, in which it is written.

## THE BOY AND THE BUTTERFLY.

*Translated from the French. By Mrs. Lamont.*

'Twas in a garden sweet and gay,  
A beauteous boy rovd with delight;  
Before him, in a rich display,  
Of colours, glittering in the ray,  
A butterfly attracts his sight.

From flower to flower the fickle thing  
In many a sportive ringlet flies,  
And seems so lovely on the wing,  
No weariness the chase can bring,  
Though vainly the pursuit he tries.

Now on a pink in balmy rest,  
He strives to make the prize his own,  
Now on a rose's fragrant breast,  
He thinks its flight he shall arrest,  
But, lo! again the wanton's flown.

And still the chase no toil can bring,  
Though vainly the pursuit he tries;  
So tempting seems the lovely thing,  
Thus seen at distance on the wing,  
Still glittering in his ardent eyes.

And now his hopes to tantalize,  
Behold! it on a myrtle near!  
Next on a violet bank it lies—  
He tears, and with his hat he tries  
To cover the gay dutterer here.

But all in vain each art and wile  
To catch the beauteous playful thing;  
Yet still he disregards his toil,  
Its beauties still his pains beguile,  
Thus seen before him on the wing.

At last the flutterer he espies,  
Half buried in a tulip's bell,  
He grasps the flower in glad surprise—  
Within his grasp the insect dies;—  
His vain regrets, his tears now tell.

Thus Pleasure, that gay butterfly,  
In prospect cheers the mind;  
But if too eagerly we clasp,  
It perishes within our grasp,  
And leaves a sting behind. *Lit. Pan.*

## ON BLINDNESS.

*By J. W. Pfeil, a blind boy aged 16 years.*

In vain for me the solar ray;  
In vain for me the meadow gay  
In vain fair flowerets blow;  
In vain for me the liberal hand  
Of Nature decks the smiling land,  
And bids the landscape glow:

In vain the volume's pleasing page,  
With history, or precepts sage,  
Or sweet amusement fraught,  
Solicits my inquiring view,  
And spreads its beauties ever new,  
Which erst I eager sought!

Alas! those pleasures all are o'er;  
Those beauties I behold no more;  
No more my sightless eye  
O'er Pindus' flow'ry mount can stray,  
The sweets of Nature can survey:—  
I turn aside and sigh!

I hear the voice of pleasure sound;  
I hear the dance's sportive round;  
No sound of joy to me!  
While festive forms around me flit,  
Alone in pensive mode I sit,  
Debarr'd festivity.

In vain the Park, the Ball, the Play,  
For me their various charms display:—  
Oh! ye to whom the light  
Its thousand joys delight supplies,  
Ye little know how high to prize  
The blessedness of sight! *Ib.*

## THE DEVIL'S BRIDGE.

*By the same.*

WHEN Satan escap'd from the furnace below,  
And a bridge had been thrown  
To our world from his own,\*  
On which his infernals might come and might  
go—  
How various and vast are the devilish crew;  
Which deserting in haste  
Their fierce fiery waste,  
Sat out with intention our globe to review.  
But distant was Earth from their hellish  
abode;  
So we can't feel amaze  
At some trifling delays,  
That some of the devils were long on the road.  
Fell Envy, and Anger, the first of the train,  
Set their foot on the land  
Which soon felt their command,  
And blood stain'd the hand of the fratricide  
Cain.

This couple of Devils long worried our Sires;  
But some more of the throng  
Paid a visit ere long  
And every bosom inflamed with their fires!  
But when further victims could no where be  
found,  
When the Earth was o'erflowing,  
And dry land was all gone,  
They took to their heels, that they might not  
be drown'd.

But soon they return'd, when the flood clear'd  
away;  
And Ambition we hear  
First arriv'd in our sphere,  
And Nimrod the Hunter sought men for his  
prey.  
Soon Cruelty follow'd, and Avarice, and  
Pride—  
Imps of every name  
In such multitudes came,  
That Tellus in evil with Tartarus vied.

\* See Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

Then Luxury came to the plague of poor man,  
And Disease, and Pain,  
Which compos'd a long train,  
Made use of their bridge, and their torment  
began. *Ib.*

THE INFIDEL.  
*By the same.*

THERE is no God, the unbeliever cries;  
By chance alone my spirit here was sent;  
My powers in present joy I'll exercise;  
And scorn the thought of after punishment.  
In ev'ry heedless pleasure, every crime,  
Whate'er he thinks to happiness may tend,  
He spends, he dissipates his precious time,  
For death he deems his everlasting end.  
And is he happy? seeks he not in vain  
For bliss? must not his ev'ry appetite  
Indulg'd, nor aught enjoyment to obtain  
Too vile be deemed, feticity excite?  
Behold, beneath that laughing lip so gay,  
A lurking something far—ah far—from  
joy!  
Oh! could'st thou but that bosom open lay,  
The secret feelings which that heart em-  
ploy—  
Then soon would cease the question of sur-  
prise!  
Why flies the youthful cheek the healthful  
bloom?  
What dims the sparkle of those fading eyes,  
And clouds e'en pleasure with a shade of  
gloom?  
When one by one his dearest friends are gone;  
When still surviving he remains alone;  
How sad his state! his prospect how forlorn!  
No future life!—all are for ever flown.  
Behold him when the hoary frost of years  
Is thinly scattered o'er his brow, when  
death  
In all his gloomy horrors close appears,  
And warns him to prepare to yield his  
breath:  
No children, whom his hand has train'd with  
care  
In virtue and in duty's path, are nigh,  
To stay his tottering steps; his griefs to share;  
To watch him with affection's filial eye.  
And stretch'd at length upon his dying bed,  
While mortal damps bedew his pallid  
brow,  
And racking doubts distract his aching head,  
Behold the wretched unbeliever now.  
No recollection now of pious deeds  
Can cheer his soul, can sooth the parting  
groan;  
He feels the grasp of death: the world re-  
cedes,  
And all is void: an awful dark unknown—  
And oh! is this his boasted happiness?  
Is this a life of enviable bliss?  
Is this a life of happy blessedness?  
A life how sad! a death how dreadful this!  
*Ib.*

ODE TO THE POPPY.  
*By Mrs. Norton.*

Not for the promise of the labour'd field,  
Not for the gold the yellow harvests yield,  
I bend at Ceres' shrine!  
For dull to humid eyes appear  
The golden glories of the year!  
Alas! a melancholy worship's mine!

I woo the Goddess for her scarlet flower,  
Thou brilliant weed,  
That dost so far exceed  
The richest gifts gay Flora can bestow,  
Heedless I pass'd thee in life's morning hour,  
Thou comforter of wo!

In early age, when Fancy cheats,  
A varied wreath I wove  
Of laughing Spring's luxuriant sweets,  
To deck ungrateful Love.  
The rose or thorn my labours crown'd,  
As Venus smil'd, or Venus frown'd;  
But Love and Joy, and all their train are  
flown;  
E'en laughing Hope no more is mine,  
And I can think of thee alone:  
Unless, perchance, the attributes of grief,  
The cypress bud or willow leaf,  
Their pale, funereal foliage blend with thine.

Hail! lovely blossom! thou canst ease  
The wretched victims of disease,  
Canst close those weary eyes in gentle sleep  
Which never open but to weep;  
For oh! thy potent charm  
Can agonizing pain disarm,  
Expel imperious memory from her seat,  
And bid the throbbing heart forget to beat.

Soul-soothing plant, that canst such blessings  
give,  
By *Thee* the mourner bears to live,  
By *Thee* the hopeless die!  
Oh! ever friendly to despair!  
Might Sorrow's pallid votary dare,  
Without a crime, that remedy implore,  
Which bids the spirit from its bondage fly,  
I'd court thy palliative aid no more—  
No more I'd sue that thou should'st  
spread  
Thy spell around my aching head;  
But would conjure thee to impart  
Thy balsam to a bleeding heart,  
And by thy soft Lethæan power,  
Inestimable flower!  
Burst these terrestrial bonds, and unknown  
regions try! *Ib.*

SONG—BY MOORE.

*From the lately published Number of the Irish  
Melodies.*  
As slow our ship her foamy track  
Against the wind was cleaving,

Her trembling pennant still look'd back  
 To that dear isle 'twas leaving,  
 So loth we part from all we love,  
 From all the links that bind us;  
 So turn our hearts where'er we rove,  
 To those we've left behind us.

When round the bowl, of vanished years  
 We talk with joyous seeming,  
 And smiles that might as well be tears,  
 So faint, so sad their beaming;  
 While mem'ry brings us back again  
 Each early tie that twin'd us;  
 Oh sweet's the cup that circles then  
 To those we've left behind us.

And when in other climes we meet  
 Some isle, or vale enchanting,  
 Where all looks flow'ry, wild, and sweet,  
 And nought but love is wanting;  
 We think how great had been our bliss,  
 If Heav'n had but assigned us  
 To live and die in scenes like this,  
 With some we've left behind us!

As trav'lers oft look back at eve  
 When eastward darkly going,  
 To gaze upon that light they leave  
 Still faint behind them glowing,—  
 So, when the close of pleasure's day  
 To gloom hath near consigned us,  
 We turn to catch one fading ray,  
 Of joy that's left behind us.

SONG—*By the same.*

WHEN'E'R I see those smiling eyes,  
 All fill'd with hope, and joy, and light,  
 As if no cloud could ever rise,  
 To dim a heav'n so purely bright—  
 I sigh to think how soon that brow  
 In grief may lose its every ray,  
 And that light heart, so joyous now,  
 Almost forget it once was gay.

For Time will come with all its blights,  
 The ruin'd hope—the friend unkind—  
 And Love, who leaves, where'er he lights,  
 A chill'd or burning heart behind!  
 And youth, that like pure snow appears,  
 Ere sullied by the dark'ning rain,  
 When once 'tis touch'd by sorrow's tears,  
 Will never shine so bright again. *Ib.*

SONG—*By Mr. R. Wilde, of Georgia.*

My life is like the summer rose,  
 That opens to the morning sky,  
 But ere the shades of evening close,  
 Is scatter'd on the ground to die:  
 But on that rose's humble bed  
 The sweetest dews of night are shed,  
 As if she wept such waste to see—  
 But none shall weep a tear for me.

My life is like the autumn leaf,  
 That trembles in the moon's pale ray,

Its hold is frail, its date is brief—  
 Restless, and soon to pass away:  
 Yet ere that leaf shall fall and fade,  
 The parent tree shall mourn its shade,  
 The winds bewail the leafless tree—  
 But none shall breathe a sigh for me.

My life is like the print which feet  
 Have left on Tempe's desert strand—  
 Soon as the rising tide shall beat,  
 This track will vanish from the sand:  
 Yet, as if grieving to efface  
 All vestige of the human race,  
 On that lone shore loud moans the sea,  
 But none shall e'er lament for me.

A TOM-A-BEDLAN SONG.

FROM the Hag and hungry goblin  
 That into rags would rend ye,  
 All the spirits that stand  
 By the naked man,  
 In the book of moons defend ye!  
 That of your five sound senses  
 You never be forsaken;  
 Nor travel from  
 Yourselves with Tom  
 Abroad, to beg your bacon.

CHORUS.

Nor never sing any food and feeding.  
 Money, drink, or clothing;  
 Come dame or maid,  
 Be not afraid,  
 For Tom will injure nothing.

Of thirty bare years have I  
 Twice twenty been enraged;  
 And of forty been  
 Three times fifteen  
 In durance soundly caged.  
 In the lovely lofts of Bedlam,  
 In stubble soft and dainty,  
 Brave bracelets strong,  
 Sweet whips ding, dong,  
 And a wholesome hunger plenty.

I know more than Apollo;  
 For, oft when he lies sleeping,  
 I behold the stars  
 At mortal wars,  
 And the rounded welkin weeping;  
 The moon embraces her shepherd,  
 And the queen of Love her warrior;  
 While the first does horn  
 The stars of the morn,  
 And the next the heavenly farrier.

With a heart of furious fancies,  
 Whereof I am commander;  
 With a burning spear,  
 And a horse of air,  
 To the wilderness I wander;  
 With a knight of ghosts and shadows,  
 I summoned am to Tourney:  
 Ten leagues beyond  
 The wide world's end;  
 Methinks it is no journey!





YORK SPRINGS, ADAMS COUNTY, IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Engraved by J. Hill.

Designed by W. Shaw.

# THE ANALECTIC MAGAZINE.

MAY, 1819.

ART. I.—*York Springs, Adams County, Pennsylvania.*

THE variety of medicinal fountains, scattered over our extensive country, which have laid claim to the public attention, has made it desirable to have their qualities and merits carefully inquired into, and judiciously compared. That beneficent Providence which doth nothing in vain, seems as it were expressly to have placed at convenient distances, springs that prove antidotes to the autumnal diseases of our tide-waters; whilst others are within reach of those who may be afflicted by the complaints more common in the interior. An impartial account of the principal mineral waters, with a correct analysis of each, accompanied by a well authenticated relation of the cures effected by them, as well as their probable efficacy in various diseases; with the nature of the country and climate in which they are situated, would, therefore, be received with infinite approbation, and very essential service which might thus be rendered to many unfortunate individuals in search of health. Indeed, it is a matter of some surprise, that this interesting subject has not already exercised the pen of some one, ambitious of literary reputation. At the same time the opinion may be hazarded, that whoever shall undertake to discuss it, should be well skilled in the treatment of diseases in general; conversant with the phenomena of natural philosophy; and a chemist of no mean acquirements: qualifications which ought to be united, although not always found in the character of the physician. There is little doubt that the result of well-directed inquiry on this matter, would prove a source of distinction, as well as profit to him that will execute it with ability.

As yet, the public is in possession of no standard of utility by which the resorts to watering places might, in some measure, be regulated. The faculty themselves appear to be frequently at a loss, to which they ought to send their valetudinary patients. In England, the mineral springs are steadily and regularly frequented. There the season commences early, and continues late; for experience has proved that all mineral waters act slowly and gradually

on the human constitution, and that it is to perseverance in their use, the invalid must look for ultimate and permanent relief. In this country, on the contrary, miracles are too often expected; and if by a week's trial, a cure is not effected, the restlessness of indisposition takes the patient to another place, where he is equally unsuccessful. This uncertainty, arising, perhaps, from the indecision of the very physician who may recommend the trial of the water, can only be remedied by a better knowledge on his part, and a consequently more positive instruction to the patient. These circumstances, joined to the fickleness of fashion, are probably the causes why those who have embarked their capital in the establishment of watering places, have hitherto met with very inadequate compensation. But we would fain console them with the anticipation of better times, when the utility of such of these places as stand the ordeal of investigation, comes to be better understood. Such springs are not sufficiently numerous in the United States to receive the crowds, that in the course of time must, with the increasing wealth and population of the country, augment upon them: nor, we will venture to predict, will any contributions be necessary, as in Germany, to prevent the casual diminution of visitors from proving ruinous to the proprietors.

In the list of watering places, Ballston and Saratoga, in the state of New York, are at present in most favour. Independent of the intrinsic merits of their waters, the delightful tour up the North river, with the contiguity to the enchantment of lake scenery, must always attract to them a crowd of invalids, as well as an overflow of gay visitors.

We know of no mineral springs to the southwest of Ballston and Saratoga, until we enter Pennsylvania, when Bristol, distant twenty miles, and the Yellow Springs thirty miles from Philadelphia, both chalybeates, present themselves. The waters of these springs, probably, do not possess qualities so extensively applicable to the diseases of our climate, as to lay the foundation of a certain resort of company. There is at the Yellow Springs, a remarkably cold bath, fed by the spring. But both Bristol and this place have dwindled into the second or third rank of watering places; aided, no doubt, in their decline, by the superior attraction of the sea bathing on the shores of Jersey, and the greater and cheaper facility of going thither, afforded by the steam boat navigation.

Advancing to the west, we approach the south spur of the Alleghany, and on the edge of what geologists call the *first primitive stratum of formation*, we find the York Springs, the subject of the present essay. At no place of the kind in the United States, is the instability of resort more exemplified than there, for it is sometimes crowded to excess, as whim may excite; at other times, almost deserted, as the public taste may have been biassed by the unceasing boasts of more novel and more active interest.

To the southwest of the York Springs, at a point where the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, may be simultaneously



beheld, is Berkely, or Bath, in Virginia. Bath is the most appropriate appellation; the water flowing so abundantly from the foot of the mountain, as to form superb baths of a pleasant temperature. The water is very light; contains some magnesia; and is said to possess a diuretic quality. Berkely is much frequented by the Virginians, and being convenient to the route to Bedford, presents a kind of stopping place to those who may have visited that place.

Beyond the second range of the Alleghany ridge, on the great Pennsylvania turnpike, is situated the recently discovered spring at Bedford; of which we have seen no perfect analysis. The rage for novelty has attracted uncommon numbers to the Bedford spring, and its success has been promoted by the mountain scenery, as well as the unusual exertions made to attract public attention. The water acts powerfully as a cathartic and diuretic.

Of the various mineral waters, situated along the same range of mountains, and in Virginia, little is known, except that they are greatly resorted to by the inhabitants of the southern states.

Seven miles from Trent, or Mount Holly Gap, in the south mountain, and on the turnpike road, leading from Baltimore to Carlisle, distant from the former 57, and from the latter, 15 miles, are situated the York springs, some account of which, is the purpose of the following dissertation.

The York springs, were so named, from having been situated in what was originally a part of York county; but they now lie in Adams county, which was taken from York and made into a separate county, in the year 1800. The northern line of Adams ranges along the foot of the south mountain; which, after traversing Virginia, Maryland, and west of Pennsylvania, loses itself in York county as it approaches the Susquehanna. This range of mountain furnishes ample food for research to the botanist, the mineralogist, and the natural philosopher; and on no part of it more than in the neighbourhood of the York springs. At the distance of twenty miles, the Antitum river, a considerable branch of the Potomac, rushes from a cleft in the mountain, forming at its source, and for several miles down, an unequalled trout stream. Several smaller creeks, such as the Yellow-Breeches, the Mountain-creek, Bermudian, Latimor, and Conewago, afford excellent trout and other fishing. The mountain abounds with deer and smaller game, and the lower grounds with pheasants, partridge, and woodcock. When to these attractions it is added, that fevers and agues are entire strangers to the York springs and its neighbourhood, and that the invalid can resort to them in safety, and use the water with equal efficacy at all seasons of the year, it is believed that it is saying more than can be urged in favour of any other watering place in the United States.

Philadelphia is distant about 106 miles east by south of the York springs. The route is through the fine counties of Chester, Lancaster and York; a range of cultivated country, not exceeded for wealth or beauty in our land. In another year, the turnpike now

constructing, from York to Gettysburg, will cross the Baltimore turnpike at 8 1-2 miles from the springs—so that the access from two principal cities, to this delightful and salutary spot, will soon be perfectly easy and safe. The invalid has no mountains to scale, but as he approaches this high range of country, he feels sensibly the invigorating influence of mountain air, without trembling at the anticipated fatigue of climbing those rugged ascents.

Descending the Baltimore road, the visitor comes suddenly on the springs, situated at the foot of a steep hill, with the Bermudian creek flowing in the centre of a narrow valley. The rural prospect is rendered more agreeable by the view on the one side, of an orchard, a meadow skirted by lofty trees, and an extensive garden of three acres, banked out from the incursions of the creek, and having at its head a neat range of warm baths; and on the other, by a native wood, whose inartificial shade bids defiance to the summer heats. There is scarcely to be found a spot, which at a moderate expense, could be made more beautiful; for nature has done much towards embellishing this place, which, rude as it is, the eye dwells on with increasing pleasure; and there are few persons, who have once visited the rural scenery of the York springs, who do not wish to see it again. There is just enough of cultivation, contrasted with the yet untamed forest, to please the taste of those who have fled for a while from the dust of the city. A mountain, a plain, a valley, a stream, present themselves in miniature: they harmonize with each other; they are all accessible, all, as it were, tangible without any great fatigue or exertion; and thence, perhaps, the sensible satisfaction their contemplation almost invariably inspires.

The principal mineral spring lies on the southeast side of the Bermudian, which flows immediately by the inclosure, and was originally a deer-lick. Within the recollection of many of the old neighbours, the white hunters, but little removed from their savage predecessors, lurked under the covert of the rocks and thickets immediately above the spring, to make sure of their unsuspecting victims, who, guided by unerring instinct, flocked to the pool, whose water they delighted in; and whose mud they licked for the salt it contained. The brutes belonging to civilized man, display this same avidity; crossing in numbers the clear flowing water of the creek, to reach the vent of the spring, where they are observed to drink in incredible quantities. It was this marked propensity, which induced John Fickes, Esq. one of the earliest owners to have the qualities of the water inquired into. Enough was ascertained, without a regular analysis, to show that it contained ingredients highly valuable for their medicinal effects. One poor ulcerated wretch, recorded his name and his gratitude upon a stone, and the country around viewed the spring with little less veneration than is bestowed on the far-famed relic of some Catholic shrine. And the reputation thus spontaneously bestowed, has been sustained with extraordinary success for upwards of forty years.

The water of the York sulphur spring possesses nothing of that nauseous taste, which makes it a task to drink that of many other mineral springs. It is exceedingly light and palatable, and although containing little or no fixed air, can be drank in extraordinary quantities. It has a slightly hepatic smell, observably affected by the state of the weather and the atmosphere. It operates commonly as a gentle cathartic, and a powerful diuretic. In cases where there is a surcharge of bile, it will cause nausea with consequent vomiting; and where there is reason to believe the stomach in that state, a little cathartic medicine may be necessary, before it is used. Commonly, about three weeks after it is drank liberally, it acts as a copious sudorific. The gravel has been relieved and removed by it in many instances—and that disease has been detected in an incipient state, where there had not been the slightest suspicion of its previous existence. Complaints arising from dyspepsia, and a deranged state of the biliary ducts, are generally corrected, and partially or wholly relieved. The liver complaint consequently, in its early stages, with a suitable diet, and plentiful use of this water, will be arrested in its course, and fully removed. The most confirmed deafness has been, in a few cases, considerably lessened. It is supposed that six persons out of ten, who drink the York spring water, expel large quantities of worms, and that too, in cases where medicine has failed to produce this effect. When it is reflected how great a proportion of the ills that human nature suffers under, are included in the above short list, we cannot sufficiently praise that providence which hath compounded and freely bestowed on mankind, so simple, yet so admirable a remedy. It has been supposed by some medical gentlemen, that the sufferings of consumption may be alleviated by the use of this water; and even this is some consolation to those who labour under that hopeless malady. To close the list, which is believed to be nothing exaggerated, the slimy deposit of the spring, has been found an excellent remedy for old ulcers and sores.

Recent experiments, by actual analysis, have produced the following result:

Sixteen ounces of the water contained 32 grains of saline matter, composed of sulphate of magnesia, sulphate of lime, and muriate of soda. On separation, their relative quantities we found to be,

Sulphate of magnesia,	(Epsom salt)	20
Sulphate of lime,	(Gypsum)	6
Muriate of soda,	(Common salt)	4
Loss in the separation,	- - -	2
		—32

or very nearly - - Magnesia, 11  
 Lime, 3  
 Sulphuric acid, 12 grs.

consequently  $11 + 3 + 12 + 4 = 30$  grains: or, the proportion of the ingredients in one pint of the water.

Medical men will be enabled to judge by this extract from the analysis, made by Dr. Cutbush, how far the benefits to be derived from the use of the York spring water, may be correctly set forth in this essay. The writer, who, it may be perceived, is no physician, has witnessed enough of its salutary effects, to know that it is nothing magnified; but if any thing, rather less, than exceeding the truth.

Within a short distance of the old deer-lick, a chalybeate spring has been lately discovered and opened. On an analysis by judge Cooper, this water is found to contain 2 1-4 grains of iron in every pint. The experiment, after ascertaining the existence of this quantity of iron, left so trifling a residuum, as not to be worthy of notice. The discovery of this spring, ought certainly to enhance the reputation of the York springs as a watering place; although chalybeates are so common all over the country. It is, perhaps, when the usual period for drinking from the old spring, has been diligently employed, that the use of such a tonic may be found most salutary; and the invalid has at all events, the choice of springs.

Of the geographical situation of the York springs, notice has been already taken: it may be added, that they are surrounded by flourishing country towns and villages. Harrisburg the seat of government of the state, is situated about twenty-one miles to the east north-east. Carlisle fifteen miles north, Gettysburg thirteen miles south-west, Berlin six miles, Oxford nine miles, and Hanover fifteen miles south, and York, where congress sat for a short period during the revolutionary war, is nineteen miles distant to the east south-east.

It remains for us to give some account, (perhaps not the least interesting part of the essay to the larger part of those who visit watering places;) of the establishment in general at the York springs.

The former proprietors of this place, were not at all calculated to give it a just share of celebrity, by disseminating properly the knowledge of the virtues of the water: and they were equally deficient in affording those comforts indispensable to that class of persons usually visiting watering places. We speak of *comforts*; luxuries were out of the question. The palpable deficiencies on this important point, had been operating silently but steadily for several years prior to the purchase of the springs by the present owner, Mr. Lowry, and it is well known, that, after a character of that kind is conferred on any place of fashionable resort, it will take several years of assiduous attention and liberal hospitality to reacquire the ground which has been lost in the public estimation; more particularly where a proprietor, by whatever motive he may be actuated, does not take due pains to signify the change that is made, or to blazon forth his superior treatment of his guests, or better organization of his establishment. The present owner's backwardness on this head, has been injurious to his interest; and the public, would perhaps have been under obligations to him had he been less modest. The common rules of taverns, are inap-

plicable to establishments of this kind; which should possess all their convenience, with a much larger portion of comfort and retirement. It is with this view of the subject, that the York springs are conducted as boarding-houses, receiving only those who come to drink the waters; and not the casual traveller, with but occasional exceptions. The accommodations, in conformity, are opened in June, and closed in September. It is obvious that the conductor of such an establishment as the York springs; we may add any similar one, should be a person, who, possessing the manners and urbanity of a gentleman, has seen enough of polite life, and good cheer, to be able to apply to his visitors the rules of the first, as well as amply to gratify their just claims to the last; and perhaps we risk nothing in asserting that just such an one is the present proprietor. The system and order that Mr. Lowry has introduced into the boarding-houses have been justly admired, and he who would not be contented with the fare, would be more difficult to please than Epicurus himself.

There is a handsome billiard room, separate from the lodging houses. Also a reading room furnished with the daily papers, as well as a neat collection of books.

The eating room is fifty-two feet long by thirty feet in breadth, and the walls exhibit a collection of paintings executed in Paris, of various characters of the French revolution.

The drawing room, which is used as the ball room also, is thirty-seven feet long by twenty-five feet broad. And here it may be proper to remark, that at no watering place in the United States, is there generally, indeed almost invariably, to be met a society composed of more elegant materials, than is to be found at the York springs; and the best proof of it is the harmony and sociability for which they have hitherto been remarkable. K.

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ART. II.—*Translation from a late number of La Minerve Française.*

### ON THE UNITED STATES.

**T**HE prosperity of the union makes rapid progress. Lately a colony, but now a nation—and rivalling the richest among nations—that country beholds no obstacles which it cannot overcome; no goal which it may not reach. Agriculture improves its territory; liberty augments its population; industry opens every ocean to its commerce. It is the country of all others where doctrines are best supported by interest; where they speak least of liberty, and yet where liberty is most secure. Elsewhere, men may be deceived by words; *there*, words have little value; eloquence, therefore, is seen with a rare simplicity, more solicitous to be understood than to be admired. The message of Mr. Monroe is a concise and rapid view of the political situation of the states; some things are merely touched upon—nothing is omitted. The prosperous state of the American finances is truly mortifying to those cabinets of Europe, that know only how to invent new imposts and raise new loans. The financial system of America is founded

on a very simple maxim—liberty and protection to the industry of every citizen, economy and watchfulness as to every expenditure of government. Accordingly, behold! her debt is almost liquidated; and her government requires neither taxes nor credit;—compare and judge.

Among the powers of Europe, there are but two that have important relations with the United States—England and Spain. The first is about to renew her treaty of commerce; the articles of which, it appears will not be materially changed, and will embrace all commercial arrangements, and decide the questions so long disputed, of impressment, the fisheries, and the boundary. The other appears to less advantage; Mr. Monroe asserts that Amelia island was not taken from the Spaniards, but from freebooters, who were not acknowledged by Spain, nor by Venezuela, nor by Buenos Ayres. He adds, as to the Floridas, that the United States are willing to restore Pensacola and St. Marks, as soon as the court of Madrid shall send thither a force sufficient to restrain the Indians. The condition is prudent; but for those who know the situation of that court, to make such a condition, is in effect a refusal. The president then adverts to America; he announces that the state of Illinois is added to the confederation, that the Indians have been restored to peace, some by treaties, and others by force of arms, and that those which had refused to submit, were not in a state to continue their resistance. The most interesting part of the discourse is on the subject of South America; Mr. Monroe promises to communicate to congress the observations which have been remitted to him by the commissioners sent to the southern republic. The war between Spain and the Patriots does not appear to him to be near to its conclusion.

The cabinet of Madrid had informed the United States, that their quarrel with the colonies would be decided by the European congress. But when Spain solicited reinforcements, the congress recommended means of reconciliation,—she desired an army, but received *advice*. Thus she finds herself in a contest with her colonies single handed; denied all foreign succour; abandoned to her own strength, and is about to present to the world the example of all that can be done, or all that cannot be done by despotic power in the nineteenth century. The war would have been ere now concluded, if rivalry among the leaders and the provinces did not prevent a general effort; if each state had not unfurled its particular banner, and if all the patriots of the south had rallied round the standard of the same liberty.

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ART. III.—*The Ocean Harp*: a Poem, in two Cantos, with some smaller pieces; and a Monody on the Death of John Syng Dorsey, M.D. By the author of 'Lord Byron's Farewell to England,' Pilgrimage to the Holy Land,' and other pieces. Philad. 1819.

THE writer of these Poems, it appears from the publisher's advertisement, is a Mr. Agg; and we moreover gather from the

preface, that he is one of the many Englishmen, who are induced, by the suffering and oppressed condition of their own country, to seek a residence in ours. He announces himself also, it seems, as the author of certain poetical compositions, which indicated a considerable degree of talent, and acquired no small share of popularity and approbation.

His claims upon our hospitality as a stranger, voluntarily seeking an abode among us, are, therefore, attended by an equally unquestionable right to our courtesy and respect, as a poet of no despicable fame. His recent effusions will, on that account, be perused with every favourable prepossession which he could desire, and if they happen not to be admired, the fault must surely be in the poetry, not in the readers.

But we cannot pass over the 'preliminary advertisement,' prefixed to the poems, without a reluctant comment on the extraordinary avowal which it contains, of conduct which, however leniently it may be regarded by the British public, we hope will never be considered venial among the literary men of America.

We are told that the 'Farewell to England,' was produced as a speculative anticipation of that which was expected from the 'pen of Lord Byron.' And its publication in its present form, was the consequence of a kindly intended, but *perhaps* censurable officiousness on the part of one of these friends to whom it was communicated, and who put it to press *without the knowledge of the author*.

The literary public in this country, would have no hesitation in pronouncing that 'officiousness' highly 'censurable,' which should take such unwarrantable liberty with the name of an author, as to annex it to the work of another. The excessive zeal of indiscreet friends, however, is very easily forgiven. But did Mr. A. repair the fault by a candid disavowal? His own account is this: 'That the flattering reception which it met with, should, afterwards, have prevented him from removing the film from the public eye, and from claiming his own, was, perhaps in no wise, extraordinary. Neither lord Byron nor his friends disowned it; no rival production appeared to destroy its authenticity, nor to check its progress; it was called for extensively, and read with avidity; and, in a French garb, it was honoured with the approbation of the Parisian critics. Subdued by the armour of Achilles, the Trojan hosts rushed from the sword of Patroclus:—the critics, blinded by the borrowed splendour of Byron's name, dropped their feathered lances, and relinquished to the author of this effusion, a triumph to which he had no moral pretension.'

It is much to be wished that the system of using lord Byron's name at the hazard of injuring his character, had ceased here. But in the same year, the 'Pilgrimage' was sent forth with the same falsehood impressed on it. It was published with the words, 'by lord Byron,' in conspicuous capitals on the title page. The 'armour of Achilles' was found so convenient, that his modern 'Patroclus' again assumed it. But with this striking difference

from the Grecian hero, that the consent of 'Achilles' was not previously obtained. The unfairness of making lord Byron's reputation suffer for all the sins of the 'Pilgrimage' is manifest. But Mr. Agg says 'it was not his doing. It was not until the appearance of the poem in public, that the author discovered he had been a second time made the instrument of a deception in which his will had taken no part.' Still, however, although lord Byron was then absent from England, 'the author' chose to remain perfectly silent, and thus to render himself, willingly and intentionally, an *accessary after the fact*, in the 'deception' so injurious to the reputation of the illustrious bard. Mr. Murray, the respectable bookseller in London, who usually publishes lord Byron's poems, now thought it was necessary to interfere, and 'stimulated by a laudable desire to vindicate his noble patron's fame,' obtained an injunction from the lord Chancellor, 'in consequence of which the name of lord Byron was expunged from all the subsequent editions.'

The novelty of this proceeding obtained extraordinary celebrity for the poem; and the author relates, that the 'success of the production kept pace with the march of curiosity,' &c. but attempts not the slightest apology for the course which he pursued on the occasion.

If some poetaster, as much inferior to Mr. A. as he is to lord Byron, should think fit to publish (in the *Port Folio* or elsewhere), a very dull effusion, recommended to public curiosity by the name of 'Mr. Agg,' an analogy would be supplied of a much closer nature to the proceedings detailed in the 'preliminary advertisement' than can be discovered in the story of the armour of Achilles. Not that the 'Pilgrimage' is by any means a despicable production—it is, on the contrary, a very *pretty* poem—although entirely unworthy of the genius of lord Byron. And so striking was the inferiority, that the then editor of this journal, so long ago as May, 1817, before Mr. Murray's application for the injunction was known here, expressed an opinion,\* that although a work of considerable merit, it could not be lord Byron's.

But what is most unfortunate in this 'preliminary advertisement' is, that the author endeavours to stigmatize Mr. Rogers, the well known author of the *Pleasures of Memory*, with the commission of the same sort of artifice.

'Without unnecessary amplification, it may be permitted to the author to add to this statement that the poem entitled "*Jacqueline*," which is also published in the works of lord Byron, is the production of Mr. Rogers, to whose pen the world is also indebted for "*The Pleasures of Memory*." This fraud upon the public, most probably originated with the bookseller of lord Byron; who, with a view to place it at a still greater distance from detection, included the fiction alluded to, in the volume which contained "*Lara*;" in order that, being united in their birth and their form,

\* *Analectic Magazine* for May, 1817, p. 397.



they might be passed upon mankind as the offspring of one muse. There was a manifest disingenuousness in this proceeding, which offers a fair set-off to the deception practised on society by the publisher of the "Farewell to England," the "Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," and the three minor pieces.'

We do not understand how any misconduct of Mr. Rogers or his bookseller, could be a 'set-off' to the deception practised in the publication of Mr. Agg's poems—since a bad example is no justification, at least not until that example has become so general as to have received the tacit pardon of the world. But the fact is not as stated in the quotation above. *Jacqueline*, it is true, was printed originally in the same volume with *Lara*, and there is no doubt that the one is from the pen of Mr. Rogers, and the other from that of lord Byron; but they were both published anonymously; and therefore, as no name was annexed to either, there was as much reason given, by their being united in one volume, to suppose them both by Mr. Rogers as by lord Byron. And as if to prevent the possibility of 'deception' or mistake, an advertisement was prefixed, which being very short and explicit, we copy, as follows:

'The reader of *Lara* may probably regard it as a sequel to a poem that recently appeared: whether the cast of the hero's character, the turn of his adventures, and the general outline and colouring of the story may not encourage such a supposition, shall be left to his determination. To his conjecture is also referred the name of the writer, the knowledge of which would be of no service in assisting his decision on the failure or success of the attempt.

'The poem of *Jacqueline* is the production of a different author, and is added at the request of the writer of the former tale, whose wish and intreaty it was, that it should occupy the first page of the following volume; and he regrets that the tenacious courtesy of his friend would not permit him to place it where the judgment of the reader, concurring with his own, will suggest its more appropriate station.'

The charge against Mr. Rogers and his 'bookseller' is, therefore, entirely groundless.

The 'Ocean Harp' is a long poem, containing, with the introductions to each canto, nearly three thousand lines; its highest merit is prettiness, and *that*, it possesses throughout its whole *expanse*; and its heaviest fault is insipidity, which it owes to the extreme monotony of the versification and style, and the total want of *plot* and dramatic effect.

The first canto contains the reflections of an emigrant from England while on board the ship which brings him away; comprising his farewell to that country, and a prolonged enumeration of the grievances which those must suffer who remain behind.—The second is the approach to America; a long eulogy on our institutions and national character, and particular tributes of praise

to a few of the American worthies. This plan is too abstract to be interesting, and the descant of ORLANDO (*scilicet*, the bard), has little variety or novelty.—At the same time, the versification is very smooth and natural, and shows the author to possess a most dangerous facility in rhyming. A facility that is but too apt to lead into a tedious paraphrase of very common-place ideas, and very trite observations.

The introduction to canto I commences with a description of a moonlight night at sea.

‘ There is a spell of beauty on the deep—  
A soothing, silent, solitary charm,  
That chains th’ imprisoned waters in their keep—  
Of ocean’s God, as if the viewless arm  
Dropp’d on her curv’d and crystal architrave  
And shed a torpid terror o’er the wave.—

There is a chastness of repose—  
A breathlessness—which midnight throws  
Athwart such scene, when breezes fail,  
And idly flaps the shivering sail—  
When stars and planets lend their light  
T’ extend the loneliness of night,  
And lead the wand’ring, wearied eye,  
To lose it in eternity—  
A tranquil holiness, whose birth  
Disdains the slightest kin of earth—  
Like that sweet dream of rest which plays  
Around the drooping christian’s gaze,  
When death hath cast his hideousness  
And wears the countenance of peace—  
That bounds the close of life’s dull even,  
And fills the interval to Heaven.  
Oh gross of soul!—whose sensual taste,  
’Midst such illimitable waste  
Beholds no banquet—in whose breast  
So feebly was the God imprest,  
That impulses, divinely fair,  
Wither in vile abortions there!  
Be his that avarice of strife  
Which bends him to the yoke of life;  
The starry noon, the boundless sea  
Are rapture, wealth, and life, to me;  
My spirit wakes when others sleep,  
Rife are my joys when others weep.  
Lit by ethereal lamps I rise,  
Fancy my wing, my path the skies;  
Sail with the Pleiades round yon arch,  
Mix in the planetary march,  
And deem such maniac moments reign  
Outweighs an age of grovelling pain.’

This is all very pretty, but it is continued through three more pages, and becomes very tiresome; the hero is then introduced:

‘ So calm, so lovely was the night,  
The ocean seem’d a realm of light,  
Back in such silver groups it gave,  
The stars that kiss’d its mirror wave:

No trilling tide—no swell was seen  
 To break its calm, continuous green,  
 But mild as new-born infancy,  
 The midnight wizard trod the sea.  
 On the lone poop—the lyre unstrung  
 Which loosely o'er his shoulder hung—  
 Orlando paus'd, to watch afar  
 A light—'twas redder than a star—  
 On ocean's verge it seem'd to lie  
 Just where the surface meets the sky;  
 A beacon-blaze!—its lustres fell,  
 In eloquence of light to tell,  
 The Briton's "welcome" and "farewell."  
 Glancing from England's latest strand,  
 It told the limit of the land;  
 And there the wanderer's hope and heart  
 Felt all the ties of habit part,  
 The smile of kindred-friends decay,  
 And half life's vision melt away,  
 A tear of weakness—'twas the last,  
 A tribute to enjoyment past—  
 A trophy-gem, from passion's broil  
 Stern Memory's solitary spoil—  
 Just dimm'd the ardour of his eye,  
 Just 'woke the sympathetic sigh;  
 A moment swell'd—but wither'd soon  
 Like spring-drop in the beam of noon—  
 A flash of soul—a thought of flame—  
 A glory from the meteor fame,  
 Play'd round his heart, and soaring higher,  
 Sublim'd it to a glance of fire.'

'No more the ruddy beacon throws  
 Its glance o'er ocean's wide repose,  
 Swiftly its lingering light recedes,  
 From the last cape the vessel speeds,  
 And thus Orlando pours the lay,  
 As the bark cuts the rising spray.'

The preliminary arrangements being thus made, the poem proceeds, and the first page will supply a fair specimen of the general style and manner.

'Last of my native land, whose distant steep  
 Shines through the night, and triumphs o'er the deep—  
 Last of the isle I lov'd till apes of God  
 Bestrode the soil, and wither'd where they trod—  
 Like the fiend-foot, whose scathe, where'er it trac'd,  
 Burnt up the glade, and stamp'd eternal waste—  
 Now as yon lessening light dissolves from view,  
 Receive my plaint, my pity, and adieu!

'Ye mountain sides, array'd in gorgeous green,  
 Where once the form of Liberty was seen—  
 And where, in some lone dell's neglected shade,  
 In later times the truant-goddess stray'd,  
 Nursing her faded hopes, till CHARLOTTE's reign  
 Should give them grace and energy again—  
 'Till as the dirge of death in mournful sound,  
 Oppress'd the breeze and shook the dingles round,

Scar'd at the knell, her tatter'd robe she caught  
 And wildly shrieking, vanish'd from the spot—  
 Ye darkling woods and animated plains  
 Where Nature triumphs o'er a realm in chains—  
 Ye golden corn-fields, whence the noontide ray  
 Borrows a splendour to enhance the day,  
 And, in the broad meridian of his might,  
 Takes back in mellowness his loans of light—  
 Why still, like cluster'd pleasures, loth to part,  
 Hangs your rich imagery round my heart?  
 Why, as the clasp'ng tendrils thence I tear,  
 Start forth new shoots to curl and conquer there?  
 A day once dawn'd—a morn without a cloud—  
 When of his English breed the boor was proud—  
 A day once dawn'd—when Slavery's baleful name  
 Stood lowest in the lexicon of shame;  
 And sordid tyrants, bearded by the brave,  
 What they refus'd to right, to vigour gave—  
 Night came—the glory of the land pass'd by,  
 And mangled Freedom sought a kinder sky!

The following extract from the second canto, comprises one of the most pleasing passages:—

' Shall Penn be unremember'd?—He, whose word  
 Outstripp'd the reeking triumphs of the sword?  
 Whose tones, like his—Apollo's gifted child—  
 Subdu'd impervious woods, and green'd the wild—  
 Shall he, at whose command the forest rung  
 To axe and wedge, unhonour'd and unsung,  
 Beneath the soil he grac'd, like meaner clay,  
 To dull forgetfulness dissolve away?  
 No—if the warrior's chaplet steep'd in tears,  
 Bloom bright along the wilderness of years,  
 How lovelier far the coronet, whose leaf  
 Nor dying streams bedew'd, nor living grief.  
 The sterner spirits of the land may come,  
 To pay their homage at the soldier's tomb;  
 But all the milder virtues, train'd to love  
 The haunts of peace;—in solitary grove,  
 In sylvan bow'r, or round the brook which pours  
 Its murmuring stream, through labyrinths of flow'r's,  
 Chanting their carols of content—shall raise  
 To pure Philanthropy a nobler praise.  
 For what avail the triumphs bought with blood?  
 Disease infects their fame! Deep in the bud  
 The laurel bears a mildew that will feed  
 Upon the doer's glory, through the decd.  
 But they who win by courtesy, oppress—  
 Destroy—usurp not!—them no fatherless—  
 No houseless—spouseless—hope in brawn and chine  
 Cut through, to gorge war's recking libertine—  
 In anguish imprecate! no boundless wild  
 Unpeopled, once where Man and Nature smil'd,  
 Opens their path to greatness! Virgin Spring  
 Her fragrant first-fruits thither speeds to bring  
 Where Penn reposes—for his fingers trac'd  
 A way for Beauty in the charmless waste;  
 Swift at his voice, through channels clos'd till now.  
 The tides of social life began to flow,  
 And where eternal shades had held control,  
 Broke forth the morn—the majesty of soul!

The 'Monody' is not in good taste; a part of it is much the reverse, and is worthy of neither its subject nor its author. The smaller pieces included in the volume, are passable, but not remarkable.

The 'Ocean Harp,' it may be said, in a comparison with late British poems, ranks with the 'Wallace' of Miss Holford, 'Constance de Castile,' and many other 'sweet pretty poems,' not fated to be immortal. And among the late American poems (of which we certainly cannot boast), it will hold a respectable, but not distinguished station.

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ART. IV.—*Political and Literary Anecdotes of his own Times.*  
By Dr. William King, Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford.  
8vo. pp. 264. 8s. 6d. Murray. 1818.

[From the British Critic.]

**THIS** is a very entertaining little volume; the MS. from which it is published was met with in France, in the possession of two ladies, relatives of the writer, Dr. King. From sundry little corrections in it, there can scarcely be any doubt that it was intended by him for publication; and there is every reason to suppose, from a comparison with documents still existing in the college of which he was principal, that it is in his own hand writing. Our readers, perhaps, are as little acquainted with Dr. William King as we ourselves were; and we shall therefore make no apology for abridging the account of him, (extracted from Chalmer's Biography) which is prefixed to the present publication.

Dr. William King was the son of a clergyman, and born at Stepney, in 1685. He was educated at Salisbury, and graduated in the law line at Baliol college, Oxford. After having been secretary to two chancellors of the university, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Arran, he was made principal of St. Mary's Hall, in 1718; in 1722 he stood an unsuccessful contest for the University, and on his disappointment retired to Ireland; during his stay in which country he privately printed a political satire, entitled, 'The Toast,' it bore the name of Scheffer, a Laplander, as its author, and that of Peregrine O'Donald, Esq. as its translator; and is supposed to have been directed at the countess of Newberg. When the Radcliffe Library was dedicated in the year 1749, he delivered an oration in the theatre, of which Warton speaks in terms of the very highest commendation in the Triumphs of Isis. His enemies, however, on the other hand, taxed it with barbarous latinity, disaffection, and licentiousness; indeed his well known political principles, and intimate connexion with the Jacobites, rendered him, during his whole life, a favourite mark for pamphleteering libellers. He was the avowed author of several very humorous pieces in Latin, and of a volume called 'The Dreamer.' He was said to be the writer of the chief articles in 'The London Evening Post,' and he edited the first five volumes of Dr. South's Sermons. As a

wit, a polite scholar, and an elegant and easy writer, he was well known and distinguished in his own times. He died in 1763, having composed his own epitaph, which we remember to have seen and admired very often before, and which is inserted at the end of the volume.

These memoirs, if such they may be called, appear to have been put together from time to time during the eight last years of his life: they relate to many interesting occurrences, 'quorum pars magna fuit,' and therefore may probably be relied upon for authenticity. They have a good deal of gossip, *à la Montaigne*, and are interwoven with his own thoughts and opinions on morals and politics. These, as we shall see in their turn, are so many prefaces to illustrative anecdotes.

Presence of mind, he tells us, is so rare a quality, that in the whole course of his life he recollects but three persons who possessed it in an eminence: the earl of *Stairs*, (we know not why throughout the book the earl of *Stair* is so misnamed) Dr. *Monro*, the physician of Bethlem hospital, and bishop *Atterbury*.

'In 1715 I dined with the duke of Ormonde at Richmond. We were fourteen at table. There was my lord Marr, my lord Jersey, my lord Arran, my lord Lansdown, sir William Wyndham, sir Redmond Everard, and Atterbury, bishop of *Rochester*. The rest of the company I do not exactly remember. During the dinner there was a jocular dispute (I forget how it was introduced) concerning short prayers. Sir William Wyndham told us, that the shortest prayer he had ever heard was the prayer of a common soldier just before the battle of *Blenheim*, "*O God, if there be a God, save my soul, if I have a soul!*" This was followed by a general laugh. I immediately reflected that such a treatment of the subject was too ludicrous, at least very improper, where a learned and religious prelate was one of the company. But I had soon an opportunity of making a different reflection. Atterbury, seeming to join in the conversation, and applying himself to sir William Wyndham, said "Your prayer, sir William, is indeed very short; but I remember another as short, but a much better, offered up likewise by a poor soldier in the same circumstances, '*O God, if in the day of battle I forget thee, do thou not forget me!*' " This, as Atterbury pronounced it with his usual grace and dignity, was a very gentle and polite reproof, and was immediately felt by the whole company. And the duke of Ormonde, who was the best bred man of his age' suddenly turned the discourse to another subject.' p. 7.

We have heard many extraordinary instances of the powers of memory, and for the most part we disbelieve them. We are not inclined to give more credit to the assertion of cardinal Polignac, that Le Clerc after a single hearing, was enabled to carry away with him the 150 verses of *Anti-Lucretius*, which he printed in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*: in this case memory could only act as a kind

of mental short hand, a science as difficult of acquisitions as that of playing a game of whist without a pack of cards.

The reply of the regent Orleans to the duke d'Ahremberg, who had petitioned for a commutation of the punishment of the wheel in the case of his relative count Horn, is well known. St. Simon has given another answer on the same subject equally creditable to this prince. When it was suggested to him this detestable assassin was connected with the house of Orleans by ties of consanguinity, he observes, '*Quand on a du mauvais sang il faut se le faire tirer.*' Without giving implicit credit to all the enormities which Le Grange-Chancel has attributed to the duke of Orleans, in his celebrated *Philippiques*, this prince will have enough to answer for; but at a time in which '*les droits de la noblesse,*' were identified with '*les droits des nations et de société,*' it is no slight honour to him to have exposed himself, from a sense of strict justice, to the enmity of one of the most powerful families in Europe. St. Simon did all he could to magnify the danger, and the regent seemed to assent; but Horn the next day expired with infamy on the wheel.

The custom of giving vails is in our days happily extinct: though not without some danger of a '*servile war,*' and convulsions below stairs. My lord Poor always excused himself when the duke of Ormond invited him to dinner. His income would not afford the necessary demand upon his pocket: and when the duke expostulated with him on his frequent refusals, he honestly confessed as much; '*if your grace will put a guinea into my hands as often as you are pleased to invite me to dine, I will not decline the honour of waiting on you.*' The duke did so, and my lord Poor was often a guest at his table. My lord Taaffe perhaps did still better; he followed his company to the door, and if they attempted to fee the servants, he addressed them in broken English, '*if you do give, give it to me, for it was I that did buy the dinner.*'

We do not remember to have heard the following *bon mot* of Charles II before, and yet it is too good and too just to be forgotten. One morning the king had strolled into Hyde Park with two attendants only, when he met the duke of York on his return from hunting, escorted by a party of guards. The duke expressed some surprize to see his majesty with so small an attendance, and hinted that he thought him exposed to some danger. '*No kind of danger at all James,*' said the king with a smile, '*for I am sure no man in England will take away my life to make you king.*' His majesty was right; there was indeed but little choice between the two brothers.

Lord Hardwicke, when chancellor, set the same value on half-a-crown though worth 800,000*l.* as he did when he was worth 100*l.* The great duke of Marlborough would walk from the rooms at Bath to his lodgings in a cold dark night to save sixpence in chair-hire. Sir James Lowther, who had 40,000*l.* per annum, and knew not where to look for an heir, after changing a piece of silver, and paying two-pence, for a dish of coffee at George's Coffee-

House. would drive home, and return again to tell the woman who kept it that she had given him a bad half-penny. These are odd instances of avarice, but the following is yet more strange, and more degrading to our nature.

'Sir William Smyth of Bedfordshire, who was my kinsman, when he was near seventy, was wholly deprived of his sight: he was persuaded to be couched by Taylor, the oculist, who by agreement was to have sixty guineas if he restored his patient to any degree of sight: Taylor succeeded in his operation, and sir William was able to read and write without the use of spectacles during the rest of his life; but as soon as the operation was performed, and sir William perceived the good effects of it, instead of being overjoyed, as any other person would have been, he began to lament the loss (as he called it) of his sixty guineas. His contrivance therefore now was how to cheat the oculist: he pretended that he had only a glimmering, and could see nothing perfectly; for that reason the bandage on his eye was continued a month longer than the usual time: by this means he obliged Taylor to compound the bargain, and accept of twenty guineas: for a covetous man thinks no method dishonest which he may legally practise to save his money. Sir William was an old bachelor, and at the time Taylor couched him had a fair estate in land, a large sum of money in the stocks and not less than 5000 or 6000 in his house.' p. 104.

How difficult is it even for a good scholar to pronounce with certainty upon nice points in a foreign language! A political satire which Dr. King published in 1738, '*Miltonis Epistola ad Polliionem*,' was severely criticized. Maittaire, who was referred to, marked eleven expressions as unclassical Latin; these were communicated in a letter to the author, who by return of post produced authorities for nine of them out of Virgil, Ovid, and Tibullus; and the next day found the remaining two. Maittaire not long before, had published new editions of these very poets, and throughout his life had been employed as an index-maker to the classics. Squire, a Cambridge man, did the same thing on another occasion; he spent three or four pages in a criticism on the Radcliffe oration, to prove, that '*fortiter et constanter sentire*,' was neither Latin nor sense; that is, that Cicero, from whom (as Squire did not know) the expression was borrowed, could write neither one nor the other.

Dr. King had some whimsical acquaintance, as the two following stories will evince.

'I. G. my old acquaintance, and one Mr. E. of Bristol, both single men, and in good health and good circumstances, agreed to travel together for three or four years, and visit all the countries of Europe: for that purpose they provided themselves with passports, bills of exchange, letters of credit and recommendation, &c. About six or seven days after they set out, they arrived at Brussels, where they had for supper a woodcock and a partridge; they disputed long which of the birds should be cut up first, and with so



much heat and animosity, that if they had not both been gentlemen of a *well-tempered* courage, this silly dispute might have terminated as unhappily as the affair at the *Grecian* coffee-house. To such an height however the quarrel arose, that they did not only renounce their new design of travelling, but all friendship and correspondence; and the next morning they parted, and returned to *England*, one by the way of *Calais*, and the other through *Holland*. About half a year afterwards I happened to be in I. G.'s company; I asked him whether what I heard was true, that he and E—ton had agreed to make the tour of Europe together, but had unfortunately quarrelled the first week about cutting up a woodcock and a partridge. "*Very true*," says he, "*and did you ever know such an absurd fellow as E—ton, who insisted on cutting up a woodcock before a partridge?*"' p. 118.

'About the year 1706, I knew one Mr. Howe, a sensible well-natured man, possessed of an estate of 700*l.* or 800*l.* per annum: he married a young lady of good family in the west of England, her maiden name was Mallet; she was agreeable in her person and manners, and proved a very good wife. Seven or eight years after they had been married, he rose one morning very early, and told his wife he was obliged to go to the Tower to transact some particular business: the same day, at noon, his wife received a note from him, in which he informed her that he was under a necessity of going to *Holland*, and should probably be absent three weeks or a month. He was absent from her seventeen years, during which time she neither heard from him, or of him. The evening before he returned, whilst she was at supper, and with her some of her friends and relations, particularly one Dr. Rose, a physician, who had married her sister, a billet without any name subscribed, was delivered to her, in which the writer requested the favour of her to give him a meeting the next evening in the Bird-cage Walk, in St. James's Park. When she had read her billet, she tossed it to Dr. Rose, and laughing, "You see brother," said she, "as old as I am, I have got a gallant." Rose, who perused the note with more attention, declared it to be Mr. Howe's hand-writing: this surprised all the company, and so much affected Mrs. Howe, that she fainted away; however, she soon recovered, when it was agreed that Dr. Rose and his wife, with the other gentlemen and ladies who were then at supper, should attend Mrs. Howe the next evening to the Bird-cage Walk: they had not been there more than five or six minutes, when Mr. Howe came to them, and after saluting his friends, and embracing his wife, walked home with her, and they lived together in great harmony from that time to the day of his death. But the most curious part of my tale remains to be related. When Howe left his wife, they lived in a house in Jermyn-street, near St. James's church; he went no farther than to a little street in Westminster, where he took a room, for which he paid five or six shillings a week, and changing his name, and disguising himself by wearing a black wig (for he was a fair man),

he remained in this habitation during the whole time of his absence. He had had two children by his wife when he departed from her, who were both living at that time: but they both died young in a few years after. However, during their lives, the second or third year after their father disappeared, Mrs. Howe was obliged to apply for an act of parliament to procure a proper settlement of her husband's estate, and a provision for herself out of it during his absence, as it was uncertain whether he was alive or dead: this act he suffered to be solicited and passed, and enjoyed the pleasure of reading the progress of it in the votes, in a little coffee-house, near his lodging, which he frequented. Upon his quitting his house and family in the manner I have mentioned, Mrs. Howe at first imagined, as she could not conceive any other cause for such an abrupt elopement, that he had contracted a large debt unknown to her, and by that means involved himself in difficulties which he could not easily surmount; and for some days she lived in continual apprehensions of demands from creditors, of seizures, executions, &c. But nothing of this kind happened; on the contrary, he did not only leave his estate quite free and unencumbered, but he paid the bills of every tradesman with whom he had any dealings; and upon examining his papers, in due time after he was gone, proper receipts and discharges were found from all persons, whether tradesmen or others, with whom he had any manner of transactions or money concerns. Mrs. Howe, after the death of her children, thought proper to lessen her family of servants, and the expenses of her housekeeping; and therefore removed from her house in Jermyn-street to a little house in Brewer-street, near Golden square. Just over against her lived one Salt, a corn-chandler. About ten years after Howe's abdication, he contrived to make an acquaintance with Salt, and was at length in such a degree of intimacy with him, that he usually dined with Salt once or twice a week. From the room in which they eat, it was not difficult to look into Mrs. Howe's dining-room, where she generally sate and received her company; and Salt, who believed Howe to be a bachelor, frequently recommended his own wife to him as a suitable match. During the last seven years of this gentleman's absence, he went every Sunday to St. James's church, and used to sit in Mr. Salt's seat, where he had a view of his wife, but could not easily be seen by her. After he returned home, he never would confess, even to his most intimate friends, what was the real cause of such a singular conduct; apparently, there was none: but whatever it was, he was certainly ashamed to own it.' p. 237.

The anecdotes which we have hitherto extracted, are for the most part simply entertaining; the account, however, which Dr. King gives of the character of the Pretender, and more particularly his relation of the folly, to give the thing a very soft name, by which he enstranged all his most devoted adherents from any further interest in his cause, contain matter for history. As Dr. King

was personally intimate with prince Charles, and deeply in the confidence of all those who persisted in their allegiance to his unfortunate family, the following extract will, we think, be read with interest. It is long, but the importance of the subject and the novelty of the anecdotes related in it, will render it unnecessary to apologize, for giving the account at length, and in our author's own words. In September 1750, Dr. King received a note from lady Primrose, who desired immediately to see him. He waited upon her, and was led into her dressing-room, and presented to prince Charles who had hazarded a journey to England, in furtherance of some scheme, which like most of his other schemes, was soon discovered to be impracticable. After remaining in London five days, he returned to the continent. Dr. King in relating this circumstance, takes occasion to give us the following character of the prince, together with a narrative of the particular fact which ruined him for ever, in the opinion of his party.

‘I am perhaps as well qualified as any man in England to draw a just character of him; and I impose this task on myself not only for the information of posterity, but for the sake of many worthy gentlemen whom I shall leave behind me, who are at present attached to his name, and who have formed their ideas of him from public report, but more particularly from those great actions which he performed in Scotland. As to his person, he is tall and well made, but stoops a little, owing perhaps to the great fatigue which he underwent in his northern expedition. He has an handsome face and good eyes; (I think his busts, which about this time were commonly sold in London, are more like him than any of his pictures which I have yet seen;) but in a polite company he would not pass for a genteel man. He hath a quick apprehension, and speaks *French*, *Italian*, and *English*, the last with a little of a foreign accent. As to the rest, very little care seems to have been taken of his education. He had not made the belles letters or any of the finer arts his study, which surprised me much, considering his preceptors, and the noble opportunities he must have always had in that nursery of all the elegant and liberal arts and sciences. But I was still more astonished, when I found him unacquainted with the history and constitution of *England*, in which he ought to have been early instructed. I never heard him express any noble or benevolent sentiments, the certain indications of a great soul and a good heart; or discover any sorrow or compassion for the misfortunes of so many worthy men who had suffered in his cause. But the most odious part of his character is his love of money, a vice which I do not remember to have been imputed by our historians to any of his ancestors, and is the certain index of a base and little mind. I know it may be argued in his vindication, that a prince in exile ought to be an economist. And so he ought; but nevertheless his purse should be always open, as long as there is any thing in it to relieve the necessities of his friends and adherents. King Charles the second, during his banishment, would

have shared the last pistole in his pocket with his little family. But I have known this gentleman with two thousand Louis-dors in his strong box pretend he was in great distress, and borrow money from a lady in Paris, who was not in affluent circumstances. His most faithful servants, who had closely attended him in all his difficulties, were ill rewarded. Two Frenchmen, who had left every thing to follow his fortune, who had been sent as couriers through half Europe, and executed their commissions with great punctuality and exactness, were suddenly discharged without any faults imputed to them, or any recompense for their past service. To this spirit of avarice may be added his insolent manner of treating his immediate dependents, very unbecoming a great prince, and a sure prognostic of what might be expected from him if ever he acquired sovereign power. Sir J. Harrington, and Col. Goring, who suffered themselves to be imprisoned with him, rather than desert him, when the rest of his family and attendants fled, were afterwards obliged to quit his service on account of his illiberal behaviour. But there is one part of his character, which I must particularly insist on, since it occasioned the defection of the most powerful of his friends and adherents in England, and by some concurring accidents totally blasted all his hopes and pretensions. When he was in Scotland, he had a mistress, whose name is Walkenshaw, and whose sister was at that time, and is still housekeeper at Leicester House. Some years after he was released from his prison, and conducted out of France, he sent for this girl, who soon acquired such a dominion over him, that she was acquainted with all his schemes, and trusted with his most secret correspondence. As soon as this was known in England, all those persons of distinction, who were attached to him, were greatly alarmed; they imagined that this wench had been placed in his family by the English ministers; and, considering her sister's situation, they seemed to have some ground for their suspicion; wherefore they dispatched a gentleman to *Paris*, where the prince then was, who had instructions to insist that Mrs. Walkenshaw should be removed to a convent for a certain term; but her gallant absolutely refused to comply with this demand; and although Mr. M'Namara, the gentleman who was sent to him, who has a natural eloquence, and an excellent understanding, urged the most cogent reasons, and used all the arts of persuasion to induce him to part with his mistress, and even proceeded so far as to assure him, according to his instructions, that an immediate interruption of all correspondence with his most powerful friends in England, and in short that the ruin of his interest, which was now daily increasing, would be the infallible consequence of his refusal; yet he continued inflexible, and all M'Namara's intreaties and remonstrances were ineffectual. M'Namara staid in *Paris* some days beyond the time prescribed him, endeavouring to reason the prince into a better temper, but finding him obstinately persevere in his first answer, he took his leave with concern and indignation, saying, as he

passed out "what has your family done, sir, thus to draw down the vengeance of heaven on every branch of it through so many ages?" It is worthy of remark, that in all the conferences which M'Namara had with the prince on this occasion, the latter declared, that it was not a violent passion, or indeed any particular regard, which attached him to Mrs. Walkenshaw, and that he could see her removed from him without any concern; but he would not receive directions in respect to his private conduct from any man alive. When M'Namara, returned to London, and reported the prince's answer to the gentlemen who had employed him, they were astonished and confounded. However, they soon resolved on the measures which they were to pursue for the future, and determined no longer to serve a man who could not be persuaded to serve himself, and chose rather to endanger the lives of his best and most faithful friends, than part with an harlot, whom, as he often declared, he neither loved nor esteemed.' p. 198.

After the many extracts which we have now made from this little volume, it is unnecessary to recommend it to the reader; for he can judge for himself of its merits. The fact is, that the only fault the book has, is its shortness; and this is a fault of so very uncommon a nature, now-a-days, that we note it down merely for its novelty. The book is published in a cheap form, as all books of light reading ought to be.

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ART. V.—*Memoir of James Montgomery*, Author of the 'West Indies,' 'The Wanderer of Switzerland,' 'The World before the Flood,' &c.

[From the New Monthly Magazine.]

**MR. MONTGOMERY** was the eldest son of a Moravian minister; he was born November 4, 1771, at Irvine, a small seaport in Ayrshire, North Britain. He was not, however, fated, for any length of time, to inhale the same air as his countryman, Robert Burns; for at four years of age he accompanied his parents to Ireland, where for a short period they resided at Gracehill, in the county of Antrim. In the course of the following year he was brought over to England, and placed, for the purpose of education, (thus deprived in his infancy of a father's care and a mother's tenderness), at Fulnick, a Moravian seminary in Yorkshire, in order, as it appears, to enable his mother to accompany his father, about to preach the gospel to the poor benighted negroes in the West Indies, where they both fell sacrifices to the malignity of the climate, (the one in the island of Barbadoes, and the other in Tobago), leaving three infant orphan children to the protection of the God to whose service their lives had been devoted. To the place of his birth, and the sacrifices to faith and duty which his parents made, Montgomery has thus alluded in his 'Departed Days:—

'The loud Atlantic Ocean  
 On Scotland's rugged breast  
 Rocks with harmonious motion  
 His weary waves to rest;  
 And gleaming round her emerald isles,  
 In all the pomp of sunset smiles:—  
 On that romantic shore  
 My parents hailed their first-born boy:  
 A mother's pangs my mother bore,  
 My father felt a father's joy:  
 My father!—mother!—parents!—are no more!  
 Beneath the Lion star, they sleep  
 Beyond the western deep;  
 And when the Sun's noon glory crests the waves,  
 He shines without a shadow on their graves.'

In the peaceful walks of Fulnick, he passed the following ten years. During that period he was instructed in Latin, Greek, German, and French; and (like the rest of his schoolfellows) was as carefully secluded from all commerce with the world, as if he had been immured in a cloister; and perhaps he never once conversed for ten minutes with any person whatever, except his schoolmates and masters, or occasional Moravian visitors! To a mind so exquisitely tender as that Montgomery possesses from nature, a life so monastic and monotonous was dangerous; and it is not at all unlikely that the peculiar views which these good people take of the christian revelation, have added much to the indulged melancholy of his imagination. Of the domestic economy of the seminary, of the exercise and amusements in which the children were indulged, or the plan pursued in giving them scholastic information, it is not necessary to enlarge; but the key-note to which the muse of Montgomery has adapted her harmony, may be found in the religious tone and peculiar expression of the days he spent at Fulnick; for there, every thing that he did, he was instructed to do for the love of Jesus Christ, the second person in the Trinity, whom the Moravians always address as if he were the *first*: offering up their prayers *to*, and not *through* him, whose sufferings in the flesh are their constant and everlasting theme, and whom the pupils are taught to regard in the amiable and endearing light of a friend and a brother.

This system must have had peculiar charms to an ardent and feeling mind like that of Montgomery: and as the seeds of poesy which nature had sown, began to germinate, it is no wonder that the hymns peculiarly used by the Moravians, so full of warm and animated expressions, of tender complaints, of unbounded love, and such lofty aspirations should be his delight; or that, as soon as his preceptors had taught him to write and to spell, he should try to imitate them; and, indeed, such was the effect produced by these overbearing causes, that before he was ten years of age he had filled a little volume with sacred poems of his own composing.

That these juvenile verses were similar in style and construction to the hymns he daily read and heard, may be well imagined, when

it is considered, that, at the time he wrote them, he was unacquainted with any of the great English poets; for so careful were the teachers to preserve the minds of their pupils from any possible contagion, that on the father of one of the boys sending a volume of poems, selected as the choicest, for their moral and religious sentiments, from Milton, Thomson, and Young, the book was carefully examined by one of the masters, and pruned of its unprofitable passages. When the paternal present came to the boy's hand, he had the mortification to find it mutilated and imperfect, many leaves clipt out, and many more in a mangled state! Notwithstanding this extreme care, our youthful Tyro contrived, by degrees, by secretly borrowing, and reading books by stealth, to add to his stock of poetical ideas: for before he was twelve years old, he had filled two more volumes with his verses; and before he was fourteen, he had composed a mock heroic poem, in three books, which contained more than a thousand lines in imitation of Homer's *Frogs and Mice*.

The praises which his efforts called forth, from those of his friends to whom he showed the effusions of his muse, fired his imagination. He saw in its perspective, the banner of fame which posterity would willingly wave over his memory; and he planned and began many an epic poem, in which his youthful fancy, whilst he was employed in writing its exordium, would discern immortality. These, however, in their turn, were all discarded for newly presented and more perfect subjects. At length he stumbled upon one which he thought worthy of all the energies of his sanguine mind, at fifteen years of age—the wars in the reign of **ALFRED THE GREAT**. His ambition, and the temerity of childhood, (for with all his aspirations after fame, he was a child in years, and still more in simplicity of manners, and ignorance of the world), prevented the mighty subject from appalling him; and his want of experience producing temerity, he determined upon quitting the beaten track of heroic poetry, and pursuing his discovery of a new and original path. The books of his poem were to consist of Pindaric odes, in which the story was to be conveyed; conceiving it possible to unite all the magnificence and sublimity of the epic with the glowing enthusiasm of the Pindaric. This was truly boyish daring; but it was the daring of a boy of genius.

However, like many of the preceding plans which had floated in the fertile brain of the nestling poet, Alfred was never matured, though he persevered in it till he had completed two books, which contained about twenty Pindaric odes. It is not probable than any of them are now in existence. The matured taste of their author has, in all probability, long ago consigned them to oblivion: but the spirit which imagined them, will command admiration from every one capable of entering with recollected feelings into the conceptions of a youthful enthusiast. The first scintillations of genius are valuable to those best able to estimate the gem, when it has attained the polish of experience; and even the still-born

progeny of such an intellect as that of Montgomery, which were conceived before his strength was able to bring them to maturity, must be interesting. To prove that they were so, the writer of this brief memoir feels happy in recollecting what he was once told, on undoubted authority, was the subject of the first and second odes of the contemplated poem already mentioned. It commenced whilst Alfred was in the isle of Athelney, disguised as a peasant, and the first ode opened with a description of the Almighty seated upon his throne, looking down and commiserating the ruins of England, when a host of the spirits of Englishmen, who had just perished in a battle with the Danes, appeared in his presence to receive their eternal doom! These spirits described the state of their country, and implored the Sovereign of the Universe to interpose and deliver it from despotism. Such was the opening of the juvenile epic! It was a fearless flight! And though it fell abortive, the boldness of the conception must have convinced the conductors of the Fulnick academy, that their pupil was of no common fashion; and that the 'heaven born flights' of his imagination would, at some future period, when it was tempered by judgment, reflect no little lustre on the character of a christian minister of their peculiar faith, for which, at that time, he was designed: but, like his own *Javan*, in the 'World before the Flood,'

'Meanwhile, excursive fancy long'd to view  
The world, which yet by fame alone he knew;  
The joys of freedom were his daily themes,  
Glory the secret of his midnight dreams;—  
That dream he told not, tho' his heart would ache:—

For, like the Spartan boy, who having stolen a fox, and hidden it under his cloak, rather chose to let the animal tear out his bowels, than discover his theft, he kept his anxious aspirations after fame a secret, till the change which became visible in his health and disposition betrayed it. In vain the worthy superiors strove to bring back their pupil to the train of thought, and placidity of mind most proper for a divinity student. Every means was tried to bring him back to that serious sense which would best resist the love of fame, and repress his incessant longings after the world; of which, at this time, (to use his own words, when, many years afterwards, he was speaking on this subject) he was 'almost as ignorant as he was of the mysteries beyond the grave.' Yet his thoughts were constantly fixed upon the picture which his imagination had drawn; and except in contemplating the air-built castles which he was continually erecting in his mind,

... 'No delight the minstrel's bosom knew,  
None, save the tones that from his harp he drew,  
And the warm visions of a wayward mind,  
Whose transient splendour left a gloom behind.  
Frail as the clouds of sun-set, and as fair,  
Pageants of ligh, resolving into air.'



At last, the Moravian brethren, finding it impossible to cure the disease which sunk deeper and deeper into his heart, abandoned their long cherished hope of seeing him a minister; and he was placed, with a view to an apprenticeship, with a very worthy man of the same religious persuasion, who kept a retail shop at Mirfield, near Wakefield. He was treated with the greatest tenderness whilst he remained in this situation: but the business making only a small demand on his time, he indulged in day-dreams, in which he saw the world and its honours depicted in vivid colours; that world into which, in reality, he had as yet scarcely advanced a single step. With his mind continually brooding on one point, it is scarcely to be wondered at, that after he had been at Mirfield about a year, and as he was not an articted apprentice, knowing that he could not be forced back, contrary to his own wishes, and at an age when remote consequences are not taken into calculation, or obvious probabilities into contemplation, he determined to quit his situation; and with the clothes on his back, a single change of linen, and three shillings and sixpence in his pocket, he carried his design into effect, leaving behind him a letter to his employer, in which he detailed the uneasiness of his mind, and gave a promise that he should be heard from again in a few days. 'Thus,' to use his own words to a friend, 'at the age of sixteen, set out James Montgomery to begin the world.' As he advanced towards the busy scene, he found that the picture conceived by his imagination was far from being correct in its outline, and much overcharged with colour: in short, he found the world very unlike what he had figured to himself at Fulnick, and from what he had conceived from the almost as distant and indistinct view he had of it from Mirfield. The great object of his wishes was to proceed at once to London: for it was there his heated imagination had depicted the honours and the riches which awaited him; but to go thither was impossible; and on the fourth day he engaged himself in a situation similar to that which he had left, at *Wash*, near Rotherham, from whence he fulfilled his promise of writing to his former protector, from whom he demanded such a character as would recommend him to the confidence of his new employer. This he boldly asked, for his service had been faithful, and not even the slightest spot had ever stained his moral character. The good man laid his letter before the Moravian council of ministers at Fulnick, where they meet to regulate the affairs of the society. They respected Montgomery, for his genius did them honour; and he was beloved by them, for he was amiable, though he had disappointed their hopes; they, therefore, agreed to write any testimony which he might require, 'if he obstinately persisted in his resolutions to leave them.' They, however, instructed his late master to make him any offers he might find equal to the task of inducing him to return to the fold he had left. The worthy mediator then repaired to the young man at Rotherham. The meeting was affecting; for both parties had feeling hearts. The elder, though

he had deplored the frowardness of his young friend, loved him for his amiable and ingenuous simplicity, and for the very genius which had removed him from the influence of sober counsels; and the runaway loved and venerated the elder for the goodness of his heart, and the parent-like kindness he had always shown him. They met in the inn yard, and forgetting there were any spectators of the scene, impelled by benevolent tenderness on the one hand, and by respectful and grateful affection on the other, they rushed at once into each others arms, and burst into tears. It required all the resolution of the youthful votary of ambition and the muses, to resist the kindness of the intreaties, and the flattering offers which were made him to return. He, however, did resist them, and though his firmness gave pain to his old friend, it did not make him less kind. He supplied his immediate wants, sent him the clothes, &c. he had left at Mirfield; and, not content with giving him a written testimonial of the estimation in which he held him, he called personally on his protégés new employer, to recommend him to his confidence and protection. Mr. Montgomery remained at *Wash* only twelve months, which time was passed in the fulfilment of his engagement, in cherishing a melancholy which resulted from the peculiarity of his cloistered, and perhaps too strictly religious education, and in the cultivation of those talents which have since benefited the world. Indeed, the conflict between his religious and his poetical feelings was almost incessant, and whether

‘ To wither in the blossom of renown,  
And, unrecorded, to the dust go down—  
Or for a name on earth to quit the prize  
Of immortality beyond the skies,  
Perplex’d his wavering choice.’

*World before the Flood.*

At last genius triumphed; and having prepared the way for an introduction to the capital, by sending a volume of manuscript poems to Mr. Harrison, a bookseller in Paternoster-row, he removed to London.

Mr. Harrison gave him a situation in his shop, and encouraged him to cultivate his talents, though he declined publishing his poems, not deeming them likely to better his fortune, or to lift him up to fame. The bright star which had allured him from Fulnick, from Mirfield, and from *Wash*, now seemed, to his sickened hope, a very *ignis fatuus*; and in the darkness of disappointment he lost sight of the splendid vision of immortality, and the munificent patronage which sanguine anticipation had promised him. At the end of eight months, having had a misunderstanding with Mr. Harrison, and having tried in vain, to induce a bookseller to treat with him for an Eastern tale in prose, to which he had been persuaded to turn his attention as more profitable than poetry, he returned to his last situation in Yorkshire, where he was received with the heartiest welcome, and all possible kindness: for his value being

fairly appreciated, and his virtues understood, his employer loved him with all the affection of a father. 'It was this master,' says the writer of a 'Biographical Sketch of Mr. Montgomery,' published in the *Monthly Mirror* of January, 1807, 'that many years afterwards, in the most calamitous period of Montgomery's life, sought him out in the midst of his misfortunes, not for the purpose of offering him consolation only, but of serving him substantially by every means in his power. The interview which took place between the old man and his former servant, the evening previous to the trial at Doncaster, will ever live in the remembrance of him who can forget an injury, but not a kindness. No father could have evinced a greater affection for a darling son; the tears he shed were honourable to his feelings, and were the best testimony to the conduct and integrity of James Montgomery.'

In 1792, he removed to Sheffield, and engaged himself with Mr. Gales, who at that time published a very popular newspaper, to which, during the continuation of this connexion, which lasted till Mr. Gales left England, Montgomery occasionally contributed essays and verses; which, notwithstanding the 'Sheffield Register' was devoted to popular politics, were very seldom political; for, as the author of the sketch before quoted has observed, 'the Muses had his whole heart, and he sedulously cultivated their favours, though no longer with those false, yet animating hopes, which formerly stimulated his exertions.'

It was the fate of the young poet to conciliate the affections of all with whom he came in contact in domestic society; and Mr. Gales and his amiable family vied with each other in demonstrating their respect and regard for him; treating him like a brother, and nursing him with the most solicitous tenderness, during a long and painful illness, with which he was afflicted in the year 1793. In 1794, when Mr. Gales left England, to avoid a political prosecution, Montgomery, by the assistance of a gentleman, to whom, except in a knowledge of his talents, he was almost a stranger, became the publisher of the newspaper—the title of which he changed for that of the 'Iris.' Of the politics of the 'Register,' it would be irrelevant to speak; but by the observance of a greater degree of moderation in censuring public measures, and by being less speculative in reform, the new editor gave offence to many of his readers; though others thought the paper had acquired a new interest in the greater degree of originality and literary merit of its more miscellaneous columns. Amongst other articles, was one which he denominated 'The Enthusiast:' this was particularly attractive to his friends, since they could not but see that the portrait exhibited, was a playfully-sketched likeness of the mind of the editor himself. But with all his care to avoid the fate of his predecessor, it was not long before he fell into a snare, which had all the appearance of having been laid for him. Amongst the types, &c. in the printing-office, when it was transferred to him, was a song, which, to use the technical phrase, had been *set up* in type

some time before Mr. Gales left England; this song, the type of which it was composed not being wanted, remained in statu quo. It was a song written by a clergyman in Ireland, in commemoration of the demolition of the Bastile, in 1789, and was sung at Belfast, on the 14th July, 1792, on the anniversary of that event. It had been copied into half the newspapers in the kingdom, and had not the least allusion to the war, which broke out nine months *after it was written*. Montgomery was ignorant that the song was ready in his office for the press, till a hawkker informed him of the fact, at the same time requesting him to print a few quires for him: this, in the first instance, was refused, as he was not in the habit of printing such articles for hawkkers;—importunity, however, prevailed; the song being in his eye perfectly harmless. Others, it appeared, thought differently; for the hawkker was taken up a few days afterwards at Wakefield, and there became evidence against the printer, who was tried at the January quarter sessions, 1795, and found *guilty of publishing*. This verdict, which was in fact an acquittal, was refused by the court; and the jury, on reconsidering for another hour, then gave in a general verdict of *guilty*. The sentence, which was delivered by M. A. Taylor, Esq. who presided, was a fine of twenty pounds, and three months imprisonment in York castle.

Our author was not ruined by his incarceration; for an active friend superintended his business during his confinement; and on his return, after the completion of the sentence, he was welcomed home by all parties, as one ‘more sinned against than sinning.’ On resuming his editorial duties, in order to banish speculative politics as much as possible from the ‘*Iris*,’ he commenced a series of essays, which he called ‘The Whisperer.’ A very considerable portion of genuine humour, both in prose and verse, was observable in these effusions; and though they were hastily written, and hastily published, to meet the public eye, they will be read with much interest by those who may have the good fortune to possess one of the very few copies which (in 1798) their ingenious author published in a single volume, for the originals in the ‘*Iris*’ must have nearly all perished by the accidents which generally make newspaper literature so short-lived.

It was not long, however, notwithstanding his anxiety to avoid giving offence, before the amiable editor of the ‘*Iris*’ was again entangled in the web of the law. He had scarcely become warm in his office, when a riot took place in the streets of Sheffield, in which two men were killed by the military. He detailed the circumstance, as it appeared to him, correctly; but a magistrate in the neighbourhood, who was also a volunteer officer, felt aggrieved at the narrative, and preferred a bill of indictment against the printer for a libel, which was tried at Doncaster sessions, in January, 1796. The defence he set up was a justification of the statement which he had published; and a cloud of witnesses established it. He was, however, found *guilty*, and sentenced to pay a fine of thirty pounds,

and to suffer another imprisonment in York castle for the space of six months. Whatever may be thought of the sentence, it is but justice to both plaintiff and defendant, to add, that the former treated the latter, after his return from York castle, with marked kindness and attention; promoted his interest by every mean in his power; and even seemed to take a pleasure in showing him marks of respect in public. A few years before he died, (for he has been dead many years), when presiding at the quarter sessions, he saw Mr. Montgomery amongst the crowd of auditors, and instantly called to the proper officer to make way for him, inviting him, at the same time, to come up and sit upon the bench beside himself, where he would be less inconvenienced. Mr. Montgomery did seat himself there—and who would not, at that moment, have envied his feelings? His was the triumph of proclaimed truth and innocence. And yet the circumstance reflected honour on the proper feeling and candour of his late prosecutor.

Whilst Montgomery remained in York castle, where he had the satisfaction of being treated with respect by all around him, and where, after a few days, he was accommodated with an apartment exclusively his own, and with the range of the extensive castle yard, he bore up his spirits by the consciousness, that his sufferings were unmerited; and filled up his time by correspondence with his friends, by writing articles for his newspaper, and by seizing the opportunity which secluded leisure afforded him, to new-string his lyre; his

———‘ chosen treasure,  
Solace of his bleeding heart;’

for it was now that he composed the poems, which he afterwards (in 1797) published under the title of ‘ Prison Amusements.’ He also revised, during his seclusion, a work of greater magnitude, replete with wit, and with such wild sallies of humour, that no one could suppose that they emanated from the same pen which traced the ‘ Harp of Sorrow.’ This work, however, has been profitless; for he could not be prevailed upon to let it meet the public eye, though it was calculated to have caused as many hearty peels of sympathizing laughter, as his melancholy tones had drawn tears.

He was liberated on the 5th of July, 1796, and immediately went to Scarborough, in order to brace his shattered constitution, which, delicate as it was from nature, had suffered much from excessive anxiety and imprisonment. He now, for the first time since he was four years of age, saw the sea. To a mind like his, the magnificence of the ocean, and the high-piled grandeur of the Yorkshire coast, were sublime spectacles; and they afforded him uncommon gratification—a gratification which was repeated in subsequent visits, and which in (1805) gave birth to his poem on ‘ The Ocean;’ a production which will be read with delight as long as the language in which it is written shall exist. This, his first visit to Scarborough, occupied about three weeks, after which, with

improved health and spirits, he returned to Sheffield and the duties of his occupation.

In the following spring he published his 'Prison Amusements.' These poems were received, wherever they were seen, with approbation; but their author made no effort to put them in the way of notoriety; and he was still more careless of the fate of a series of essays, which he drew from the pages of the 'Iris,' under the title of 'The Whisperer,' in 1798. From this time—till in 1806, he produced the volume containing 'The Wanderer of Switzerland'—he confined his pen chiefly to his editorial duties; indulging himself in cherishing those feelings which have marked in his character so striking a resemblance to that of the amiable and highly-gifted, but melancholy, Cowper; a resemblance of which all his friends are fully sensible, and of which he himself seemed to be aware, when in his 'West Indies' he thus speaks of the poet of Olney, in advocating the cause of the poor negroes:—

'The muse to whom the lyre and lute belong,  
Whose song of freedom is her noblest song,  
The lyre, with awful indignation swept,  
O'er the sweet lute in silent sorrow wept.—  
When Albion's crimes drew thunder from her tongue—  
When Afric's woes o'erwhelmed her while she sung.  
Lamented COWPER, in thy paths I tread:—  
Oh! that on me were thy weak spirit shed!  
The woes that wring my bosom once were thine:  
Be all thy virtues, all thy genius mine!'

Like his great prototype—for such will every one who is intimate with the features of Montgomery's mind pronounce Cowper to have been—with a spirit humbly obedient to its God, and tremblingly alive to the due performance of every moral obligation, extraordinary susceptibility, and perhaps, an exaggerated conviction of the awful situation in which mortality is placed, he exhibits occasionally a melancholy gloom which enchains his vigorous and elastic fancy, and arrests the progress of his playful pen. And, as he so well expresses it in a passage of 'Javan,'

'The world, whose charms his young affections stole  
He found too mean for his immortal soul.  
Wound into life through all his feelings wrought,  
Death and eternity possessed his thought.'

\* \* \* \*

'The fame he followed, and the fame he found,  
Healed not his heart's immedicable wound;  
Admired, applauded, crowned where'er he roved,  
The bard was homeless, friendless, unbeloved.  
All else that breathed below the circling sky,  
Were linked to earth by some endearing tie;—  
He only, like the ocean weed upturn,  
And loose along the world of waters borne,  
Was cast, companionless, from wave to wave,  
On life's rough sea—and there was none to save.'

The picture which our poet has drawn of the antediluvian bard, however, fails in its generally close resemblance to himself in one

of its lines; for although he has never been married, and in that sense is 'homeless,' he has never been 'friendless,' nor 'unbeloved;' for few persons can be acquainted with him without feeling an interest in his happiness—and there is no one that knows him intimately, who does not love and esteem him. But the other part of the portrait is so strikingly similar to his own character, that the likeness is scarcely to be mistaken.

But to proceed. 'The Wanderer of Switzerland' was sent into the world. It was read, and admired; and its author was immediately acknowledged worthy of being registered on the roll of genuine poets. Another poem of a very different character had been prepared to take the lead of the minor pieces which are appended to the volume: but this the author superseded when nearly the whole of it was printed. Why he discarded the 'Loss of the Locks' he has not declared, but having had the satisfaction of perusing this disinterested child of the Muse, the writer of this article cannot help expressing his concern that the world has not been allowed to participate in the gratification it afforded him. In 1809, the first edition of 'The West Indies' was published in quarto, with superb embellishments.—As the work was not advertised in the usual manner, and as the expensive scale on which it was got up by Mr. Boyer, the publisher, seemed to demand, it was very little known till it was printed in a portable form: of which upwards of ten thousand copies have been since sold. The feeling and piety which pervade every page, were to be expected from the pen of Montgomery; but the harmony was not exclusively composed of such notes as are best drawn from a 'Harp of Sorrow'—for there were amongst them such as he blew from the trumpet of his wrath, and such as his JUBAL struck when he swept the 'living lyre,' and in indignant strains sung man's oppression—

' For now a bolder hand he flings  
And dives among the deepest strings;—  
Then forth the music brake like thunder.'

The same observation applies to his 'World before the Flood,' published in 1812; although, perhaps, from the very title and subject, the popularity of that volume has not equalled its precursors. It is, however, a poem which must rise in estimation in proportion as it is known; for no man of taste and feeling can possibly read it without wishing to make others participate in the pleasure he has derived from it. In the course of this sketch of the life of its author, several passages have been quoted of no common interest; and if the poem is unequal in its interest, it has resulted from the subject itself, which fettered the imagination of the poet; obliging him to correspond in his flights with the obscurely detailed circumstances related of some of his PERSONÆ, in the sacred volume from which he drew them. As a proof of this, it will be acknowledged, even by those who are most in unison with the author, in devotedness to the holy text, that in those portions of the

narrative in which he has adhered the closest, and with the greatest reverence to the authority which furnished the foundation, though he intertwines the sublime and solemn strains of divinely inspired poesy, he is then the least attractive, because the thoughts have been long familiar to his readers. Human nature has a greedy curiosity, a never satisfied thirst for novelty; and where disappointment follows expectancy, the substitution of more sublime and more important, but already known truths, are coolly received; and even of the most bewitching strokes of harmony, if they are already familiar to the ear, whatever talent be displayed, or however skillful the variation, the approval is always qualified. Thus, if our author, in 'The World before the Flood,' had not tied himself so closely to the letter of the text, his strains would have commanded more attention, and would have elicited more applause; for where he has found himself unshackled by the record, he has burst boldly into the realms of invention, and enriched his pages with the spoil. Where he did not feel himself bound by conscience to use scriptural phraseology, in elucidation of scriptural facts, he repaired to the storehouse of his own brilliant imagination, and drew from thence those interesting incidents and tasteful decorations which he has so variously and happily applied throughout the poem.

Since he sung of the antediluvians, he has published nothing except his newspaper, and a tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Reynolds; but he has had on hand, for some time, a poem, which was announced for publication several months ago, but which procrastination, (still Cowper-like) has detained from the press. Fastidious in the extreme, in deciding where his reputation may be committed, and tremblingly fearful of putting forth a line which might possibly be construed to militate, in the least degree, against any thing which he deems a divine or a moral obligation, he tries every note with the most careful solicitude, in the solitude of his study, before he ventures to breathe the strain in public, lest a chord should vibrate in unison with some idea less pure than his own. When his promised poem appears, judging from what has been already seen, it is not too much to expect that the public stock of intellectual pleasures will receive a valuable increase, and the poet an additional sprig to the Parnassian he has so fairly earned and so modestly wears.

As the editor of a newspaper, the subject of this memoir must, to a certain degree, be considered in a political point of view. His 'Ode to the Volunteers of Britain,' 'The Battle of Alexandria,' and 'The Ocean,' afford such honourable testimony of his patriotism, that no one can dispute his pretensions to rank as a loyal bard; and if his claims as an editor admit of any question, it must arise from his not being at all times perfectly understood when he has given expression to his opinions, which he always does honestly and impartially. Forced by the profession in which accident, not choice had placed him, to write upon political subjects, he uniformly looks at every question he is obliged to comment



upon, in the *Iris*, abstractedly, without reference to the party from whence the measure originated, or to that by which it is opposed. Of all men breathing, Mr. Montgomery is perhaps the last whose constitutional or acquired habit would lead him to political hostility; but necessitated, sometimes, however irksome, to give expression to his opinion, by way of making the labour pleasant, he often indulges the sportiveness of his fancy, and in his retrospects or leading articles, whilst he penetrates to the very heart's core of his subject, he exhibits such a vein of good-natured, though deeply-searching satire, and embellishes his reasoning with so much wit and pathos, such a playfulness of style, and such a complete mastery of language, that superficial readers almost constantly set him down as the partizan of the *party*, who, at the moment, take the same side of the question, which the editor of the '*Iris*,' from its own abstract merits, and his own unbiassed view of the subject, has been induced to advocate. The same erroneous mode of judgment has been applied at other times on reading his paper, by persons who, forgetting that an honest man is of no party but that of truth, as it may appear to his own eyes, have accused him of tergiversation and political instability, of being a deserter from a standard under which he never marched, and from a corps in which he had never enrolled himself. Mr. Montgomery, in his capacity of editor, has taken a proud, because it is an independent stand, between two great contending parties which divide opinions on great public measures. He may have decided erroneously in some particular cases, (for whose judgment is infallible?) but the expression of his views have always borne internal evidence of being honest ones.

This memoir has imperceptibly taken possession of more space than is usually appropriated to articles of biography in periodical publications: and yet for the gratification of such as may wish to know something of the person of its subject, it may be proper to add, that he is rather below the middle stature; slightly formed, but well proportioned. His complexion is fair, and his hair yellow. His features have a melancholy, but interesting expression, when his imagination is at rest; but when that is awakened by the animating influence of conversation, (especially on questions of importance or of feeling) his whole countenance (and particularly his eyes, which beam intelligence) is irradiated by his genius. His modesty, and seclusion of manner, in the company of strangers, have a tendency to hide from common observation the riches of his mind; but when familiar intercourse has broken the talisman which seals his lips, on introduction, his colloquial powers are found to be of the first order. His ideas have an able auxiliary in his eloquence; for language is subservient to his will, and though in a war of words an opponent must often smart beneath the lash of his wit, and the severity of his retort, the amiableness of his nature instantly furnishes a balm to heal such wounds. A

ART. VI.—*Original Letters*, from an American Gentleman at Calcutta, to a friend in Pennsylvania.

## LETTER II.

*Non cuivis homini contingit adire Calcuttam!*

*Calcutta, March 10th.*

MY DEAR II.

IN my last, I informed you of our safe arrival in this emporium of eastern luxury. At that time, I was too much under the influence of the novel scenes which crowded upon my senses, to attempt any details of our passage up the celebrated river which conducted us to our destined port. Having, on the morning of the 27th of February, gotten in the proper ship channel, we approached the village of *Cajoree*, on the western shore, about noon; when a gun was fired by order of the pilot, as a signal to the officer stationed there,—who despatched a boat from thence to receive letters, and to have the ship entered in a book kept for that purpose. The boat which came off, was manned altogether by natives, whose nudity and strange appearance, added to their incessant chattering, and bustle among themselves, very much attracted the attention of our crew. The wind being constantly unfavourable, we were compelled to come to an anchor whenever the tide began to ebb; and to wait patiently until the return of the flood. On the morning of the 28th, we found ourselves at anchor opposite *Culpee*; a village on the eastern side of the river,—which is here called the *Hoogly*, being that branch of the Ganges on which Calcutta stands. Here we were visited by a number of Gentoos, in boats, who brought with them bananas, cocoa nuts, green calabashes, cucumbers, and a variety of other vegetables, for sale. They offered those articles to us at a very low rate; and sooner than fail in selling them, would generally take one third of the price they at first demanded. I observed they had their hair cut after different fashions,—which, perhaps, serve to distinguish their *casts*; but of this I am not certainly informed. Some had their heads shaved entirely bare—some, again, had a narrow strip shaved close, extending from the forehead to the nape of the neck; and others left only a tuft of long hair on the crown of the head, which they dexterously tied into a knot, with their fingers. Those who wore their hair in this last mentioned form, ‘would ever and anon’ untie the knot, and scratch their heads, with both hands, with the greatest violence. I did not take the trouble to ascertain the fact, but I am credibly informed that they do not scratch without reason!—I was diverted at seeing one of these natives engaged in eating rice. He picked up a single grain at a time, and gave it a toss into his mouth—repeating the process with such rapidity and dexterity as to make it truly ludicrous. We this day, (28th) passed the ruins of a building which was intended to have been a large *fort*, but was never completed. It was projected by Lord *Mornington*, (now the *Marquis Wellesley*,) while that

nobleman was governor general of Bengal; but being subsequently relinquished as a crazy undertaking, it now bears the name of *Mornington's Folly*. Among the numerous boats which visited us in the course of the day, was one in the employment of the *salt office*, in order to let us know that it was not permitted to import that article into Calcutta. The mandate which they exhibited, was in the name of *Earl Cornwallis*, formerly governor general, and dated in the year 1793. Next day, March 1st, we passed *Fultah*, a village on the eastern shore, where there is a superb square building on the bank of the river, which is kept as a public house, and at which shipping may be furnished with many supplies. We anchored that night a few miles above *Fultah*; and proceeding with the tide next morning, passed a number of villages, on either shore, mostly composed of miserable hovels constructed with mud and matting, and apparently the abode of abject wretchedness. Towards evening, however, a long stretch of the river opened to our view, called *Garden reach*; which seemed, after the tedium of an irksome passage, to exhibit a prospect truly Elysian. The river here appeared to be something less than half the width of the Delaware, at Philadelphia,—the borders were delightfully clothed with groves of palms, and studded with the most superb country houses. The singing of the birds, and the chattering of the natives on the shores, were distinctly heard, and contributed to enliven the scene. We came to an anchor within view of the lights at *Fort William*, and heard the report of the evening gun. I turned into my birth with an intention of sleeping away the intervening hours, prior to landing,—but I might truly have said with *Horace*, in his voyage to *Brundisium*, '*Mali Culi-ces, \*\*\* avertunt somnos.*' The myriads of mosquitoes which assailed us, bade defiance to repose; and the next day, we all resembled persons in the eruptive stage of measles.

On the morning of the 3d of March, we reached our moorings, and I prepared with alacrity to tread on Asiatic ground. On reaching the shore, I found a palanquin in waiting for me, which had been politely sent by Mr. W. (who had preceded me,) to convey me to the factory in the city. I got into that novel vehicle, which was immediately hoisted on the shoulders of four bearers, and was borne off in a kind of trot to our lodgings. I could not help reflecting by the way, on the abject condition of those miserable creatures whose business it is to carry their fellow men, in this manner, for the sake of a scanty subsistence,—and imagining the sensations which such a mode of travelling would excite among the sturdy republicans of Pennsylvania. The palanquin is a kind of oblong box, with sliding doors at the sides, handsomely finished inside and out, and admirably adapted for the indulgence of the most refined laziness. The occupant reposes, in a recumbent posture, on an elegant chintz-covered mattress, and may either read or sleep, during his excursions, as his inclination prompts. A single pole projects from each end of the vehicle, somewhat above

the centre, by which it is in a manner suspended on the bearers' shoulders,—and hence acquires a sort of swinging motion, which certainly renders it a fascinating mode of conveyance, in this sultry climate. In addition to the four bearers, there is a fifth, who is called the *head bearer*,—who runs alongside with a large umbrella, in the day time, and a lantern at night—and occasionally relieves the other bearers, where there is but one set of them employed. Those who affect *style*, or have much travelling to do, keep a double set of bearers, for the purpose of relieving each other. I have been several times shocked on observing the hardships which these poor creatures endure in their calling, having seen some of their shoulders quite raw and inflamed by the pressure and friction of the poles. Yet such is the astonishing influence of their system of social government, that this abject class of people have no idea of gaining a subsistence by any other kind of employment. The whole community is divided into numerous classes, or tribes, called *casts*; to each of which immemorial usage has assigned a vocation, which, I am informed, the members are irrevocably doomed to follow. Each cast is not only restricted to its own peculiar employment, but the trade of the father becomes the trade of the son, from generation to generation; without any regard to the mutability of circumstances, or the variety of taste and talents. Indeed this very system seems almost to preclude the possibility of any variation in the condition or capacity of those who are subjected to it. It fortifies me in the opinion which I have for some time entertained, that man is the passive creature of circumstances—that he is, in society, as clay in the hands of the potters, and will inevitably be what that society, by its institutions and customs, chooses to make of him. I was at first resolved to have no participation in the revolting practice of using human beings as beasts of burden: but I soon found that my resolution would be esteemed no favour, by the unfortunate bearers. On my arrival at the factory, I was immediately surrounded by a crowd of *head bearers*; each soliciting employment for his company, and offering testimonials of their fidelity and good conduct. I was informed that the *bearer cast* was exceedingly numerous—that it was with difficulty they could all obtain employment—and such was the rigor of their customs, that they must either obtain a living by the prescribed duties of their cast, or languish under all the pains of indigence and hunger. Added to this, a stranger who would undertake to dispense with a palanquin and servants, would find it difficult, if not impracticable, to gain admittance into genteel company. It is taken for granted by the natives themselves, that a man who appears in the streets without a palanquin is entitled to no respect,—and he is treated accordingly. I therefore purchased one without delay, for which I gave 100 rupees, (equal to 48 dollars of our currency;) and hired a set of bearers at 4 rupees each, per month, except the *head bearer*, whose wages were 5 rupees. For this sum, trifling

as it may seem, these people are constantly within call, and at our service—they procure their own sustenance, and maintain their families. In addition to my five bearers, who are all Gentoos, I found it necessary to engage a *sixth* servant, for the purpose of waiting on table, &c. and acting as interpreter; for the bearers cannot speak a word of English. This *body servant*, as he is called, must always be selected from among the Mahometans; because the religious prejudices of the Gentoos are such, that they will not come near the table while there is any food, prepared from land animals, upon it. Although on other occasions the Gentoos are the most obsequious creatures I ever saw, yet no threat, nor persuasion, can induce them to approach us while we are engaged at our meals: and it appears to me that they contemplate one of our dinners of roast beef with as much horror, as we should the repast of a party of anthropophagi.

Having thus provided myself with the necessary retinue, it was not long before I made my appearance abroad. One of the most fashionable places of resort, is the *Esplanade*,—a beautiful plain, extending from fort William to the suburbs of the city. It is ornamented with a shaded walk on the bank of the river, where benches are provided for the accommodation of visitors; and every thing seems calculated to contribute to their enjoyment. On the evening after our arrival, I paid my first visit to this delightful place. It was thronged with European ladies and gentlemen, who were sauntering about at their leisure, or reposing on the benches in all that languor and *nonchalance*, so remarkable in this enervating climate. I also observed a number of beautiful children, who are brought thither by their nurses, every fine evening, for the benefit of an *airing*. They generally had the appearance of the finest health; but I am told a large proportion of them die during infancy.—While we were on the Esplanade, the governor-general came riding by us in a sort of open chariot, drawn by four white horses. He had an escort of twelve or thirteen troopers, all mounted on white horses, galloping after him—a postillion on each of the left hand horses of his carriage—and two men *on foot*, running before him! All his attendants were natives. This practice of the great, employing men to run before them, although we read of it as a very *ancient* one, was a very *novel* sight to me; neither did I esteem the office of runner a very enviable one. However, I have since frequently seen British officers on horseback, riding at a pretty brisk gallop, and a native servant running along side of them with apparent ease.

The population of this city is estimated at from five to seven hundred thousand souls; and I am satisfied it is not overrated. The streets are literally thronged with the natives, moving in all directions; and they are seen squatting or sitting on their heels, in every nook and corner, busily engaged in smoking a kind of pipe, made of the cocoa-nut shell, which they call a *hubble-bubble*. In my observations, and rambles through the city, I am often forcibly

reminded of the descriptions which engaged my youthful attention, when perusing the stories of the *thousand and one nights*. There is, perhaps, no people in the world, whose manners and appearance make so distinct an impression on the mind of an observer, as those of the Asiatics. Since our arrival, I have paid two or three visits to the *burrah bazaar*, or great market; which is usually crowded with the turban population of the place. In one part of the bazaar, goods are exposed on *stalls*, closely arranged for their reception; and in the adjoining streets, the fronts, and lower rooms of the houses, are occupied by the wares of the country. Whenever a white man passes along, the owners of the merchandize are continually calling to him by the appellation of *sauheb*, (or *master*),—and urging him with the utmost importunity to buy something. The *sirkars*, or native clerks, who usually swarm about the factories, in quest of employment, are always extremely officious in tendering their services to accompany a stranger through the bazaars. They attend, in such excursions, for the purpose of making contracts,—or, as they express it, making ‘*settled price*’ with the natives, for their goods; and it is a curious fact, that although these sirkars are compensated for their trouble, by the *venders* of the merchandize, yet they can always procure better bargains for us than we can for ourselves. There seems to be an inveterate propensity among the native merchants, to take every possible advantage in their dealings; and no one can make a prudent contract with them, unless he is well acquainted with the state of the market, and the character of those sharpers. I have noticed a custom among them which is worthy of remark, as tending to illustrate their manners, and ideas of things. When they make a bargain with a person, they are very anxious to *shake hands* with him, as soon as it is concluded—supposing that there is no danger of his retracting after his hand is plighted. They seem to attach more importance to, and to have more confidence in, this ceremony, than in the most solemn assertions that can be made.

You perceive, my dear H. that I am at least disposed to be sufficiently minute in my communications to you,—and possibly I may seem tedious: but you know we are so apt to think others will be interested in whatever interests ourselves, that you must make some allowance for my garrulity, if it should occasionally become dull. If you derive one half the amusement from my descriptions, which I receive from actual observation, you must be amply rewarded for your trouble in the perusal. Adieu, I am ever yours.

### LETTER III.

Calcutta, March 15.

My dear H,—The leisure which I enjoy, not only permits me to indulge in observation, but invites me to the frequent performance of that promise which you obtained from me at our parting. There is something in the business of writing, so much like an actual communion with an absent friend, that I derive an unusual

degree of pleasure from the practice, since my arrival in this remote and romantic clime.

The weather is becoming so extremely hot and sultry here, that it produces the utmost lassitude, and indisposition to motion. The only pleasant time in the twenty-four hours, is from the dawn until sunrise. During the day, we are oppressed with heat,—and at night, tormented with musquitoes. There would be no such thing as sleeping here, were it not for the *musquito curtains* which we use. In consequence of this state of things, we all rise very early. Indeed, early rising is one of the characteristics of the people of Calcutta. Every morning, at early dawn, the ladies and gentlemen may be seen on horseback, or in their *buggies*, (gigs), taking a ride by way of exercise; and it is unquestionably a most laudable custom. I have myself, in a great measure, overcome my bad habit in this respect; and generally rise so as to take half an hour's exercise, at walking on the house top, before sunrise. The English buildings in this city are mostly very lofty and spacious; and all have flat, or terrace roofs, which render them a very agreeable *promenade* in the morning. They are commonly of two stories—the stories sixteen to eighteen feet high, to make them more cool and agreeable—and the families reside in the second story, to avoid the dampness of the ground floor. The huts of the indigent natives are miserable apologies for dwellings,—and have, so far as I can learn, but one consoling quality about them; which is, the facility with which they can be reconstructed when they happen to be destroyed. I am told that a fire, or a hurricane, often demolishes whole districts of the city, in the course of a few hours; but such is the simplicity of their structure, that they are usually all rebuilt by the next day! This is probably somewhat exaggerated; though I am satisfied it can require but little labour or expense to repair such dwellings:

On my way to and from our ship, I frequently pass by a vacant square, called the *loll dickey square*, in which is a very large *tank*, or basin, for the collection and preservation of rain water. This tank is a regular, square pit, with beautiful grassy edges, and sloping sides—with steps down one of the sides, by which the water-carriers (called *bayeshtees*), descend in order to fill their goat skins, in which they carry the water about the streets, or to families. There are other tanks in the city; but as yet, I know not how many. Our best drinking water is procured from them; as the river is very filthy, and there are neither springs, nor perennial wells of sweet water, in this part of the country. The consequence is, that the people esteem rain water as one of their greatest luxuries; and it may be correctly observed, in *Horatian* phrase, '*collectos bibunt imbres*.'\*

The river's edge is continually thronged with natives, who are busied in washing clothes, or their own bodies; in which latter em-

\* Vide Hor. Epist. xv. l. 15.

ployment, they frequently mutter something in a low tone, and at the same time perform a variety of gestures indicative of devotion. Many of them I observe with a small portion of coloured clay, or mud, stuck on their foreheads; which I presume is an emblem of some particular cast, or order in society. There are but few women or children to be seen in the streets, considering the population of the place,—and those of the very lowest and meanest description. That prevalent Eastern custom, of keeping the females secluded from the public eye, is rigidly observed here; and is, doubtless, continued in consequence of that extreme jealousy in which it originated.—Speaking of the females, reminds me of a sort of hymeneal procession, that took place here two days ago,—which for grandeur, and the numbers concerned in it, far surpassed any thing of the kind I had ever witnessed. The occasion was, the marriage of a couple of rich natives, whose parents chose to display their wealth and importance by subsidizing a countless rabble to celebrate the nuptials, by parading through the principal streets of the city. The extent of the procession, and the number of men and boys, were so great, that I am almost afraid to make a random estimate of them; but there certainly could not have been fewer than eight or ten thousand,—and probably much more. They marched in pretty close order (or rather *disorder*), in a wide street, and extended considerably more than a mile in length. Every one in the procession carried a large bunch of artificial flowers, or was engaged in supporting a kind of square framework, which was tinselled over in the most tawdry manner. There must have been some hundreds of those *frames* (I know not what else to call them), each borne by four or five men, who occupied the middle of the street; and the flower bearers thronged the avenue on each side of them. Here and there, one of those square fabrics contained two or three dancing, or rather *singing girls*, who vociferated most lustily. There were four saddled horses led near the van; and at some distance behind them, were two representations of mountains, made of light materials, each one nearly as large as a common sized haystack, and supported by a number of bearers. I understand they formerly paraded elephants at their weddings; but at present the police do not allow of it, as they are rather dangerous in such a crowd. There were several sorts of their own harsh music in company; and a number of *sepahis*, or native soldiers, were mingled in the procession, for the purpose of preserving order. In the rear of this immense concourse came the bridegroom, in a superb, lofty palanquin, with a large canopy over it, supported on four pillars,—the whole gilt, and gayly decorated. He was a fine looking, nankeen-coloured fellow, and maintained a dignified gravity of countenance. There were several persons, whom I took to be servants, sitting at his feet. Immediately behind him, went the *bride's* palanquin, which was very handsome, and hung all round with gaudy curtains, so that her ladyship, according to the custom of the country, was not visible to vulgar



eyes. She is said to be only *eight* years of age;—which, in Pennsylvania, would be considered a very juvenile bride! But I am informed it is quite common here for a youthful couple to be married several years before they commence house-keeping. One of the servants belonging to our factory, told me had been married *eleven* years, and that his wife was only *twelve* years old! Matrimonial contracts are mostly made by the *parents* of the parties, during their infancy; and a *second marriage*, as they call it, takes place when they arrive at mature age.

There is considerable variety in the *dress* of the inhabitants. The *Gentoos* wear only a piece of long cloth, or white muslin, wrapped curiously round the waist, and the end thrown over the shoulder. The better sort stick their toes into a pair of tinselled slippers—and these, together with the *turban*, which appears to be common to all sects who can afford it, constitute the entire clothing of the worshippers of *Brama*. But the *Mahometans*, both men and women, wear a kind of trowsers; and I have seen a number of men, with huge long beards, actually dressed in *long gowns*, very similar to those worn by our old fashioned females. The Moorish women that I have seen, are always dressed in trowsers, with very gaudy horizontal stripes; and they have usually a thick heavy *ring*, or sometimes a kind of *chain-work*, on each ankle. So great is their fondness for rings, that they often have them in their noses, on their ankles, and wrists, and also on every toe and finger. When equipped with this finery, they sit and chew the *betel*, or smoke a small *hookah*, almost without intermission. The apathy of these people is very remarkable; and I can only account for it, by supposing that the languor, with which the climate affects all persons who are exposed to it, finally degenerates into absolute torpor, and the extinction of all sensibility. Except when stimulated by business, or some other means of gratifying their avarice, the natives appear to me to be utterly destitute of all emotion. Their leisure is universally devoted to smoking; and the *hookah* and *hubblebubble* seem to be their only solace in that dreary grade of existence, which results from the want of ideas, and the torpor of the senses. I remain, as ever, yours, &c.

#### LETTER IV.

Calcutta, March 30.

My dear H.—This being what is called the *dry season* of the year, the atmosphere becoming much heated, and existence itself, to a northern stranger, is almost a burden. Many of the English residents here have a contrivance for cooling their chambers, which is certainly very refreshing at the time of using it; but is considered rather hazardous to the health. It is called a *tattee*—a kind of pervious *mat*, woven of fibrous roots, which they set up against a window, or open door-way, and employ a servant to throw water on it. The evaporation which takes place by the air passing through

it, causes an agreeable *fraicheur* in the apartment; but, as I observed before, it is said to have a very pernicious effect upon persons coming out of the glowing sun-beams, in a state of profuse perspiration, and sitting within its influence. A few days ago, I witnessed a curious phenomenon, which I am told occurs here at every full and change of the moon, during the continuance of the S.W. monsoon. It is an astonishingly rapid influx of the tide, called the *bore*. It rises several feet in the space of three or four minutes, and rolls along the shore in a perfect torrent,—tossing boats, and every thing moveable that lies in its way. The natives, who swarm on the river in their canoes, always make for the middle of the stream when they see or hear the bore approaching, as there is much less agitation there, than at the shore. If they have not time to get into the stream, they drag their boats on the bank, out of the reach of the dark, muddy surf, which seems to threaten devastation to every thing upon the margin of the river. As soon as the tide has reached its height, the agitation gradually subsides; and business goes on as usual, until the next flood. This remarkable occurrence is ascribed to the monsoon forcing the waters into the wide mouth of the river in such volumes, that when they reach the part where it suddenly narrows, the influx necessarily becomes a roaring, overwhelming torrent. It is more especially at those periods called *spring tides*, that the bore assumes the aspect which I have just described.—Yesterday morning, being Sunday, I went to the English church, which appeared to be tolerably well attended. A great number of females were present, of every hue; from the light complexioned Scot, to the dusky shade of the native Hindoostanee. The church is provided with a fine organ, and a choir of yellow, or half-blooded boys, dressed in red jackets, who sing remarkably well. The service was brief, and seemed to partake of the languor incident to the climate. The Sabbath is not observed here by any but christians; who constitute but a small portion of the population. The natives pay no respect whatever to that day; but pursue their various avocations as usual—and you see the shopkeepers and mechanics as industriously employed as on any other day. Last evening, Sabbath as it was, I went with some others to a kind of exhibition, or entertainment, called a *nautch*, which was given to an American captain of a vessel by his *banyan*, whose name is *Ram Chunder Miter*. The *banyans* are native merchants, who purchase our dollars at the market price, and furnish the cargo of goods in return. Some of them are immensely rich; and they frequently, in addition to sundry presents, compliment our captains and supercargoes with an entertainment of this kind, when these are about to take their leave. The performance abovementioned was chiefly by the *dancing girls*, so celebrated in the East: but if I may judge by the specimen then exhibited, their histrionic faculties are amazingly overrated. They had some wretched, squeaking music of stringed instruments, accompanied by the *tumtum*, or small drum of this country. The

girls were gaudily dressed, but were by no means handsome. They did not dance much while I staid, but exercised themselves at what I suppose they call *singing*,—though it marvellously resembled the screams of persons whom I have seen labouring under a severe paroxysm of the cholic! I must confess, however, they modulated their voices in concert with the instruments tolerably well. During one of the interludes, we had a pretty successful attempt at *ventriloquism*, by a Hindoo who was present. He seemed much exhausted by the exertion requisite to produce the effect. The *native* portion of the audience appeared to be much delighted with the entertainment; but to me it soon became irksome, and I left them in the midst of their enjoyment. I had almost forgot to mention one of the most agreeable parts of the ceremony. When we entered the room, we were presented with some elegant *bouquets*, composed of the superb flowers of this region; and our clothes were sprinkled with rose-water, or diluted *otto of roses*, which shed a delicious fragrance through the apartment. The gratification of the senses appears to be the *summum bonum* with these people; and it must be acknowledged that the *science of luxury*, if I may use the expression, is no where studied with more assiduous attention, or with greater success than in the metropolis of India. The enervating influence of the climate strongly predisposes one to indulge in voluptuous enjoyments; and the facility with which those propensities can be gratified, tends greatly to promote the indulgence. There is, perhaps, in no country, a greater luxury to a lazy man, than that of being well attended, or waited upon; but it is peculiarly acceptable in tropical regions, where the systems of the most industrious are prone to languor and inactivity. And there is, probably, no place in the world where the *luxury of good waiters* can be so readily procured as in the city of Calcutta. You will, however, readily perceive, that all this enjoyment must be at the expense of a numerous and abject race of human beings, whose hard fate it is to minister to the caprices of their more fortunate fellow creatures. I am not yet sufficiently *acclimated*, to witness such a compound of voluptuousness and misery without pain and disgust; and I trust, before that event takes place, I shall make my escape to the land of my fathers, where man walks erect in all the sturdy dignity of conscious freedom. Till when, believe me, as ever, affectionately yours, &c.

## LETTER V.

Calcutta, April 12th.

My dear H.—In the beginning of this month, a series of Gentoo holidays commenced, accompanied by ceremonies so novel and extraordinary, in my own view, that I cannot help feeling some little apprehension, in attempting to describe them, lest you should suspect me of the traveller's foible, to which I formerly alluded. But I do assure you, that among the imperfections of my description, the blemish of a wilful untruth shall not be numbered.

Before day-light, on the morning of the 5th, I was awakened by a great noise of natives hallooing in the streets. The holiday season, I believe, commenced on that morning; and I was informed that all the Gentoo population went during the night to bathe; or, as they term it, to *wash body*, in the Hooghly. Very early in the morning the shore was lined with thousands of them; and this was said to be case for a great extent up the river. The water near the shore was covered with flowers, strung in garlands, or strewed separately upon its surface;—these being a species of tribute, or oblation, offered to the sacred stream. The Gentoos believe, or profess to believe, that the Ganges river comes from heaven direct. They will not admit that the object of their devotion has a terrestrial origin. This opinion may have originated in consequence of the very remote, and almost unknown sources of the river,—or it may have been in some measure allegorical; inasmuch, as a large portion of its waters, in one season of the year, does come directly from the clouds. For several days after this general ablution, and offering of flowers, I observed small parties parading the streets, accompanied by the music of the *tumtum*, or small drum; and some one of each group signalizing himself by voluntarily inflicting some violent and disgusting species of torture upon his own body. The favourite, or most frequent operation, was that of thrusting a long iron rod through a perforation which had previously been made in the tongue,—by which means it was stretched out of his mouth; and in this plight, with the blood trickling down his chin, he would dance, and perform a variety of grotesque gesticulations, to the music of the *tumtum*. When one of the party had thus displayed his fortitude, another would take the rod and undergo the same operation. Some, also, had bamboo hoops run through a loop made in the skin of their arms; and others, through similar loops in their sides,—all of which they slipped backwards and forwards, in order to increase the torture. The object of these sanguinary proceedings, is said to be an atonement to God for their sins: but it seems they have also an eye to some *temporal* benefits, in exhibiting these tokens of penance; for they take care to display themselves as much as possible before strangers, and make no scruple in soliciting a present, or *bukshish*, as they call it, as a reward for the exhibition. These disgusting spectacles were, however, but trifles compared to a process which I yesterday witnessed; and which it seems was intended to close the scene,—as it certainly did cap the climax of these abominations. In the afternoon I went with some gentlemen to the house of *Ram Duloll Day*, a principal, and well known banyan, in this city; where arrangements had been made for the ceremony of *swinging*,—a sort of penance performed by the *bearer cast*, and some other low casts. This exhibition is generally made in front of the house of some wealthy, or influential native, by way of *compliment*; and a *sorry* one it would be, had not ‘that tyrant, custom,’ reconciled it to their feelings. A post, about twenty feet high, was planted before Duloll’s door—a

bundle of bamboos, of about the same length, were lashed together, and fixed by the middle, across the top of the post, on a kind of swivel, or pivot, which admitted the bamboo lever to turn round in an horizontal direction. To one end of this lever was attached a rope, which reached nearly to the ground, and by which it was to be turned. To the other end, there was also about six feet of rope, to which the *swingee*, if I may be allowed the term, was to be fastened. After I had waited some time, a crowd of natives approached, making a great noise with their *tumtums*,—some of them smeared with mud, and sprinkled with a reddish dust; making altogether a most motley assemblage. One of the company soon approached the swing, and mounted a scaffolding, in order to be attached to the short rope at the end of the lever. A couple of iron hooks, not unlike the hooks of a common steel-yard, were passed through two loops made in the skin of his back, just below the shoulder blades, and a bandage was passed round his body, and over the hooks, to secure him in case these should tear out. The hooks were then made fast to the line above-mentioned, and the man was suspended in this way, about twelve or fifteen feet from the ground. Two or three natives took hold of the rope at the other end of the lever, and began to run round with it, gradually quickening their pace until they whirled him about with amazing velocity. The swiftness with which the patient was carried round, caused him to extend the line almost horizontally; and my blood ran cold under the apprehension of seeing him break loose, and fly off in a tangent from the circle which he was describing. Such accidents, I am informed, do occasionally happen; but they do not deter these people from persevering in the practice. After the first one had been swung a few minutes, he was let down; and another came with four hooks in his back. He had no bandage round his body, but trusted entirely to the toughness of his hide. A considerable number were swung in this way; and each one seemed ambitious to have his turn first, and to excel his predecessors in these shocking feats. The fellow who sweeps our factory was up twice in the course of the afternoon, and was apparently much gratified at the attention we paid to his performance. The first time, he swung *fourteen minutes*, by the watch. One man smoked his *hubblebubble*, ate fruit, &c. while he was swinging, to evince his fortitude and unconcern. In one instance, the person swinging, had a small basket in his hand, containing some fruit, and a few young, half-fledged doves; all of which he distributed among the crowd, as he passed round above their heads—and they eagerly caught at them, under an impression, as I understood, that it was a good omen for those individuals who were so fortunate as to get hold of them before they reached the ground. Another was suspended, with the iron rod through his tongue, in the manner already described; and he amused himself by slipping it backward and forward, from one end to the other, during his circumgyrations. The desire to outdo the rest, at length prompted one

man to swing with only two hooks in his back, and without any bandage to save him, in case of accident. Although there was not more than an inch of skin in each loop, yet these two proved sufficient; and he was whirled about with a velocity equal to any of the others. To crown all, a native *woman* stepped forth, towards evening, and convinced them that her skin was as tough, and her courage as great as that of the men. She was suspended in the same manner, and revolved in her orbit with as much firmness as the most daring of her predecessors. My curiosity was now sufficiently gratified; and I left them before the exhibition was concluded. The performers are said to be all partially intoxicated with the fermented juice, or sap, of the palm tree, called *toddy*,—and also by chewing opium. These exhilarating medicaments, together with the enthusiasm which an admiring crowd always excites, enable them to undergo the process with the utmost fortitude; and, I might add, with apparent pleasure. I have examined several of their backs since, and find, on inquiry, that very little attention is ever paid to the wounds, except merely to stick a leaf of some plant over each sore. Those which I saw, appeared to be somewhat inflamed, but not so as to prevent the persons from returning to their usual labours; and I am informed that they commonly heal without any trouble. In several instances I observed the cicatrices of former wounds to be very numerous; and their owners seemed proud of them, as so many marks of distinction. Having thus faithfully endeavoured to narrate the principal circumstances attending this extraordinary ceremony, I leave you to ponder, and philosophise, on the wonderful extremes to which mankind may be led by ignorance and enthusiasm—and am ever yours.

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ART. VI.—*Fuero Juzgo, en Latin y Castellano, &c. i. e.* The Code of the Judges, compared with the most ancient and most valuable Manuscripts. By the Royal Spanish Academy. In folio.

[From the Journal des Savans.]

**T**HE *Fuero Juzgo* is a collection of the laws of the Visigoths. This ancient monument is doubly valuable: on the one hand it contains the laws which governed that people both in Spain and the South of France, so long as they existed as a nation, and these laws were even adopted by the governments which succeeded that of the Visigoths; and, on the other hand, it shews us, in a version in that tongue, made at a very remote era, the genuine state of the Castillian idiom. We know of scarcely any considerable work in that language, the date of which is acknowledged to be more ancient than that of the *Fuero Juzgo*; so that the text of this version, particularly as it has been published by the Spanish Academy, with numerous various readings, will be very useful to explain the origin and difficulties of the Castillian.

There were already several editions of the *Fuero Juzgo* in the original; that is to say, the Latin; the first was published in 1579,

by the learned Pierre Pithou, justly called the French Varro. The laws contained in this collection were afterwards reprinted in Germany and Italy. In Spain alone the ancient Castillian version had yet been published.

The Spanish Academy having formed the design of publishing a new edition of the original Latin and of the Castillian version, solicited of the king of Spain, and obtained, on the 8th of February and 20th of September 1785, express orders, which not only permitted it to consult the MSS. in the Royal Library of Madrid, and of Saint Lawrence in the Escorial, but also enjoined the universities, convents, cathedrals, &c. in the kingdom, to communicate the MSS. in their libraries. Private persons who possessed copies, eagerly lent them to the Academy; a committee of five members, several of whom were successively replaced by others, employed itself with zeal and perseverance to give this arduous task all the perfection which it required, and of which it was susceptible.

The preliminary discourse is composed by Don Manuel de Lardizabal y Uribe. After an introduction, in which he proves that the Visigoths has retained many parts of the Roman laws, he divides the code of the Visigoths into four classes: 1st, Those which the princes issued by their own authority, among which are some which the prince says he made, with all the great officers of the palace and the court. 2d, The laws which were the result of the deliberation of the national councils, in which the prelates and the nobles took part. The king who had proposed these laws, sanctioned them, after the consent of the clergy and the people. 3d, Those which do not express how they were made. The author of the preliminary discourse thinks they are very ancient laws, which have been placed in the collection. 4th, Lastly, the laws which have been corrected in process of time, and which sometimes express this circumstance.

The reviewer observes, that on examining this volume, he found that he did not recollect ever to have seen in the Latin collections of the laws of the Visigoths, the parts intituled PRIMUS TITULUS, which fills ten pages; and perceived that this part did not seem to have been originally intended to make a part of this edition, it being paged with Roman numerals; after which there comes another first chapter, 1. *Titulus de Legislatore*, where the Arabic numerals begin: the Castillian translation answering to this first part is also paged with Roman numerals, and, with the various readings, and the notes, fills sixteen pages; after which the Arabic numerals commence.

This first chapter concerns the election of the kings, their duties and their rights, as well as the duties of the people. The constitutional principles which it contains are not a new stipulation between the prince and the nation, but a renewal of the ancient laws, and king Sisenand requires that they shall be drawn up by the

assembly of the Visigoths, who are *paternorum decretorum memores*.

These laws bear the same character of liberty as the ancient laws of the other kingdoms of Spain. They begin with the definition of the title of king: *Regis enim à regendo vocati sunt*. If the king acts uprightly, he retains his title; if otherwise, he loses it. The second section of this first chapter concerns the *Election of the kings*. 'The election is made in the royal city, or in the place of the decease of the prince, by the assembly of the prelates and great men, with the consent of the people, and not otherwise, and not by the conspiracy of a small number, or in the seditious tumult of the people inhabiting the country.'

'The princes must be of the catholic religion.—In the distribution of justice they must be mild; in their mode of living modest.

'They shall not require of their subjects, for the supply of their wants, more than is necessary and lawful; their fortune does not descend to their children, but to the king elected after them.

'The heirs of a king can pretend to no more than the fortune which he had before he ascended the throne.

'The kings take an oath; and if they violate it they lose their rank.'

The 16th and 17th sections secure to the wives and children of the kings what ought reasonably to be allowed them.

The 3d section, the judicial treating of power, says, 'The king cannot decide alone, either upon persons or property; but judgment must take place in the assembly of the priests, who will inspire mercy, and with the consent of the people; so that by this sentence passed in public, the crime may be proved to the chiefs of the earth; but the right of pardoning is reserved to the kings. Thus kings will rejoice in their people, and the people in their kings, and God in both.'

After having laid down the duties of the kings, those of the people are not forgotten. The following law is remarkable for its severity.

Sect. II. 'Though the divine law has said, *'The father shall not die for the children, nor the children for the parents; but every one shall die for his own sin:'* And again: *'The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, nor the father that of the son:'* Nevertheless, to prevent conspiracies and rebellions, it is declared, that when the guilty are convicted canonically and legally of having conspired with the design of depriving the king of his life or crown, or, if they have in any manner whatever, by fractions or machinations, injured the country and the nation, both the guilty and their whole posterity shall be degraded from the honours of the palatine order, and they shall remain subject to perpetual slavery to the private treasury, saving the clemency of the king.'

The 18th section says, that 'on the commencement of a new reign, the great men who have obtained dignities and favours from



the preceding king, are not to be deprived of them, unless they have proved themselves unworthy.'

What we have quoted of this chapter will show how necessary the edition of the laws of the Visigoths, published by the Spanish Academy, was to complete the collection which contain the laws of the different people who succeeded to the domination of Rome, and which have been called by the general name of *BARBARORUM LEGES ANTIQUÆ*.

The chief object of the Academy was to make known the ancient Castillian idiom, and there is no doubt but its labours will be extremely useful to those who may wish to explore its origin and formation: This edition contains a glossary of all the words, the explanation of which presented some difficulty, whether in the Latin of the middle ages, or in the ancient Castillian.

The labour performed by the Spanish Academy appears to me (says M. Raynouard) so perfectly well executed, and so evidently useful, that I think I cannot sufficiently commend it. I finish this article by expressing a wish which is formed by all lovers of the Spanish literature: May the Academy bestow the same zeal, the same care, and employ the same means, to give editions of the *CANZONERO* and the *ROMANCERO*, those two famous monuments of the ancient Castillian literature.

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ART. VIII.—*Masquerade at Berlin.* Communicated by Professor Boettiger.

[From the London Journal of the Belles Letters.]

**T**HE publication of a very elegant work at Berlin, descriptive of a grand masquerade which was given at the court of the king of Prussia, in the commencement of last year, induces us to give some account of this entertainment.

Among the continental cities, where a masquerade at court is almost constantly a part of the amusements in the time of the carnival, there is probably not one in which there is so great a display of magnificence, elegance, and classic taste, as at Berlin. On three particular occasions during these last eighteen years, the fetes of this description were so distinguished by the union of the above qualities, that a particular work has been dedicated to the description of each.

That of the 22d of March 1802 had a twofold object: to celebrate the birth-day of her majesty the late queen, (which was properly on the 10th) and by a grand pantomimic dance in the palace of his royal highness prince Ferdinand of Prussia, to commemorate the recovery of that prince from his illness. The ingenious idea of the fete invented by the aulic counsellor Hirt, represented Dedalus and his statues.

In the year 1803, the queen, who had just been confined with the princess Alexandrina, could not be present at the fete dedicated to her birth-day. The greater was the general eagerness, the

following year, to celebrate the return of the day. The 12th of March 1804 was fixed upon for the purpose, and the Royal theatre was elegantly fitted up for a grand masquerade, with *quadrilles*, the first and principal of which represented the return of Alexander the great from India, and his marriage with the princess Stastira, daughter of Darius.

The succession of important events that filled the succeeding years, the almost total ruin of the Prussian monarchy, and the death of the queen in particular, left neither time nor inclination for these gay scenes; the toga gave place to arms, and the sportive muses Euterpe and Terpsichore to their austere sister Clio.

It was therefore long before an opportunity offered for a third fete of the same kind, which was afforded by the recent marriage of his royal highness prince Frederick of Prussia, nephew to his majesty the king, with princess Louisa of Anhalt-Bernburg, which was solemnized at Ballenstaedt, and in honour of which a series of fetes were given at Berlin, of which the masquerade on the 8th of February far exceed all the rest in splendour.

On that evening, his majesty the king allowed above three thousand masks to receive cards of invitation or admission to the royal palace. In the splendour of innumerable wax-lights, the gay throng floated in expectation of the moment when the procession was to pass before them. The door opened. The beautiful allegory proceeded slowly and majestically through a long suite of apartments, representing the union of two hearts, and consecrating this union by the mystical rites of antiquity, and by chosen examples of heroic, romantic, chivalrous, and princely love.

The white saloon, the most simply elegant in the palace, received the train of seventy-nine persons, without the cupids. It entered, preceded by two temple heralds, and by Comus the god of mirth. Two elegant triumphal cars broke the uniformity of the procession. In the first stood Psyche and Eros Uranios; behind them Hymen with his torch and garland. In the second car was Hera Teleia, consecrating the union of hearts. A throng of male and female attendants of Eros, Psyche, and Juno, partly drew, partly accompanied and surrounded the cars of the divinities, of whose train the graces formed as a necessary part as the graver priestesses of Juno.

After the mysterious symbols of life and love, there advanced, preceded by Cupids, and issuing from the 'Gate of the Past,' life and love, represented by sixteen couple of heroic lovers in the following order:

1. Cadmus (prince George of Hesse) and Hermione.
2. Hector and Andromache.
3. Ulysses and Penelope.
4. Abradates (the crown prince) and Panthea (princess Frederica.)
5. Mausolus and Artemisia.
6. Alexander (prince William, the king's brother) and Roxana (princess Alexandrina.)
7. Antiochus and Stratonice.
8. Arminius and Thusnelda.
9. Germanicus (prince Augustus of Prussia) and Agrippina.
10. Valentinian (prince Charles) and Eu-

doxia. 11. Otto (duke Charles of Mecklenburg) and Adelaide (princess William.) 12. The Cid and Chimene. 13. Houn and Amanda. 14. Ruggiero and Bradamante. 15. Peter of Provence and Magelone. 16. Louis XII. and Anne of Bretagne.

The white saloon, which was fitted up and appropriated to the representation, and diversified *Tableaux* and groupings of the Quadrille, was peculiarly adapted by its at once simple and grand decorations, by its antique form and spaciousness, for the festal occasion. The lofty hall, the architectural unity of which was not interrupted by any modern additions, contained about 400 spectators on the *Estrades* (running along the walls,) covered with scarlet cloth, and divided from the centre space by Thyrsus staves with garlands. The wall opposite the entrance was occupied by the royal band on a raised stage, covered with scarlet cloth. The king, with the members of the royal family, who remained as spectators, and the new married couple, sat upon elevated seats on the left of the orchestra, the latter in the ancient German dress, wearing the colours of Hohenzollern and Anhalt.

The work, of which we have spoke above, represents on 13 copper plates, of which 12 are coloured, the principal characters and groups of this festival. The faithfulness of the representation, and the beauty of the colouring, leave nothing to be desired. It is a monument of taste, which perhaps could not have been produced except by the concurrence of so many favourable circumstances. The first requisite of such a pantomimic fete, viz. unity of the leading idea, was afforded by the object of the day, to celebrate a marriage in the royal family. Thus all is connected with a procession (*pompa* in the ancient sense) to the honour of the great patroness of marriage, Juno, Pronuba, or Hera Teleia. It thus becomes, as the Greeks named it, a *sacred marriage*. Hieroduloi and Hierokerykoi attend the festival. Priestesses consecrate it. The whole procession, as above described, is finely represented on the 13th plate. Two men, well versed in the customs of all ages, gave all the requisite directions for the costumes; the Aulic counsellor Hirt, so distinguished for his researches into antiquity, for all relative to the antique, and the judicious and active intendant of the Royal theatre, count Bruhl, for every thing relative to the middle ages and more modern times. The first four coloured plates represent Cupid and Psyche (very differently indeed from what we see them in the well known groups, or on the celebrated Cameo of the duke of Marlborough, by Tryphon,) but much must be placed to the account of the veil, which is here hardly visible. Hymen; the three Graces, with garlands of flowers; Hera Teleia, with her priestesses; the herald; Comus and Momus; and, lastly, two male and two female Hieroduloi. Then follow, in 8 plates, the 16 couple, two upon each plate. It is necessary to read the instructive introduction, in order to place ourselves in the point of view from which the two inventors and directors of the antique and the modern romantic costume desire to be judged of in their endea-

vours to reconcile the national and characteristic with the agreeable and theatrical. It is only thus that it is possible to avoid pedantry on the one hand, and fantasticalness on the other. Nay, we may assume what is said in this introduction pretty nearly as the rule, according to which, as things now are, we may proceed in all our theatrical and masquerade costumes. It must be also remembered, that in the choice and mixture of the colour, it was necessary to have regard to the nocturnal illumination, and that on this account we must not be surprised to see Hymen, for instance, not in yellow, but in bright red drapery; further, that it was necessary to aim at striking contrasts, and that therefore many costumes, particularly in the ancient Asiatic and old German taste, received many ornaments not properly belonging to them. If we make due allowance for all this, we shall not be offended at some trifling deviations from the strict costume; especially because, if we were called upon to contrive it better, we should certainly be very much embarrassed. Every where, in the costume of the figures of the heroic ages, we see the profound antiquarian. In the same manner, the costumes arranged by count Bruhl, from the time of Byzantine magnificence, down to Louis XII. and Anne of Bretagne, are all well chosen, and with a view to the greatest magnificence, which was here indispensable.

The short hints which the judicious and tasteful contriver of these characters has scattered in the explanations, show how much he could say on the subject in a proper place. It were much to be wished that in his leisure time, upon which, indeed, there are too many claims, he might be able to display to us the christian romantic world, in an express work on the costume, as it begins from the Dalmatica and Labarum, down to the modern Spanish at the beginning of the 16th century, with accurate drawings, which are indispensable, and also quoting the authorities. Perhaps lithography may attain every where the high degree of perfection which it has acquired in Munich, and thus render it possible to represent the genuine metallic costumes at a smaller expense.

We would address the same request to M. Hirt, in respect to the Asiatic, Egyptian, Scythian, and Greek Etruscan (of which the Roman is only a branch.) The indefatigable Millin at Paris had been engaged many years in collecting rare and chosen materials on the subject, and published a small but important work, on theatrical costume, preparatory to a large work with numerous plates. The unfortunate fire, which during his three years' tour in Italy threw into disorder, if it did not consume, all his papers and collections, together with the unpropitious times, caused the execution of this plan to be indefinitely delayed. He began, however, to collect and to arrange anew. And what means had he at his command, in the situation he was placed in at Paris! But his death, by which his friends and the sciences are equal sufferers, for ever destroyed this plan. Let Hirt then, whose mythological picture-book has already been of so much use, no longer delay to acquire this merit. How much would we give if we had such a book of costumes re-

maining from the brilliant times of classic antiquity! For the plastic monuments, every where aiming at the naked, are founded on conventional laws, very different from the picturesque rules of our theatrical costumes, and they lead the imprudent greatly astray. One source for antique costume is, however, by no means exhausted; viz. the vases, of which more are daily discovered and published. People will at length be tired of the mere bacchanals, which have been multiplied to excess, and only really new and interesting subjects will be copied, as has been lately done with much judgment by James Millington, collected from the vases of sir John Coghill.

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ART. VIII.—*Human Life*, a poem by Samuel Rogers. London 1819. Small 4to. pp 94. Reprinted and published at Philadelphia by M. Thomas in 24mo. pp. 62.

[The following are the remarks of the London Literary Gazette upon this little work. They are at least as favourable as the poem deserves. Indeed if such poetry, so lifeless, so spiritless, so common-place, had been written and published *here*, our critics would not have allowed the poet to escape so well, nor would the public taste have rewarded the splendid quarto. Mr. Rogers seems to have improved the smoothness of his versification, but to have lost the vigour of his genius.]

**H**UMAN LIFE—a trite but interesting subject to human beings; a subject inexhaustible, and which has exhausted every species of intellectual intelligence; a subject upon which nothing new can be said, and much of what is old may be repeated, to the delight of mankind, if repeated well. Such is the theme adopted by Mr. Rogers for a poem, the extent of which is a sketch of one view of the great drama that is designated, rather than a grand outline of the many and important aspects it presents to the philosophical mind. In this sketch the pencilling is beautiful, the conception refined, the design pleasing upon the whole—the execution elegant, and the general feeling of an admirable tone. We cannot look upon it without recognising an amiable disposition in the artist; a sensibility of the purest order, alike removed from the confines of mawkish sentiment and of hard unkindness: a heart touched with the ills of life and the griefs of other men, seems to speak in one or two of the most affecting passages descriptive of the death of beloved objects, and the ideas of the writer are expressed with a simple though polished pathos, which claims and ensures a corresponding emotion.

The impression made upon us by the perusal of *Human Life* is that of an agreeable melancholy. There are parts which excite deeper sensations; but the general tendency is of this delightful cast.

As mere readers we should offer no other opinion upon the merits of this production; but as bringing it critically before the public, we are bound to enter a little more into detail. The extracts

which we shall add to these brief remarks will prove that the highest degree of admiration is due to many felicitous effusions which it contains, especially to those pourings out of the soul which sympathy has attuned to the misfortunes or woes of fellow creatures. Throughout the poem the style is tender, and far above the level of undistinguished verse. The pictures are almost invariably clearly defined, though in one or two instances we are at a loss for the author's precise meaning, and his language is involved in an obscurity which the slightest grammatical alteration would probably elucidate. The rhythm is very musical, and the rhyme, taken altogether, good. We do not dislike the occasional change from the regular heroic measure to triplets, nor to the line with a trochaic close; but in so short a poem (not exceeding six hundred lines) there is an objectionable recurrence to the same terminations; and the use of one word, in itself neither poetical nor called for by the sense of the passage, we must notice as the principal critical blemish of the composition. We allude to the pronoun '*there*,' which, though nothing better than an expletive in three out of the four places in which it is employed, serves as a rhyme for about a dozen of times. '*Then*' is also impressed into the same service, and the conclusion in *ire*, for example, *fire*, *require*, *admire*, *desire*, &c. &c. &c. occurs so often, as to produce an idea of sameness. In short, while acknowledging their correctness, we may complain of the want of variety in the rhymes.

But without dwelling further at present on such minute spots, except to point them out as they cross us in our annexed quotations, we proceed to the more gratifying task of laying before our readers those extracts which we have selected as fair specimens of the work.

The introduction is not inferior to any equal number of continuous lines in the poem.

The lark has sung his carol in the sky;  
 The bees have hummed their noon-tide lullaby.  
 Still in the vale the village-bells ring round,  
 Still in Llewellyn-hall the jests resound:  
 For now the caudle cup is circling *there*,\*  
 Now, glad at heart, the gossips breathe their prayer.  
 And, crowding, stop the cradle to admire  
 The babe, the sleeping image of his sire.  
 A few short years—and then these sounds shall hail  
 The day again, and gladness fill the vale;  
 So soon the child a youth, the youth a man,  
 Eager to run the race his fathers ran.  
 Then the huge ox shall yield the broad sir-loin;  
 The ale, now brewed, in floods of amber shine:  
 And, basking in the chimney's ample blaze,  
 Mid many a tale told of his boyish days,  
 The nurse shall cry, of all her ills beguiled,  
 'Twas on these knees he sat so oft and smiled.'

\* One of the examples of the inappropriate use of this pronoun.

And soon again shall music swell the breeze;  
 Soon, issuing forth, shall glitter through the trees  
 Vestures of nuptial white; and hymns be sung,  
 And violets scattered round; and old and young,  
 In every cottage-porch with garlands green,  
 Stand *still*\* to gaze, and gazing, bless the scene;  
 While, her dark eyes declining, by his side  
 Moves in her virgin veil the gentle bride.

And once, alas, nor in a distant hour,  
 Another voice shall come from yonder tower;  
 When in dim chambers long black weeds *are*† seen,  
 And weepings heard where only joy had been;  
 When by his children borne, and from his door  
 Slowly departing to return no more,  
 He rests in holy earth with them that went before.

And such is human life. - - -

These verses, and the notes we have appended to them, will convey our sentiments on the whole poem. Were it not exquisitely wrought, and laboriously polished throughout, we should not think it worth minute and microscopical criticism: but it is on the finest mirrors that the smallest specks are seen.

The next paragraph which we shall copy is one of more unmixed beauty, and may be esteemed a free paraphrase from Bossuet's Sermon on the Resurrection.

Our pathway leads but to a precipice;  
 And all must follow, fearful as it is!  
 From the first step 'tis known; but—No delay;  
 On, 'tis decreed. We tremble and obey.  
 A thousand ills beset us as we go.  
 —' Still, could I shun the fatal gulf'—Ah, no,  
 'Tis all in vain—the inexorable Law!  
 Nearer and nearer to the brink we draw.  
 Verdure springs up; and fruits and flowers invite,  
 And groves and fountains—all things that delight.  
 'Oh I would stop, and linger if I might!'—  
 We fly; no resting for the foot we find;  
 All dark before, all desolate behind!  
 At length the brink appears—but one step more!  
 We faint—On, on! we falter—and 'tis o'er!

The author, after some general reflections, now proceeds through the different stages of human life, differing in his classification from the seven ages of Shakspeare. He divides his subject into Childhood, Youth, Manhood, Love, Marriage, Domestic Happiness and Affliction, War, Peace, Civil Dissension, Retirement from Active Life, and Old Age and its enjoyments. The portraiture of infancy is very pretty; but the transition from Manhood to Love is rather abrupt; nor is the latter subject so happily treated as most of the others. It seems to us to be too familiar rather than playful. The delineation of domestic bliss is at once more eleva-

\* An indefinite, and here an improper word.

† The change of time from the *shall* in the preceding line to this *are*, has a bad effect.

ted and natural, but we pass it by for the still better painted picture of domestic calamity.

But man is born to suffer. On the door  
Sickness hath set her mark; and now no more  
Laughter within we hear, or wood-notes wild  
As of a mother singing to her child.  
All now in anguish from that room retire,  
Where a young cheek glows with consuming fire,  
And innocence breathes contagion—all but one,  
But she who gave it birth—from her alone  
The medicine-cup is taken. Through the night,  
And through the day, that with its dreary light  
Comes unregarded, she sits silent by,  
Watching the changes with her anxious eye:  
While they without, listening below, above,  
(Who but in sorrow know how much they love?)  
From every little noise catch hope and fear,  
Exchanging still, still as they turn to hear,  
Whispers and sighs, and smiles all tenderness  
That would in vain the starting tear repress.

Such grief was ours—it seems but yesterday—  
When in thy prime, wishing so much to stay,  
'Twas thine, Maria, thine without a sigh  
At midnight in a sister's arms to die!  
Oh thou wert lovely—lovely was thy frame,  
And pure thy spirit as from Heaven it came!  
And, when recalled to join the blest above,  
Thou diedst a victim to exceeding love,  
Nursing the young to health. In happier hours,  
When idle fancy wove luxuriant flowers,  
Once in thy mirth thou badst me write on thee;  
And now I write—what thou shalt never see!

At length the father, vain his power to save,  
Follows his child in silence to the grave,  
(That child how cherished, whom he would not give,  
Sleeping the sleep of death, for all that live;)  
Takes a last look, when, not unheard, the spade  
Scatters the earth as 'dust to dust' is said,  
Takes a last look and goes; his best relief  
Consoling others in that hour of grief,  
And with sweet tears and gentle words infusing  
The holy calm that leads to heavenly musing.

The last six lines, we think, weaken the effect of the affecting passages which precede them, and especially of the two exquisitely fine touches in the parentheses; the whole quotation is, however, extremely beautiful, and there are few parents who will not feel and confess its truth.

The remainder of the poem depicts a fortunate old age, and retirement from the busy scenes of the world—such retirement as is enjoyed only by the happy few to whom it is given to eke out a youth of little toil, with a sequel of easy abundance—who having no occasion to stem the torrent of adversity, and buffet with its waves, may sink peacefully into the decline of years, unvexed with cares, and never harrassed with the dread of want. Alas! that the



old age of the vast majority of mankind should be so much the reverse of this.

The poem thus concludes.

- - - - - But the day is spent;  
And stars are kindling in the firmament,  
To us how silent—though like ours perchance  
Busy and full of life and circumstance;  
Where some the paths of Wealth and Power pursue,  
Of Pleasure some, of Happiness a few;  
And, as the sun goes round—a sun not ours—  
While from her lap another Nature showers  
Gifts of her own, some from the crowd retire,  
Think on themselves, within, without inquire;  
At distance dwell on all that passes *there*,  
All that their world reveals of good and fair;  
And as they wander, picturing things, like me,  
Not as they are, but as they ought to be,  
Trace out the Journey through their little Day,  
And fondly dream an idle hour away.

We trust that these extracts will be thought to justify the favourable opinion we have ventured to express of this publication—that a gentleness and elegance of mind, tinctured with much tenderness and considerable pathos, are its characteristics, and that without aiming at great elevation or force, its chaste and polished numbers are peculiarly calculated to be pleasing to all those who, like the author, may wish to

Fondly dream an idle hour away.

It remains for us also to sustain our judgment upon the few obscurities which appear to detract from the general lucidness of the construction.

Born in a trance, we wake, reflect, inquire;  
And the green earth, the azure sky admire.  
Of Elfin size—for ever as we run,  
We cast a longer shadow in the sun!  
And now a charm, and now a grace is won!

We must own that we do not comprehend the drift of these lines. Again only a few verses on—

And say, how soon, where, blithe and innocent,  
The boy at sun-rise whistled as he went,  
An aged pilgrim on his staff shall lean,  
Tracing in vain *the* footsteps o'er the green;  
The man himself how altered, not the scene!

Here we guess the meaning, but cannot tell what are '*the footsteps*' the aged pilgrim is tracing in vain.

We must again apologize for particularising such slight and accidental oversights, but it is only, as we said before, in productions upon which labour has been bestowed, as well as true poetic genius displayed, that it is necessary to point out even the most trifling defects.

Two minor poems are added to *Human Life* in this volume: the first written at and on the subject of *Pæstum*; the last entitled *The Boy of Egremond*, and founded on a tradition current in Wharfe-dale, where at a place called the *Strid*, the catastrophe is

said to have happened in the twelfth century, to a son of William Fitz-Duncan, the nephew of David king of Scotland, who had laid waste the valley of Craven with fire and sword. Though both are worthy of the critic's praise, we only select the latter, as it admits of being transferred entire into our limits, as the conclusion of this notice.

#### THE BOY OF EGREMOND.

' Say what remains when Hope is fled?'

She answered, ' Endless weeping!'

For in the herds-man's eye she read

Who in his shroud lay sleeping.

At EMESAY rung the matin-bell,

The stag was roused on Barden-fell;

The mingled sounds were swelling, dying,

And down the Wharfe a hern was flying;

When near the cabin in the wood,

In tartan clad and forest-green,

With hound in leash and hawk in hood,

The boy of Egremond was seen.

Blithe was his song, a song of yore,

But where the rock is rent in two,

And the river rushes through,

His voice was heard no more!

'Twas but a step, the gulf he passed.

But that step—it was his last!

As through the mist he winged his way,

(A cloud that hovers night and day )

The hound hung back, and back he drew

The master and his merlin too.

That narrow place of noise and strife

Received their little all of life.

There now the matin-bell has rung;

The ' miserere!' duly sung;

And holy men in cowl and hood

Are wandering up and down the wood.

But what avail they? ruthless lord,

Thou didst not shudder when the sword

Here on the young its fury spent,

The helpless and the innocent.

Sit now and answer groan for groan.

The child before thee is thy own.

And she who wildly wanders *there*,

The mother in her long despair,

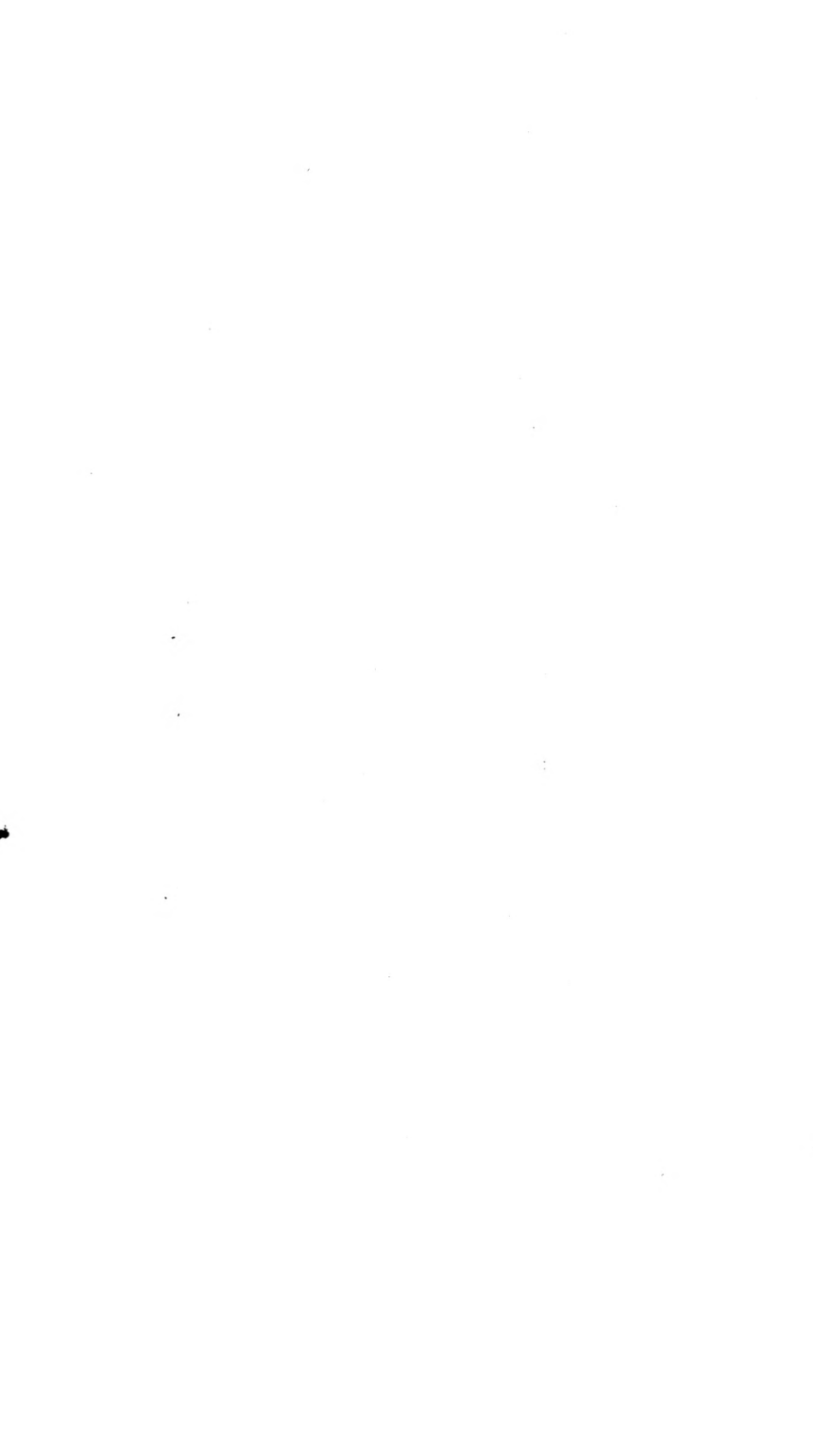
Shall oft remind thee, waking, sleeping,

Of those who by the Wharfe were weeping;

Of those who would not be consoled

When red with blood the river rolled.

We have only to add, that this volume is so beautifully printed as to be an excellent example of typography, and though we do not approve of such expensive modes of getting up works for the public, yet as we suppose the present is only a sort of *fancy edition*, as a preliminary to an appearance in a cheaper form, we abstain from saying that we wish it were more agreeable to the usual practice of publishing in a neat and convenient form at a moderate price.





ART. X.—*Biographical Notice of the late Captain Gamble.*

(With a portrait.)

THE lives of those, who by their virtues or services have acquired an honourable name in their country, excite a curiosity always earnest in its inquiry, and delightful in its gratification. There is a harmless vanity that prompts us to claim, even by the most remote connexion, some participation in the glory and rewards of distinguished men. We covet a relationship to them, and instances occasionally occur, that lead us to feign or feel the general consanguinity of a whole nation. These are seen in the high and attractive standards of human excellence, around which a people rally with the warmest feelings of family partiality and affection; feelings which offer an equal tribute to human eminence, however diversified its paths. Those who determine to live and labour for the cause of humanity, may choose with indifference the mode and place of their service—the fellowship of virtuous and elevated actions will raise them all to one kindred rank in the world.

'Tis true the pursuit of manly and permanent fame is generally cheerless or repulsive; and demands a vigour of industry and resolution, that, under present self denials, can look forward with patient anticipation to a distant, though certain possession. There are however some means of distinction,—more alluring in their prospects, and more immediate in their gratifications—which even in the midst of their employment, call forth that public admiration and favour, which in other pursuits are received only as an ultimate reward. This is exemplified in the early fame attending the profession of arms. There is an interest and grateful feeling towards the fate of those, who offer their lives to the service of their country: their success is identified with the honour of their nation; public attention follows its steps with enthusiasm, and marks its issue with applause. The fields of war furnish those rare occasions to human ambition, where the ardour of youth may reach its desired glory and attain to an equal measure of renown with the wisdom and experience of age.

Thus we all saw, during the late war with England, the warmth of public feeling, and the grateful tribute of its honours; and we all remember, how ample a portion of them was bestowed on the youthful heroes of the land. Their deeds on the ocean were the universal theme, and proud examples of fame were exhibited in glorious succession to the world.

With these remarks, we shall offer to our readers a short notice of the life and character of the late captain Gamble, in the belief that the simple detail of his services, and this unfeigned tribute to his memory will be sufficient to give his name a deserved place in the grateful and lasting remembrance of his countrymen. We are aware that his fame had not yet come before the world in its full and promised lustre; but he had fulfilled the duties of his short

career, in the most faithful and exemplary manner, and those who knew him, will bear witness to the truth of our narrative.

Thomas Gamble was born Recklestown, in the state of New Jersey, on the 24th of December, 1783. He was the second son of major William Gamble, an officer of the revolutionary army. His early youth was passed amid the quiet and seclusion of the place of his birth; and though its minor events and promises are still in the recollection of his friends, they do not here require a particular enumeration—It is a general fact that the characteristics of the man are exhibited through youth in fainter though distinguishable traces; and, that the same mode of moral and intellectual qualities, influenced perhaps by education, appears in the successive periods of human life; and we hope to show, ere this memoir is concluded, a full reason for inferring that the boyhood of captain Gamble was both virtuous and intelligent. He remained at Recklestown until about the age of twenty, at which time he had acquired a useful and practical education, and had qualified himself for mercantile business. He early entertained a predilection for a sea-faring-life, and even in his retired station looked forward with anxiety and eagerness to the world and its distant prospects. This passion for the adventures of the sea has often filled, and elevated the youthful heart: and aftertime has decided whether it was the thoughtless ardour of inexperience, or one of those instinctive agencies that occasionally determine the characters and fortunes of men. In the year 1804, captain Gamble left the place of his birth to gratify his favourite inclination, and immediately afterwards began his naval career.

His first voyage was to England as a sailor in the merchant service. His aim in this service was to qualify himself for that station in the navy for which his application was then made; thus wisely seeking a preparatory knowledge during that indefinite period too frequently consumed in idle expectation—With an independent pride, he resolved to enter his profession by the humble duties of the forecastle, and through them to learn in practical detail, the rules of seamanship and subordination. On his return from England he received a midshipman's warrant in the navy of the United States, and was immediately ordered to join the frigate Congress, then equipping for the Mediterranean service, and commanded by commodore Rodgers. An association with that officer here commenced and continued during the greater part of captain Gamble's naval life. He sailed with him successively in the frigates Constitution and Essex, and served in the Mediterranean during the Tripolitan war: and whilst thus advancing in the knowledge of his profession, he gained the approbation of his superior officers, and the warm attachment of those with whom he was connected. The detail of the minor incidents in the life of most men, is either tedious or unimportant, and in this notice of captain Gamble, we do not wish to be more circumstantial than justice to his memory requires. It is no small commendation to say, that whilst a

midshipman, he was generally at sea, and discharged with alacrity, intelligence, and faithfulness the duties of that station.

In April 1810, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and was soon afterwards appointed to the frigate *President*, then commanded by commodore Rodgers; and continued with him in that vessel during the greater part of the late war. He was her first lieutenant in her memorable escape from the British squadron in the North Sea, and was equally conspicuous for his attention and alacrity in the responsible duties of his post. That frigate had during the war, a character for equipment and discipline that was the reliance and boast of her country, and had spread abroad a fame for bold and active enterprise that was the frequent report of Europe. The skill and adventurous spirit of her commander, and his accomplished and effective associates, warned an appalled adversary to shun the certain disaster of single combat, and taught him, that the safety of contention, or the hope of triumph, was to be sought only in the strength of greatly overbalanced force, or in the combined operation and pursuit of squadrons. The *President* frigate never met the long sought opportunity of justifiable fight, and when at last she yielded her flag to the enemy, she gave him a worthless wreck, over which he might mingle his proud exultations on the destruction of a dangerous foe, with a questionable satisfaction at the gainful efforts of his timorous prudence.

On the return of the *President* in the year 1814, captain Gamble was transferred under the command of commodore Rodgers to the *Guerriere*, then fitting out at Philadelphia. From this station, he accompanied the commodore who hastened with his crew to the defence of Baltimore, then menaced by a British force. It is well known, how much the active and meritorious services of the officers of the navy upon that memorable occasion, contributed to the safety of that city. The citizens of Baltimore have duly appreciated their gallant and skilful exertions, and with the generosity of valour, have always shared with them the honour of their success.

In December 1814, captain Gamble was made a lieutenant-commandant, and separated from commodore Rodgers. He had accompanied that officer in all his service for more than eight years; and from his undeviating course of duty, his accomplishments as an officer, and his unimpeachable conduct even in its trifle, had won from his commander a personal attachment, which ended only with his life. We pause on this friendship! it speaks a full encomium on the youth.

Shortly after receiving his commission, captain Gamble was appointed to the command of the *Spark*, and sailed, the succeeding summer, with the squadron destined to Algiers, under the command of commodore Decatur. The early and brilliant termination of the war with that power, reflected additional lustre upon the American navy, and the gallant individuals who conducted its operations. Europe saw, and honoured an activity that gave in almost daily succession a blow, a triumph, and a treaty! On the

occasion of the short and desperate resistance made by the Algerine frigate and brig when overtaken by the American squadron, it was the good fortune of captain Gamble to be favoured with an opportunity of battle, and to display before his countrymen that personal gallantry, with which his soul was so eminently gifted. After the capture of the frigate, he was ordered with the boats of the *Spark*, and the other smaller vessels to pursue the brig. At the head of his gallant crew, he overtook, boarded, and captured her, after an intrepid and sanguinary contest. This is the short history of the naval conflicts of that war; and captain Gamble was fortunate and honoured as a young officer, in bearing a conspicuous part in its single but decisive exploit. The captured frigate, was soon afterwards restored by commodore Decatur, and captain Gamble, who in the interval, had been appointed to her charge, carried her to Algiers, and delivered her to the dey. Here he conciliated the esteem and respect of those around him, and soon after received as a testimonial of regard, a costly sabre from the bey of Tripoli.

In the autumn of this year, he returned to the United States; honourably known to his naval companions, and advancing in the track of future distinction in his profession. In the summer of 1816, he was promoted to the rank of master commandant; and having obtained a furlough, went to England to visit an aged uncle, major Thomas Gamble, to whom he was much attached. He afterwards visited France, about the time lord Exmouth's expedition was preparing against Algiers. Believing the events of this expedition might probably produce some employment for the American arms in that quarter, he relinquished a previous intention of returning to his country, repaired to the Mediterranean, and was immediately assigned to the command of the *Erie* sloop of war.

And here began and terminated the prospects of his more extended usefulness. Whilst commander of the *Erie*, he was always indefatigable in the paths of his duty, and watchful of the interests of his crew. He had, as a young officer, an eligible station, and he resolved to employ its opportunities. But alas! in the schemes of human grandeur, we forget there is a wise but fateful will in Heaven—In the midst of his scenes of duty, he was seized with a lingering and fatal disease; and at the naval hospital at Pisa, on the 10th of October, 1818, in his 35th year, he yielded up his manly and generous spirit.

This is a short narrative of the leading incidents in the life of captain Gamble; but enough to show he was an officer above the rank of ordinary accomplishment—a distinction of no common merit, when made among the officers of the American navy.

We have a few words for the personal virtues of captain Gamble; and those qualities, which made him so much beloved as a son, a brother, and a friend. The fulness of their excellence is declared in the place and manner of their record—for they are warmly remembered by his companions, and mournfully registered in the hearts of his family. His person was formed in singular



manly beauty, and would every where have invited to acquaintance and favour. He was brave, generous, and humane; and in the world, was governed by the purest principles of conduct. His gentleness, sprightliness, and diffidence were attractions endearing him as a man, and promising to adorn him hereafter as a hero.

We would yet add a consideration, not unrelated to the credit of his name. He was one of five brothers, four of whom have devoted their lives to the service of their country. His youngest brother, Peter Gamble, was commodore Mc Donough's first lieutenant, and fell whilst gallantly fighting in the memorable battle of Champlain. The relatives of lieutenant Gamble received a medal voted by congress to his memory. His brother, major John M. Gamble served as a lieutenant of marines, under captain Porter in his celebrated cruise in the Pacific Ocean; and is honourably known to the world for his gallantry and undaunted constancy, in encountering the trials of that enterprising service. The remaining brother, Francis Gamble is now a lieutenant in the navy of the United States. Such offerings, have in all nations, given honour or nobility to family—and in the proud, but unwritten heraldry of our citizens, they establish a lineage of patriotism, that Americans in grateful remembrance will rejoice to blazon and respect.

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ART. XI.—*Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*; or, Ireland Vindicated: An attempt to develop and expose a few of the multifarious errors and falsehoods respecting Ireland, in the Histories of May, Temple, Whitelock, Borlase, Rushworth, Clarendon, Cox, Carte, Leland, Warner, Macauley, Hume, and others: particularly in the legendary tales of the conspiracy and pretended massacre of 1641. By M. Carey. Philadelphia, 1819.

**M**R. CAREY is one of the many Irishmen that, relinquishing the endearments of their natal soil, have sought, under our free institutions, an enjoyment of that civil liberty and unrestrained exertion of honest industry, which the tyranny of its oppressors denied to them in their own much injured country. The lapse of many years, since he has been a citizen of the United States, the success which has crowned his labours in an arduous occupation, the new attachments formed by him during a long residence among us, and the respectability acquired by him as a member of our community, have not, however, had power to obliterate from his memory the land of his fathers, nor to chill the fervour of youthful devotion, imbibed among the scenes of his boyhood, towards suffering and slandered Ireland. He has, therefore, been induced to apply his moments of leisure in a laborious examination of some of the calumnious imputations cast upon the character of that nation by the policy or malignity of the British historians. And by a patient investigation of the sources from which they derive their facts, and a careful collection and comparison of the numerous authorities, has been enabled to exhibit to the world, in this publication, a most interesting and curious picture of the systematic rapine and mis-

representation which the Irish have endured at the hands of the government and writers of England; and at the same time, a conclusive refutation of the most serious, and most injurious charge which has rested on the national character of Ireland.

The story of her manifold wrongs has been so often told, that all but Irishmen are tired of the theme; and her sufferings have called forth so much of the finest eloquence both of verse and prose, that a repetition of them now would command a very faint attention.

Mr. C. has wisely avoided such a detail, and limited himself to a disquisition on a few prominent circumstances, relative to which, the friends of Ireland have been generally silent. Nor is his book a mere querimonious descant on the inhumanity of the British sway in that country; it is an indignant and impassioned, but certainly a most convincing argument to prove the falsity of certain accusations against the Irish people, which have been so boldly pronounced and acquiesced in so generally, that at first view, it seems idle now to controvert them.

The conspiracy and insurrection of 1641, and the horrible massacre then perpetrated by the Irish catholics upon the protestants and British, exceeding very far in atrocity and extent of mischief, that of St. Bartholomew or the Sicilian vespers, stands as an historical fact, on foundations apparently not less indestructible; and while it has been universally considered as fixing indelibly the foulest stain of ferocity on the national character of Ireland has also, in the words of our author, ‘afforded some sort of countenance to the continuance of the remnant of an odious code of laws, by which rapine, cruelty, and demoralization have been legally systematized, and every principle of honour, honesty, good faith, justice, and sound policy violated.’\*

Historians of the highest character have exhausted their powers of indignant invective against the brutal and fiendlike conduct attributed to the Irish on that occasion. And history furnishes no scene more shocking to humanity, than that portrayed by Temple, Hume, and Russel, who all adopt, implicitly, the belief of a deliberate conspiracy of the most execrable nature, and describe a whole people as engaged in an unprovoked and savage massacre, ‘worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence.’

† ‘The Irish,’ says Hume, ‘every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people, whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity.’ ‘After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and the most barbarous that ever, in any nation, was known or heard of, began its operations. An universal massacre commenced of the English, now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes.’ ‘Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound

\* Preface, page x.

† Hume’s Hist. of Eng. vol. 6, p. 372.

peace and full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices.' 'Such enormities, though attested by undoubted evidence, appear almost incredible.' 'The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster. 'From Ulster, the flames of rebellion diffused themselves in an instant over the other three provinces of Ireland,' &c. p. 373.

Russel is but the echo of Hume, and follows him almost word for word—both, indeed, implicitly relying on the relation given by sir John Temple. But he adds, that 'the number of persons who perished by all these barbarities, is computed at forty thousand;'\* and subjoins in a note, 'many attempts have been made to throw a veil over the enormities of the Irish massacre. The natural love of independency, the tyranny of the English government, and the rapacity of the English soldiery, have been pleaded as powerful motives for rebellion, and strong incentives to vengeance in the breasts of the injured and oppressed natives; and much trouble has been taken to show, that the horrors of religious hate, though provoked by persecution, have been greatly exaggerated. But the vindictive and sanguinary disposition of the Irish catholics, in latter times, leaves no room to suppose, that the description of the cruelties of their bigotted and barbarous ancestors has been overcharged. The stimulating causes I have not omitted, nor have I concealed their effects. The general slaughter, I have reduced as low as even Mr. Brooke, the author of the trial of the Roman catholics of Ireland, could wish; but truth forbids me to disguise the atrocious circumstances with which it was accompanied.'

Rapin tells us† 'the Irish formed the project of casting off the English yoke, of seizing upon all the fortified places, and of *cutting the throats of all the English throughout the whole kingdom*. The day appointed for executing this bloody design, was the 23d of October, on which day they were to rise all over the island. The design was really executed, *as projected*; and it is said, on that and the following days, above forty thousand English protestants were massacred by the Irish.‡'

Clarendon, Voltaire, and Anquetil, besides all those authors of less note, mentioned in the title page, join in the hue and cry against the Irish. Yet, strange as it may seem, Mr. Carey satisfactorily establishes these remarkable positions,—that there is no reason to believe a conspiracy existed for a general *insurrection* in Ireland, on the 23d of October, 1641; still less a general conspiracy to '*cut the throats of all the English throughout the whole kingdom*.' And

\* Russel's Modern Europe, vol. 3, p. 231.

† Rapin's History of England, vol. 9, p. 340.

‡ This number, 40,000, is quite a moderate calculation, compared with that of Burton, who estimates it at 300,000, 'in a few months;' or of Temple, who says 300,000 in two years, 'murdered in cold blood, besides those few which fell in the heat of fight, &c.' or of May, Frankland, Baker, &c. who speak of 200,000; and Warwick, who says near 100,000 *in one week*.

that the stories of the massacres perpetrated by the Irish, are founded on the most palpable falsehood and perjury.

He further shows, conclusively, that the rebellion, such as it was, far from being *unprovoked*, was excited by a system of treatment in the greatest degree cruel and unjust, on the part of the government, arising from a predetermined plan to despoil the unhappy Irish of their lawful possessions.

When an author performs such service to the cause of truth, and successfully attempts a vindication of a whole people from calumnies, strengthened by the acquiescence of nearly two centuries, it would be worse than hypercriticism to quarrel with the collocation of his words, or the cadence of his sentences. Polished diction undoubtedly adds charms to truth, but important truths are not the less valuable because clothed in the plainest language. We shall not, therefore, enter at all into a discussion of our author's style; and if his frequent use of strong epithets may seem to evince a greater degree of angry feeling than is consistent with the calmness of elegant composition, the theme will surely be allowed to supply a justification for even warmer indignation.

'The strong language,' he says, 'of reprobation, which I have used towards the English administrations in Ireland, will probably excite the ire of some unthinking Englishmen, who may regard it as a libel on their nation. Such feelings can be entertained only by most illiberal minds. Every enlightened Englishman will sympathize in the horrible sufferings of Ireland, and consign to infamy the memory of those oppressors, whose rapine and cruelty inflicted so much misery on so fair a portion of the globe, and pursued a system so well adapted to eternize hostility between the two nations, and which had not a single feature calculated to secure the attachment of a people who, easily alienated by hostility, are proverbially celebrated for being as easily conciliated by kindness as any in the world.'

'My requisitions,' he adds, 'on the reader are few and simple. I merely request a candid and patient hearing; that no inveterate prejudice may be allowed to operate against me; and that the "*Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*" may not be arraigned at the bar of criticism as if it were injudiciously offered to the world as a regular, systematic, finished work, to which it explicitly declines making any pretensions,—but rather as a series of distinct and somewhat desultory chapters, tending to prove certain points, each insulated from the rest. To this view I request the most particular attention; and that it may be constantly borne in mind, throughout the perusal of the work. I court and defy the most rigorous scrutiny into my facts and inductions. Let no mercy be shown to those on which there is the least doubt or uncertainty: let all be rejected, that do not carry with them irresistible conviction. If, in the ardent zeal I feel in what I deem the noblest of causes, I have occasionally over-rated the force of the evidence, and drawn conclusions which that evidence does not appear to warrant, on some

particular points, and if my positions on those be rejected, I trust that this decision will not affect any of the others. Let each stand forth substantively by itself, and not bring on the downfall of its neighbour by its error, or support its neighbour's error by its truth.'

It would have been more easy for us to give an analysis of the work, and to extract such portions in succession, as appear the most striking, if the writer had been more methodical in the arrangement of his matter. The subject appears naturally to divide itself into two main parts. 1. The examination of the evidence on which the story of the conspiracy and massacre depends; and 2, the *provocation* given for the rebellion, by the oppressive measures of the government. Perhaps the cruelties committed upon the Irish during, and after the rebellion, might make a third.

Mr. C. has not kept these considerations distinctly separated, nor do we say it was required by his object; but, in extracting, we shall endeavour to do so.

In the second chapter, the credibility of the accounts of the massacre, &c. is thus attacked:

'I have already hinted, that one of the principal objects of this work is to investigate the insurrection of 1641, strip it of the fraudulent misrepresentations by which it has been disfigured, and lay it before the world in the garb of truth.

'In order, therefore, to induce the reader to bring to the subject a large portion of candour,—to evince on how "sandy a foundation" this story rests,—to expose the blind credulity, or the sinister policy, of the great body of historians, who have given full faith and confidence to the narrative of sir John Temple, I shall submit a fair specimen of the documents on which his history depends for support. Fortunately for the holy cause of truth, but unfortunately for his character and his history, he has quoted his authorities at full length. They are taken from the "thirty-two thick folio volumes of depositions" mentioned by Warner,\* which exhibit such a mass of fraud, falsehood, absurdity, and let me add impossibility, as I may venture to assert never was exhibited before,—and, for the honour of human nature, it is to be hoped, never will be again. These depositions demand a much more detailed exposition than I can give them in the present chapter. It is a melancholy truth, that they form the basis of all the horrible narratives on this subject, of all the authors who have treated on it, from Temple to Clarendon, from Clarendon to Borlase, from Borlase to Hume, and from Hume down to Russel's *Modern Europe*. Temple embellished them with all the hideous colouring that could excite terror and abhorrence: and, I repeat, nearly all the succeeding historians have laid Temple under heavy contributions, and without adverting to the fabulous evidence on which he relies, and which carries its own condemnation with it, have borrowed not

\* Warner, 146.

merely his facts, but his very phraseology. The overwhelming decision of Dr. Warner, which I have quoted in page 20, ought to have set the question at rest, above fifty years ago.

‘I shall, therefore, devote several chapters to this particular subject, and give such copious extracts from the depositions, as will convince any man whose heart is not steeled, and whose conscience is not seared, against doing justice to the Irish, of the superlative wickedness of the tribunals which received such depositions, the equally superlative folly of the writer who filled his book with them, and the never-to-be-forgotten carelessness (to use the most favourable terms) of those writers who relied on such a deceptive, fraudulent guide.

‘To relieve the sombre hue of this long chapter, I shall give anticipatory extracts from a few of those wonderful tales, from which, as I have said, Temple and his copyists have drawn their highly-coloured pictures of the massacre.’

“Arthur Culm, of Cloughwater, in the county of Cavan, esquire, deposeth, That he was credibly informed, by some that were present there, that there were thirty women and young children, and seven men, flung into the river of Belterburt; and when some of them offered to swim for their lives, they were, by the rebels, followed in boats, and knocked on the head with poles; the same day they hanged two women at Turbert; and this deponent doth verily believe, that Mulmore O’Rely, the then sheriff, had a hand in the commanding the murder of those said persons, for that he saw him write two notes, which he sent to Turbert, by Brien O’Rely, upon whose coming, these murders were committed: and those persons who were present, also affirmed, that the bodies of those thirty persons drowned, did not appear upon the water till about six weeks after, past; as the said O’Rely came to the town, all the bodies came floating up to the very bridge; those persons were all formerly stayed in the town by his protection, when the rest of their neighbours in the town went away.”\*

‘It may not be time misemployed to examine this deposition, which, I beg to leave to say, is less exceptionable than many others of this precious collection. The deponent was, in the first place, “credibly informed,” that these persons “were flung into the river,” and this information he had from “some who were present there.” He “verily believed that Mulmore O’Rely had a hand in commanding the murder:” and his “belief” rested on the very cogent and convincing reason, that he “saw him write two notes, which he sent to Turbert by Brien O’Rely, on whose coming, these murders were committed.” On this strong evidence, Mulmore O’Rely, in all likelihood, lost his life and estate, which estate was probably guilty of the murder. In Ireland, in former times, under the mild government of England, large estates were frequently guilty of enormous crimes, particularly high treason, and deserv-

\* Temple, 122.

edly punished: and the larger they were, the more prone to guilt, and the more certain of punishment.

‘But on casting my eye once more over the deposition, I find I overlooked the chief part of the evidence against Mulmore. The “thirty bodies” (seven remaining behind) rose up by common consent, when this murderer made his appearance, and “came floating up to the very bridge,” probably as public prosecutors of this horrid culprit. It is not said, unfortunately, whether they took their oaths to the murder: this is, however, presumable; and it is to be supposed that it was owing to an oversight, that Temple was silent on the subject. A doubt has been started by a learned barrister, whether the appearance of these bodies, “floating up to the very bridge,” at the critical minute, when the said O’Rely “came to town,” is to be considered as positive or circumstantial evidence. Much of this would depend on the property of Mulmore. If he were not a very rich man, the appearance of “thirty bodies floating to the very bridge,” ought to be regarded as positive evidence; but if a poor man, not worth hanging, it ought to be set down as circumstantial.

‘Another deposition, with equal gravity narrates a story of a man who was wounded in several places, his belly ripped up, and his entrails taken out, without bleeding!!

“James Geare, of the county of Monaghan, deposeth, That the rebels at Clownes murdered one Jame Netterville, proctor to the minister there, who, although he was diversely wounded, his belly ripped up, and his entrails taken out, and laid above a yard from him, yet he bled not at all, until they lifted him up, and carried him away; at which this deponent being an eye-witness, much wondered; and thus barbarously they used him, after they had drawn him to go to mass with them.”\*

‘Another states, that one of the rebels made three attempts to stab a woman with a drawn sword; but such was her trust in God, and such his miraculous protection extended to her on the moment, that she was absolutely invulnerable.’

“Mr. George Creighton, minister of Virginia, in the county of Cavan, deposeth, among other particulars in his examination, That divers women brought into his house a young woman, almost naked, to whom a rogue came up on the way, these women being present, and required her to give him her money, or else he would kill her, and so drew his sword; her answer was, “You cannot kill me unless God give you leave, and his will be done:” whereupon the rogue thrust three times at her naked body, with his drawn sword, and yet never pierced her skin; whereat, he being, as it seems, much confounded, went away and left her; and that he saw this woman, and heard this particular related by divers women, who were by, and saw what they reported.†”

‘And this wonderful story, be it observed, is testified to by a reverend minister of God, who was admirably qualified to authen-

\* Temple, 88.

† Idem, 123.

ticate it, as “ he heard it related by divers women, who saw what they reported.”

‘ But the most extraordinary and extravagant circumstance is the appearance of the ghosts of murdered persons, which, according to those “ manifest forgeries,” received as “ solid proofs,”\* stationed themselves in the middle of a river, breast-high, and remained there for three months, that is, from December 20th, 1641, till the following lent, seeking vengeance on the “ bloody Papists,” crying “ Revenge, Revenge, Revenge.”

“ Catharine, the relict of William Cooke, late of the county of Armagh, carpenter, sworn and examined, saith, That about the 20th of December, 1641, a great number of rebels, in that county, did most barbarously drown, at that time, one hundred and eighty protestants, men, women, and children, in the river, at the bridge of Portendown; and that, about nine days afterwards, she saw a vision or spirit, in the shape of a man, as she apprehended, that appeared in that river, in the place of the drowning, bolt upright, breast-high, with hands lifted up, and stood in that posture there, until the latter end of lent next following: about which time, some of the English army marched into those parts, whereof her husband was one, (as he and they confidently told this deponent) saw that spirit or vision standing upright, and in the posture aforementioned; but after that time, the said spirit or vision vanished, and appeared no more, that she knoweth. And she heard, but saw not, that there were other visions and apparitions, and much shrieking and strange noise heard in that river, at times afterward. Jurat. February 24, 1643.†”

“ Elizabeth, the wife of captain Rice Price, of Armagh, deposeth, and saith, That she, and other women, whose husbands were murdered, hearing of divers apparitions and visions, which were seen near Portendown bridge, since the drowning of her children, and the rest of the protestants there, went unto the bridge aforesaid, about twilight in the evening; then and there, upon a sudden, appeared unto them a vision or a spirit, assuming the shape of a woman, waist-high, upright, in the water, after repeating the word, *Revenge! Revenge! Revenge!* whereat, this deponent, and the rest, being put into an amazement and affright, walked from the place. Jurat. January 29, 1642.”‡

‘ Almost every circumstance narrated in Temple’s history, is corroborated by one or more depositions. Most of them are fully as absurd and as perjured as the above. A very large proportion are hearsay: “ A. being credibly informed that B. had murdered one hundred protestants,” &c. &c. In the devouring rage against the persons, and lust after the property, of the catholics, every kind of evidence was acceptable, no matter how absurd, improbable, or impossible.

‘ In the number of the witnesses, who testify to the pretended massacre, the most distinguished is a dean Maxwell, afterwards

\* Leland, iv. 131

† Temple, 121.

‡ Idem. 122.



bishop of Kilmore, an abstract of whose deposition is to be found in the appendix to Borlase's history. It is a sort of history of the insurrection, and occupies no less than twelve large folio pages, which contain so many extravagant and impossible tales, that no man could swear to it but a perjurer. How many pages the whole contained, whether twenty, or fifty, or one hundred, it is impossible for me to decide; it is "to be sought for in the archives of Dublin."\* On the dean's authority rests the hacknied and Gulliverian assertion, that the precise number of one hundred and fifty-four thousand were massacred, in three months, in Ulster: and yet, wonderful to tell, there is in this very deposition, on the all-important topic of the "hundred and fifty-four thousand persons slaughtered," a most palpable and overwhelming contradiction, which at once destroys its credibility. In one part of it the dean swears that "it was credibly told him, that the persons slaughtered amounted to one hundred and fifty-four thousand, whether in Ulster or the whole kingdom, he durst not inquire." Why he durst not inquire, is not stated; and it is impossible to assign any reason:—the story carries absurdity on its face: the one kind of information was as readily and as soon acquired as the other. In a subsequent page, he swears positively, that "there were then above one hundred and fifty-four thousand wanting in the province of Ulster alone." This discordance, which would destroy the evidence, in any honourable court in christendom, of a Washington, a Franklin, a Fayette, a Sheridan, a Brougham, or a Wyndham, was of no importance in the era of perjury, anno 1642, when the lives and fortunes of the Irish were at stake, and when princely fortunes were the reward of the perjurer and his employer.

' Could there be a more extravagant idea held out, than the reason assigned for keeping an account of the murders, lest the murderers should be charged with a greater number than they actually killed? Some reason was necessary: but he who could not invent a more plausible pretext, was ill calculated for his trade of king's evidence. No man, whose grade of intellect ranks beyond that of an idiot, can give credit to such a ridiculous story. Yet on such authority most of the writers on Irish affairs, and among the rest, as we have seen, Milton himself, gave countenance to the precise number of one hundred and fifty-four thousand persons murdered in Ulster alone. On the trial of lord Macguire, the same legend, "with variations" in point of number, was sworn to by sir Charles Coote.'

*Sir Charles Coote's Testimony concerning the generality of the Rebellion.*

"Sir Phelim O'Neile and Roger Moore were the actors in the massacres; and by public directions of some in place, and of the titular bishops, for sending an exact account of what persons were murdered throughout all Ulster, a fourth part of the kingdom of Ireland, to the parish priests of every parish. And they sent in a

\* Borlase, App. 126.

† Idem, App. 132.

particular account of it, and the account was one hundred and four thousand seven hundred, in one province, in the first three months of the rebellion.”\*

In chapter XV. Mr. C. gives at large the deposition of the informer O’Conally, on the veracity of which alone, rests the whole question of the *conspiracy*, for it does not appear that any other confession was made, except *upon the rack*, although measures were taken by the government, of the utmost severity; and the progress of the revolt was extremely tardy through the island.

The testimony of O’Conally, and the proceedings consequent upon it, are too long for an insertion; but it is, we may safely say, not such proof as any court of criminal jurisdiction in *our* country would consider sufficient to be the foundation of a conviction for the most trivial crime. Mr. C’s analysis will give a very candid account of the ‘legend,’ as he not unaptly terms it.

‘1. A Roman catholic colonel is engaged in a plot, the object of which is to massacre all the protestants in the kingdom, except those who would join in murdering their brethren.

‘2. This colonel, in want of a confederate, sends about fifty miles to O’Conally, a protestant, to reveal to him this project.

‘3. O’Conally, who, in order to attach importance to his testimony, in some of the statements is styled “a gentleman,” is, in fact and in truth, merely a servant to sir John Clotworthy, one of the most envenomed enemies of the Roman catholics, and, of course, a very suitable person to be entrusted with such a secret, and very worthy to be sent for to a place distant fifty miles.

‘4. O’Conally receives the letter on Tuesday, the 19th of October, at what hour is not known,—say nine o’clock; and, wholly ignorant of the nature of the affair which leads to the invitation, makes all his preparations at once, and commences his journey, we will suppose, about noon the same day.

‘5. He arrives, on Wednesday night, the 20th, at Conaught, after a journey of about fifty miles: and be it observed, *en passant*, that a journey of fifty miles, at that period, was as arduous an undertaking, and required full as much preparation, as a journey of two hundred miles at present.

‘6. Colonel Mac-Mahon, who had given him the option of coming on Wednesday or Thursday, so far broke his engagement, that he had started on Wednesday, for Dublin, previous to O’Conally’s arrival, which took place on the night of that day.

‘7. O’Conally, nothing discouraged by the breach of engagement on the part of the colonel, follows him to Dublin.

‘8. He arrives in that city on the memorable Friday, the 22d of October, at six o’clock in the evening, one hour after sunset.

‘9. Monimore, where O’Conally received the friendly invitation to the throat-cutting party, appears, by Pinkerton’s map, to be about ninety-three miles in a direct line from Dublin, and was probably

\* Trial of lord Macguire, 227.

a hundred and ten, or a hundred and twenty, by the usual circuitous windings of the road,—we will suppose only a hundred and ten.

‘ 10. Conaught, in Monaghan, is not to be found on any map. Its distance from the extreme points cannot, therefore, be ascertained; and, being left to range in the fields of conjecture, we will venture to suppose it was nearly mid-way, or fifty miles.

‘ 11. The climate of Ireland is very moist. Rains are generally abundant, particularly in autumn. Of course, the roads at that season were very probably miry, and difficult to travel.

‘ 12. It thus appears, that O’Conally has performed a journey of about fifty miles in a day and a half; that is from mid-day on Tuesday, to Wednesday night; and a hundred and ten in three days and a half, at a season of the year, when the sun rose about seven, and set about five; and this exploit was accomplished at a time when there was no diligences, or post coaches, or post-chaises, or steam-boats, to ensure expedition; and when, moreover, the roads were, as we have stated, in all probability in very bad order.

‘ 13. Nothing discouraged by the fatigue of his journey of a hundred and ten miles; nor by his previous disappointment, nor by the darkness of the evening, he commences a search for the lodgings of an entire stranger. And let it not be forgotten, that on this night the moon was invisible, a circumstance admirably calculated to aid his researches!

‘ 14. Instinct is a most valuable quality, and supplies the want of the most important senses: and the “servant,” or “gentleman,” aided by instinct, discovered, in the suburbs, the lodgings of the colonel; as sir John Falstaff, “by instinct,” discovered the mad-cap prince of Wales.

‘ 15. Although the colonel was engaged in “a good plot, and full of expectations,” to explode on Saturday at ten o’clock, A.M. O’Conally finds him alone at or about six o’clock on Friday evening, in the suburbs, and appears to have seen none of his brother conspirators until nine, at which time O’Conally left him.

‘ 16. The colonel takes him to the lodgings of a brother conspirator “into town,” at the distance, probably, of a mile or two.

‘ 17. This conspirator not being at home, the colonel, after having taken a drink of beer with his new friend, freely communicates “that there were and would be, this night, great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Irish, from all parts of the kingdom,” whose object was “to cut off all the protestants that would not join them.”\*

‘ 18. And they then went back to “the said Hugh his lodgings,” in the suburbs, “near Oxmantown,” where O’Conally drank himself beastly drunk.

‘ 19. O’Conally, notwithstanding this temporary derangement in his pericranium, and that he was, two hours afterwards, unable to relate a consistent story, was alert enough to “leap over a wall.”

and afterwards “over two pales,” which was a very remarkable exploit, for a man who had poured out so many libations to Bacchus.

“I have seen drunkards do more than this in sport.”\*

‘20. He found his way, “by instinct,” probably, to sir William Parsons, into the town, to whom he communicated the whole affair.

‘21. Here let us observe, by way of a parenthesis, that this very sir William had received information of a plot, several days before, from sir William Cole, “upon the very first apprehension of something that he conceived to be hatching among the Irish.†

‘22. And further, that this lord justice had written to sir William Cole, “to be very vigilant in inquiring into the occasion of those meetings;”‡ whereby it appears he had suspicions of a conspiracy.

‘23. Notwithstanding this information, sir William Parsons, who was jealous of some plot “hatching among the Irish;” who, of course, ought to be on the *qui vive*, and to take alarm on the slightest intimation of any scheme of that kind; receiving this “broken relation of a matter so incredible in itself,” his lordship “gave very little belief to it at first, in regard it came from an obscure person, and one, as he conceived, somewhat distempered at that time.”§

‘24. “His lordship,” with most wonderful sagacity, “hearing this broken relation” of a plot, to explode in about twelve or thirteen hours, for the purpose of cutting the throats of all the protestants, and his own very valuable throat among the rest, sends the informer, between nine and ten at night!! with “order to go again to Mac-Mahon, and get out of him as much certainty of the plot as he could!!!”||

‘25. This informer, being so drunk, as we have stated, that, in an hour or two afterwards, he was unable to make a deposition, without letting “sleep, with her leaden and batty wings, creep over him,” was therefore a most admirable spy to make further discoveries!!!

‘26. After sending O’Conally to Mac-Mahon’s lodgings, with strict orders “to return back unto him the same evening,” sir William went “privately, at about ten of the clock that night, to lord Borlase’s house, without the town,”¶ whereas O’Conally was directed to come to him at his house within the town.

‘27. “They sent for such of the council as they knew then to be in the town,” to lord Borlase’s house, “without the town.”\*\*

‘28. There they fell into deep consultation “what was fit to be done, attending the return of O’Conally.”††

‘29. They then sent in search of him, and found that he had been taken by the watch, and rescued by the servants of sir William Parsons, “who had been sent, among others, to walk the streets and attend his motions.”‡‡

\* Shakspeare.  
|| Temple, 19.

† Temple, 18.  
¶ Ibid.

‡ Ibid.  
†† Ibid.

§ Ibid.  
‡‡ Ibid.

\*\* Ibid.

‘ 30. “Sensible that his discovery was not thoroughly believed, he professed that whatever he had acquainted the lord Parsons with, was true; and could he but repose himself, (the effects of drink being still upon him) he should discover more.”\*

‘ 31. “Whereupon, he had the conveniency of a bed.”†

‘ 32. “Having (on his repose) recovered himself,” he gave in his deposition.

‘ 33. This is dated the 22d, and of course must have been made before twelve o’clock.

‘ 34. This deposition gave a full detail of a most murderous plot, whereby “all the protestants and English, throughout the whole kingdom, were to be cut off the next morning.”

‘ 35. Possessed of this deposition, which required the most decisive measures of prevention, it becomes a serious question, what did the lord justices do? On this point the whole merits of the question might be rested: and, indeed, the investigation of any other might be wholly omitted. The answer to the above question is, “They took present order to have a watch privately set upon the lodgings of Mac-Mahon, as also upon lord Macguire!!!”

‘ 36. In a plain, simple case, in which a school-boy of ten years old could have at once pointed out the course to be pursued, they spend no less than five precious hours “in consultation,” and in devising ways and means for the public safety, notwithstanding that the sword, not of Damocles, but of Mac-Mahon and his bloody-minded associates, hung over them. “They sate up all that night in consultation,” having far stronger presumptions, upon the latter examination taken, than any ways at first they could entertain.”‡

‘ 37. The result of their long and painful consultation, from twelve o’clock at night till five in the morning, was, that at that late hour, they at length adopted the resolution of apprehending Mac-Mahon!!!!

‘ 38. The lords justices had received the names of some of the principal conspirators from O’Conally, and, among the rest, of lord Macguire; had privately set a watch, on Friday night, at his lodgings: they must of course have known that he was equally implicated with Mac-Mahon, and equally demanded the exercise of their vigilance; and yet they did not think of arresting him, until after the seizure of the latter, and a “conference with him and others, and calling to mind a letter received the week before from sir William Cole,” they “gathered” that he was to be an actor in surprising the castle of Dublin.§

‘ 39. Owen O’Conally swears, that in all parts of the kingdom, “all the English inhabitants there,” are to be destroyed “to-morrow morning;” but in the very next sentence, he swears, “that all the protestants, in all the sea-ports and other towns in the kingdom, should be killed this night.” It is not easy to conceive, how,

\* Borlace, 20.

† Ibid.

‡ Temple, 21.

§ Temple, 28.

after they were "all killed" on Friday night, they could be "all destroyed" on Saturday morning.

'40. O'Conally's deposition states, that the massacre is to begin at ten o'clock on the 23d; to be general in all the parts of the kingdom; that all the English inhabitants are to be cut off; and that all the posts that could be, could not prevent it. As this is the cardinal point in the affair, on which the whole turns, if it can be proved to be so unequivocally false and groundless, as to be utterly destitute of even the shadow of truth, then is the entire story a fabrication, and O'Conally a perjurer.

'41. That this explosion did not take place; and that, of course, there could not possibly have been a general conspiracy, we have superabundant testimony, as will appear in the subsequent paragraphs.

'42. We will first premise, that, as the arrest of Mac-Mahon and Macguire, in consequence of the pretended discovery of the sham plot, took place on the 23d of October, at five o'clock in the morning, just five hours before the time fixed for commencing the massacre, that circumstance could not have prevented an explosion in any other part of the kingdom, except in a very small portion of the circumjacent vicinity.

'43. Yet on Monday, the 25th of October, the lords justices wrote an elaborate and detailed account of the proceedings of the insurgents in the north of Ireland, with a prolix statement of various outrages, not only without the least hint or surmise, but even an utter exclusion of every idea of murder or shedding of blood.\*

'44. And further, we invoke the most earnest attention of the reader to this all-important fact:—Notwithstanding the pretended generality of the plot, the lords justices, by public proclamation, on the 29th of October, declared, that the insurrection was confined to "the mere old Irish of the province of Ulster, and others who adhered to them;" and that they were well assured of the fidelity of the old English of the Pale, and of the other parts of the kingdom.

'45. These two strong facts prove that such parts of O'Conally's deposition as relate to the general extent of the conspiracy, and the plot to "cut off all the protestants throughout the kingdom," are

\* In the despatch above referred to, dated October 25th, the lords justices, after having given an account of sundry outrages perpetrated by the insurgents in Ulster, without a word respecting bloodshed, add, "And this, though too much, is all that we yet hear is done by them."† This sentence, and the declaration in the proclamation of the 29th, that the insurrection was confined to "such of the mere old Irish in the province of Ulster, as have plotted, contrived, and been actors in this treason, and others who adhere to them," set the broad seal of condemnation and flagrant falsehood on the murderous part of O'Conally's deposition; and it is unnecessary to add, that when the main point of a story is proven to be false, the whole may be pronounced to be

"Lies, like the father that begets them,

"Gross as a mountain."‡

† Temple, 30.

‡ Shakspeare.

wholly false, and that he of course was an abandoned perjurer; and would decide the question on these vital points, beyond appeal or controversy. But much stronger evidence remains behind, derived from Temple, Borlase, Carte, Leland, and Warner, to which we now invite the attention of the reader.

‘46. Munster continued tranquil for six weeks, although, according to the testimony of Warner, it contained but one troop of horse: and of course, when defended by such an insignificant force, had there been any reality in the plot, the Irish could and would have totally overwhelmed their oppressors.

‘47. Connaught was in the same state for six weeks, principally owing to the influence of lord Clanrickarde, a Roman catholic.

‘48. Leinster was likewise tranquil, except some outrages of small importance, until the beginning of December; as the summons to the lords of the Pale to come to Dublin, to consult on the affairs of state, was dated the 3d of that month, at which time there was no appearance of serious disturbance; and the butchery at Santry, by the sanguinary and merciless ruffian, sir Charles Coote, which was obviously intended to provoke, and actually led to, the insurrection in that province, that took place on the 7th.

‘49. And further, we have the testimony of Warner and Carte, that the insurrection was for about six weeks, confined almost wholly to the province of Ulster.

‘50. That the original views of the insurgents did not comprehend a general massacre, or even single murders, we have further testimony, clear and decisive, derived from Temple, Warner, and Leland, which independent of all other proof, would be sufficient to settle this question for ever, and utterly overwhelm O’Conally’s perjured legend.

‘51. Moreover, if there had been a plot for a general insurrection, and such a massacre as O’Conally swore to, there would have been some evidence produced from some of the conspirators: but, notwithstanding the lords justices had recourse to the execrable aid of the rack, and put Mac-Mahon and others to the torture,\* there is not, in the examinations of the former, a single word to corroborate the cut-throat part of O’Conally’s deposition. The examinations of the rest were never published.

\* ‘The first person put to the rack, was Mac-Mahon; whom the reader must remember to have been taken on O’Conally’s information, when the conspiracy was discovered. I copied his examination from the bishop of Clogher’s MSS. in the college library: and, on that examination, he had nothing but hearsay evidence to give; which amounts only to his having been told that lord Macguire, Sir P. O’Neil, and Philip O’Reily, were the chief conspirators; that all the chief papists in parliament last summer, knew and approved of the rebellion; that the committee then employed in England would procure an order from the king to proceed in their rebellious courses; that he was told, last October, that the king had given a commission to seize all the garrisons and strong holds; but he doth not say, he ever saw such a commission.”†

† Warner, 176.

‘ 52. There is not to be found in Temple, nor Borlase, nor Carte, nor Warner, nor Leland, nor Clarendon, nor, as far as we have seen, in Rushworth, the examination of a single person engaged in a conspiracy which was said to extend throughout the whole kingdom, except those of Mac-Mahon and lord Macguire! That of the latter was not taken till March, 1642.’

Such is really the character of the information pretended to be given by O’Conally; and upon the contradictory ravings of this besotted wretch, uncorroborated by either fact or testimony, has been founded that imputation upon the whole body of Irish catholics, of the most infernal plot which civilized or savage man was ever guilty. And yet, so little do writers of history (so called), investigate their authorities, that the veracity of this informer has never before, so far as we have seen, been called in question. To every student of the annals of Ireland, therefore, we may safely recommend the work of Mr. Carey, as essential to a right understanding of her story; unless, indeed, he be willing to undergo the fatigue of perusing that huge mass of books and records from which Mr. C. has selected the substance of his ‘*Vindiciæ*.’ And even to such, if such there be, this book would be a most useful guide and assistant.

The question of the number of the sufferers, is not less satisfactorily handled; but our limits compel us to close these remarks: we shall continue the subject hereafter, and at present take leave of the ‘*Vindiciæ*’ with the following extract, which exhibits an instance of liberality in the motives of the author, certainly very rare and commendable.

‘ Pecuniary considerations have had no place among the motives that led to this undertaking. This edition consists of only seven hundred and fifty copies, of which two hundred and fifty are intended to be gratuitously distributed to public libraries, reading-rooms, and enlightened individuals; in order to afford the work a fair chance of perusal, and my calumniated country an opportunity of justification. While that number lasts, any library company, sending an order for a copy, shall be supplied, without expense. Agents shall be appointed, to distribute the books, on this plan, in Boston, New-York, and Baltimore, &c.’

## ART. XII.—*British Currency.*

**I**N the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, there is an essay upon Mr. Ricardo’s plan of ‘an economical and secure currency,’ which he proposes to establish, by making bank notes payable not in coin but in pure bullion. By this measure, it is said the expenses of coinage would be saved, and there would also be less fluctuation in the value of bank issues. The reviewers strenuously advocate the scheme, and at the same time, urge as an alternative scarcely less preferable, the resumption of specie payments at the bank.



After stating that in the years 1814 and 1815, ‘above two hundred and forty country banks became altogether bankrupt, or at least, stopped payment.’ And that the ‘total diminution of the currency during 1814, 1815, and 1816, has never been estimated at less than twenty millions, though it probably amounted to much more,’ &c. They observe

‘On every account, therefore, it is of infinite importance that the value of the currency should be rendered as little fluctuating as possible; or, in other words, that the bank should be obliged to give cash or bullion in exchange for its notes. When a public debt has been contracted, a depreciation of paper induces what is really equivalent to national bankruptcy. Now surely it is too much to entrust any corporate body, however respectable, with the power of reducing the national credit to nothing, and of ruining all those living on fixed incomes. But it is still more dangerous to entrust them with the power of enriching annuitants and stockholders at the expense of the productive classes,—or to arm them with the prerogative of *imposing indefinite taxes*: For they exercise that power most effectually, when, by diminishing their paper, and, consequently, raising its value, they reduce the money price of commodities, and oblige a farmer to sell two quarters of wheat, or a manufacturer two yards of cloth, to pay those taxes for which one had formerly sufficed. Such a power vested in the hands of a body unknown to the constitution, and acting under no responsibility, is perfectly anomalous in a free country, and is altogether subversive of the security of property.

While it is in the power of the directors of the Bank of England to increase or diminish the currency of the country at their pleasure, no person can form any probable estimate of the value of his property at any period but a little remote. The estate that is purchased to-day, and reckoned a good bargain, may, by the bank’s limiting its discounts, or withdrawing its notes from circulation, be rendered, in a very short time, not worth half the sum paid for it: and, on the contrary, if the directors were more liberal in granting discounts, and increased the number of their notes in circulation, either by lending to the state or to individuals, the estate might speedily become worth double the money, that is, double the paper it had been sold for. This artificial and unnatural system, renders the *money value* of all the property in the empire dependent on the views and opinions—the whims and caprices—of *twenty-four* individuals. It is their fiat alone which makes one transaction good, and another bad. They hold the scale of value, and change its graduation as they judge proper.

The fate that attended the late issue of *three millions* of sovereigns, *not one of which remained in circulation three months afterwards*, will, we should hope, prevent any further attempts to make gold coins of legal weight and fineness, circulate in company with an inconvertible paper. Nothing but rendering bank notes exchangeable for cash or bullion, can possibly restore the currency

to a sound state. Every other scheme for the accomplishment of this most desirable object, will be found completely delusive and ineffectual.

## EDITORIAL.

THE next number of the *Analectic Magazine* will contain a Review of Wheaton's Reports, an Essay on Gessner, an Account of the means of Education and the Scientific institutions in New York, an Historical Sketch of the Battle of Fort Meigs, by an officer of the Kentucky militia, an Abstract of Marshal Grouchy's very satisfactory and conclusive vindication of his conduct in the campaign of 1815, and some other communications, all of which were received unfortunately too late for this number.

The foreign journals lately received have been unusually barren of interest. The *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Reviews* came too late to be useful for this month. They, however, display less than their wonted share of spirit and animation. The *Quarterly*, notices Mr. Colden's 'Life of Fulton,' of course in terms of obloquy as it is American; but, what is much much more surprising, the *Edinburgh Review* also, [*et tu Brute!*] contains an attack upon us in a style of insolent and virulent abuse, which would seem more characteristic of its rival. Indeed, a spirit of rancorous hostility towards this country, seems to pervade the British journalists in general, and a caittiff disciple of general Pillet, called *Fearon*, has given them an opportunity to spit abroad their venom. Of this however, whenever we can procure *Fearon's* book, we shall speak more in detail.

ART.—XIII. *Notoria, or Miscellaneous Articles, &c.*

## AURICULAR MOLESTATIONS.

—*et omnem*  
*implevit, clamore locum.* Virg.  
 (COMMUNICATED.)

I DO not remember that the author of a book entitled the 'Miseries of Human Life,' has, in his extensive catalogue of dispunishable plagues, enumerated the annoyances produced by *creaking boots and shoes*; nor do I find them among the torments surrounding *Hogarth's* 'Enraged Musician.' This grievance is mentioned in sober sadness; and not to excite the pleasantries of the wit, or the carcasmis of the critic. I do not believe myself singular, in my aversion to this shrill and discordant attack on my auricular organs; for I have heard multitudes complain, and none approve of it—and yet I have known no satisfactory attempt at accounting for, nor endeavouring to remedy or prevent it. I have heard, that it often occurs from the careless man-

ner of cutting out, or shaping the soles; and thus all the parts do not move in symmetry. Some attribute this nuisance to the dryness of the outer sole, and the green leather, or scraps composing the inner one; so that the movement of each is different from that of the other. The inequality of the stitches is also said to be the cause. Some ascribe the evil to the dryness of *all* the parts whereof the feet of the boots or shoes are composed. To avoid the vexation to the *ear*, the remedy I have heard proposed, is, to *damp* the cover of the foot, or at least the sole; and thus endanger the health of the wearer. This seems to be a desperate expedient. In vain do we *carpet* our rooms: for thereby this ear-piercing violence is more strongly marked. A few creaking peripatetics, will disturb a whole company, who are devoting themselves to sedentary and tranquil amusements, or quiet employments. Interesting conversation, reading, writing, or thinking, may as well

be attempted, with a horse-fiddle at one ear, and a watchman's-rattle at the other; for although both of these are more clamorous, they are not so constantly annoying. The screwing up, and tuning stringed instruments, previously to a concert, are temporary; and the suffering is compensated by the pleasing effects of the preparatory torture. Opening dry and tight snuff-boxes, in any numbers, is venial, compared with unceasing shoe or boot creaking; for a punster will tell you, it occurs only occasionally, and *at a pinch*. Law will not suppress the enormity; and if there were any legal remedy, a suitor would wear out two or three pair of shoes, in attending courts, to obtain it; and thus some of the trade would profit by the prosecution. The prosecutor, too, would probably, by assisting in the disturbance, entitle himself to the retort—*et 'de te fabula narratur.'* The offence is a *casus omissus* in our laws; and therefore overlooked, but disgustingly overheard in our court rooms; wherein the creaking victims to the ignorance or malpractice of their cordwainers, invade the sanctuaries of justice; and their jarring *sharps* are pitched an octave higher than the *vox humane* of the counsel or the judge; who might be also participators in the creaking chorus, were they not at rest, so far as that their *soles* are not engaged in the agitation of the motion or question in progress.

Being myself often an involuntary actor, as well as a sufferer in the evil, I cannot be supposed to censure those who innocently and inevitably promote it. But I think, that if shoes and boots thus defective, were generally returned on the hands of the makers; as for all faults they should be; we should take an effectual remedy into our own hands, and thereby insure more care in the selection of materials, and more attention to the workmanship: provided always, that by this remedy we do not go barefooted. Dealers whose wares were exempt from this crackling defect, would be rewarded by an increase of custom. The article would consist of better materials and workmanship; and be freed from the bad qualities, which disturb not only the wearer, but the society in which he moves. It is generally understood, that leather is now so unfaithfully tanned and manufactured,

that some spots on the side are horny or callous, and others spongy or porous. This creates inequality of movement in the sole. Whatever be the cause; creaking boots or shoes are so obstreperously common, that they are sometime mistakenly supposed to be voluntarily *fashionable*; insomuch that I have heard of a young *dandy*, who, under this idea, directed his bootmaker, 'to be sure to make his boots creak;'—a very unnecessary injunction.

If a book of sufferings were kept in temporal, as it is in a highly respectable religious society; it would be appropriate to its painful mementos, to have it bound in creaking leather;—as a sort of index to its contents.

A death-watch is not more distressing to a morbid imagination, than are, in a sick room, foot creakings of physicians, friends, or nurses, to the nerves of a feeble and prostrate patient.

Even *gallants* thus shod, prowling in their nocturnal rambles with sly and cautious steps, are nevertheless in constant danger of detection. Both vitious and virtuous creakers, should therefore join in correcting this *crying* sin; which is one of modern enormity. *Pythagoras* would have expelled from his schools, pupils who thus invaded the silence enjoined during their probationary periods.

*Bad habits* have induced inattention; or this *evil report*, which has been so long noised throughout our city, would, e'er this time, have been suppressed.

Our superstitious Indians, thus annoyed, would suppose that bad spirits, incarcerated in a bullock's hide, piteously cried out through its pores, when trodden upon. The jingling of thimbles and bells on the ankles and mockasins of squaws; and the rattling of deers' claws, attached to the garters and shoes of Indian beaux, dressed for a feast or a dance, are harmoniously musical compared with the foot-creaking discords of civilized bipeds.

*Cities* having a more numerous assemblage of *soles*, acting in thrilling accompaniment, are most infested with this department of discord. I believe, in the country there are few of such unpleasant annoyances;—and if so—*O fortunati nimum agricolæ!* The septemdecimal visitations of *locusts* may be excepted, for their unsocial and shrill wailings, may, possibly, equal the grating shrieks

of shoe and boot creaking; as may also the melancholy pipes of tree frogs; and the harsh notes of the insect tribe, on a dog day or autumnal evening.

It this querulous lucubration should rouse the attention of the intelligent members of the craft of cordwainers; or afford the least hint to promote a regulation for the inspection of leather; and thus correct abuses in its manufacture and uses; a great point will be gained.

Although the site of the annoyance complained of, be always *trodden under foot*; it is nevertheless not a despicable, although it be, *locally*, a low subject. It is a most necessary and important part of our habiliments, and a protector of our health; many of our most afflicting maladies, as well as this laceration of our organs, originating and being taken in at our feet.

Those who deem the subject unimportant, may consider it as being run dry; and that, in consequence, it also begins to crepitate. But very many have concurrent antipathies with me, to this *crepitus pedum*; I would be glad of some remedy or preventive for an annoyance, which assails us at *every step we take*; and—like *fame* good or bad—‘*crescit eundo*.’ These fellow sufferers, will excuse my endeavours to save their auditory nerves from tormenting assaults; and will, therefore, protect me against the imputation of being a querimonious

CROAKER.

Philadelphia, March, 1819.

#### MAGNANIMITY OF FRENCH SOLDIERS.

*Anecdotes translated from Les Fastes de la Gloire; recently published at Paris.*

Three days after the entrance of the French into Moscow, the fire having broken out during the night, detachments of the army were sent into different quarters to succour the inhabitants, and arrest the progress of the flames. Bouviers Destonches, a lieutenant, born at Rennes, betook himself, with several grenadiers of the guard, to the palace of prince G—; where, by his activity, he succeeded in stopping the fire, and saved immense riches. The grateful prince, offered him as a reward, a magnificent plateau of silver gilt, furnished with a table equipage of gold. ‘Accept this pre-

sent,’ said he, ‘you can hide it in the ground, and seek for it after the conflagration is over.’ ‘No,’ answered Bouvier, ‘I accept nothing; the only recompense a French soldier wishes, is a consciousness of having performed his duty.’ The prince urged it upon him, with renewed expressions of gratitude; Bouvier, seizing the plateau, threw it into the Moscow, saying to the prince, ‘observe the spot where it falls, when order and tranquillity are restored, you will be able to regain it.’ This brave officer gained nothing by his numerous campaigns, but the glory of having fought loyally. Allowed to retire, after having lost his ten fingers, in the disastrous campaign of Russia; Bouvier Destonches was appointed counsellor of the prefecture of his department. In this employment of the civil administration, he continued to serve his country with distinction; when, in 1814, the government made an appeal to all Frenchmen in a condition to bear arms. Bouvier no sooner heard the voice of his country, than, forgetting his mutilation, he left his civil functions, hastened to Paris, along with some of his comrades, and obtained active employment. An iron hook, to hold the reins of his horse, served instead of his left hand, and a leather string, fastened to his right wrist, enabled him to hold his sword. Thus equipped, he arrived during the battle of Craone; but had scarcely entered the line, when he received two wounds, was thrown from his horse, taken prisoner by the Cossacks, and conducted to Bulow’s head quarters. ‘If after the battle of Jena,’ said that general, ‘Prussia could have counted in her armies, a few officers like this brave man, we should have saved Konigsburgh and Berlin.’

After the memorable victory of Hohenlinden, December 3d, 1800, the first regiment of cuirassiers was cantoned in the bishopric of Eichstadt, now created into a principality for prince Eugene, when the bishop sent some German commissioners to take away the sacred vases and ornaments of the church of Keffenhul, to defray a contribution ordered by general Moreau. Five brave soldiers, touched with the grief of the inhabitants, who

were to be deprived of the objects of their veneration, presented themselves before the general in chief, to beg he would remit the contribution exacted; but not being able to obtain that, they discharged it themselves out of their own pay, and conciliated, by this act of generosity, the esteem and gratitude of a country which never will forget such noble disinterestedness.

A Latin inscription, intended to perpetuate the recollection of this action, has been placed by the Catholic minister, at the head of the register of donations to the parish of Keffenhul; where, every year, at the same season, they celebrate a solemn mass, in memory of the preservation of the sacred vases, and in honour of the five Frenchmen, whose benedictive piety saved the temple of the Lord from profanation.

*Ibid.*

#### GENERAL GOURGAUD.

##### *From La Minerve Francaise.*

Those who still believe in fatality, may see a victim of that inflexible power in Gen. Gourgaud. At St. Helena, a quarrel arose between him and general Bertrand; he wished to fight, but Bonaparte forbade it;—faithful to friendship, he had exiled himself from Europe—faithful to honour, he exiled himself from St. Helena.

He had composed in that island, a work exceedingly curious, *On the Campaign of 1815*. It taught us what we did not know before, and gave us accurate information of things which we had known imperfectly. This rapid sketch, worthy of the greatest praise, for the profoundness of its views, the boldness of its thoughts, and the originality of its style, was impatiently expected by all classes of readers. Two editions were printed to satisfy the avidity of expectation—the two editions were both suppressed the same day.

The general resided at London, in retirement and solitude; a man knocked at his door and asked for him; the servant answered that he was in bed, sick, and could not be seen; the reply was, that the door would be forced if not opened. The general, apologising for such a reception, called him in, though in bed. The man appeared, followed by six fellows, who approached the bed, took off the covering, and

carried the general into another room. Indignant at such an outrage, and apprehensive of assassination, he attempted to call for aid, and thrust his head through the glass of a window. They knocked him down, gave him repeated blows, and dragged him, covered with blood, to a carriage which was before the door. The crowd gathered round him; some were told it was an arrest for high treason; others, it was a lunatic. They took him along the road to Vauxhall, and stopped at the house of a Mr. Coffee. Two hours afterwards, he was taken up again and carried to Harwich, whence he was transported in a packet to Cuxhaven.

General Gourgaud, seized under the *alien act*, left nothing in London, but his *clothes* and his *papers*. Yet some journals affirm, that there was no outrage at all committed on him; but that it was he alone, disarmed and sick, that beat the numerous officers charged with his arrest.

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*A Course of Lectures on Anatomy, applied to the Arts of Sculpture and Painting.* By S. Calhoun, one of the Physicians of the Pennsylvania Hospital, was commenced on the 6th of April, on the following plan.

1. The Anatomy of the Skeleton.
2. Of the Muscles.
3. The Functions of the Body during Life, with some delineations of the passions.

The introductory lecture first contemplated the general relations of the civilized world as the theatre of science, industry, and activity; the love of life, and the desire of immortality, as the great incentives to every thing useful; and history, eloquence, poetry, music, painting, statuary, and architecture, as the means by which these incentives were applied, in the praises given to men of merit.

The arts of painting and statuary, it was said, have always stood high in the estimation of civilized nations. The study of the structure of the body is necessary to their excellence.

Anatomy may be called the alphabet of these arts. Physiology, or the history of the functions of the body, during life, unites its parts into language; and the display of the passions by the chisel and the pencil, forms the eloquence of their style. After dilating on the

necessity of this course of preparatory study, some remarks were made upon the prospects of our country with regard to the patronage of these arts, and the lecture concluded in the following manner.

‘To prepare for these periods, should be the study and ambition of the artist; the rapid accumulation of our wealth and power, demonstrates clearly that they cannot be far distant. Let perseverance and industry unite, and the greatest effects may be expected. The pyramid of excellence may be ascended by the flight of the eagle or the unwearied foot of the ant; in one of the most sublime sciences which has occupied the attention of man; the palm of success has been given to labour; Newton, whose name cannot be mentioned without the most profound veneration, attributed to the humble efforts of industry, the rewards of his scientific skill. In the votary of these sublime pursuits, the most exalted enthusiasm must be united to the greatest industry; the mind must be well stored with a profound knowledge of human character; with the various display of the passions; with the great resources of the imagination, treasured in the learning and the beauties of the ancient mythology; and with the extensive observation of external nature.

The benefits conferred by men of talents, in the various walks of life, furnish subjects amply calculated for the display of great talents in the fine arts. The protectors of religion, the founders and defenders of states, claim the highest rank; and it is worthy of remark, that even those men, who have scattered far and wide the terrors of their names, who have been the scourges of mankind, have generally appeared at a period, when anarchy held a doubtful sway over political structures, crumbling into ruin, from the concealed operation of vices, which prepared them for a more dreadful overthrow.

‘The Cæsars of the world have led away the hosts of iniquity which were insinuated into every portion of their respective communities; they have spread desolation and misery over other nations; they overawed and dazzled by the terrors and the splendours of victory, the countries whose destiny they protected, and thus prolonged un-

to ages of a more mature decline their enfeebling energies. It is not, therefore, merely to the brilliance of achievements, round which famine, pestilence, and war, assemble, nor to great moral masses of power waged against each other, that the tributes of praise which have been so exclusively granted to this class of men have been given; it is principally for protection afforded to their country at a time when no other assistance was possible, that their fame is due.

‘The cultivators of science are mentioned with admiration, and become proper subjects for the chisel and the pencil; they are the benefactors of mankind. Newton and Laplace, the seers of nature, unfold the secrets of the sky, and conduct by the lights of a splendid science, the mariner through the ocean. The name of Franklin recalls by associations, dear to his country, dear to the human race, the era when the lightning was subdued, and a great people made happy. They reflect far and wide the sentiment of the great orator whose genius was compared to the majesty of the Roman empire in its full and unequalled splendour.

“Applause is the echo of virtue,” and the great benefits of their lives, warn the imagination to assert the honour of human nature, by the payment of tributes justly their due. The gratitude of mankind is their mausoleum; their epitaph the page of history; to them no “crucify tomorrow,” shall arise on “the Hosanna” of to-day, for like time, their origin is obscure, but their end is eternal. They form a mythology, founded upon truth, which it is the business of the fine arts to adorn and to illustrate.’ O.

#### CHARACTERS OF THE LIVING BRITISH POETS.

(From Hazlitt's Lectures.

ROGERS.

‘He wraps up obvious thoughts in a glittering cover of fine words; is full of enigmas with no meanings to them; is studiously inverted; and scrupulously far-fetched; his verses are poetry, chiefly because no particle, line, or syllable of them reads like prose. This kind of poetry is like the game of asking what one's thoughts are like. It is a tortuous, tottering, wriggling, figetty translation of every thing from the vulgar

tongue into all the tantalizing, teasing, tripping, lispng mimminee pimminee, and fashion of poetical diction. There is no other fault to be found with the Pleasures of Memory than *the want of taste and genius!*" p. 294.

CAMPBELL.

'The Pleasures of Hope is of the same school, in which a painful attention is paid to the expression, in proportion as there is little to express; and the decomposition of prose is substituted for the composition of poetry. His Gertrude of Wyoming is his principal performance. It shows little power, or power enervated by extreme fastidiousness. It is

"of outward show

Elaborate, of inward less exact."

Mr. Campbell always seems to me to be thinking how his poetry will look when it comes to be hot-pressed on superfine wove paper. He is so afraid of doing wrong, of making the smallest mistakes, that he does little or nothing. Lest he should wander irretrievably from the right path, he stands still.' p. 296.

MOORE.

'Tom Moore is a poet of quite a different stamp. He is as heedless and prodigal of his poetical wealth, as the other is careful, reserved, and parsimonious. The fault of Mr. Moore is an *exuberance of involuntary power!* His faculty of production lessens the effect of, and hangs a dead weight upon what he produces. His levity at last oppresses. He exhausts attention by being inexhaustible. His variety cloy; his rapidity dazzles and distracts the sight. He wants *intensity, strength, and grandeur!* His pen wants momentum and passion (!!!) His Irish Melodies are not free from affectation, and a certain sickliness of pretension. His serious descriptions are apt to run into flowery tenderness. His pathos sometimes melts into a mawkish insensibility, or *crystalizes* into all the prettiness of allegorical language, and glittering hardness of external imagery.' p. 302.

LORD BYRON.

'If Mr. Moore lays himself too open to all the various impulses of things, lord Byron shuts himself too close in the impenetrable gloom of his own thoughts, and buries the natural light in "nook monastic." The Giaour, the Corsair, Childe Harold, are all the same

person, and they are apparently all himself. Lord Byron's poetry is as morbid as Mr. Moore's is careless and dissipated. There is nothing less poetical than his unaccommodating selfishness. He hath a *demon*, which is next to being full of a God. The flowers that adorn his poetry bloom over charnel houses and the grave. There is one subject upon which lord Byron is fond of writing, on which I wish he would not write—Bonaparte: not that I quarrel with his writings for him or against him. What right has he to do this? Bonaparte's character, be it what else it may, does not change every hour, according to his lordship's varying humour. He is not a pipe for his lordship's muse to play what step she pleases on.' p. 305.

WALTER SCOTT.

'His poetry belongs to the class of *improvisatori* poetry. It has neither depth, height, nor breadth in it; neither uncommon strength, nor uncommon refinement of thought, sentiment, or language. *It has no originality.* It is history in masquerade. Not only the crust of old words and images is worn off with time, the substance is grown comparatively light and worthless. The forms are old and uncouth, but the spirit is effeminate and frivolous. Mr. Scott has put the Border Minstrelsy, and scattered traditions of the country into easy and animated verse. But the notes to his poems are just as entertaining as the poems themselves, and his poems are *only entertaining.*' p. 309.

WORDSWORTH.

'He cannot form a whole. He has not the constructive faculty. He is totally deficient in all the machinery of poetry. In his "Excursion" the line labours, but the verse stands stock still. The reader makes no way from the first to the last. An adept in Mr. Wordsworth's school of poetry is jealous of all excellency but his own. Such a one is slow to admire any thing that is admirable; feels no interest in what is most interesting to others, no grandeur in any thing grand, no beauty in any thing beautiful. He tolerates only what he himself creates; he sympathises only with what can enter into no competition with him. He sees nothing but himself and the universe. He hates all science and art; he hates chemistry; he hates conchology, he hates Voltaire;

he hates sir Isacc Newton; he hates wisdom; he hates wit; he hates metaphysics, which, he says, are unintelligible, and yet he would be thought to understand them; he hates prose; he hates all poetry but his own; he hates the dialogues in Shakspeare; he hates music, dancing, painting; he hates Reubens, he hates the Apollo de Belvidere; he hates the Venus de Medicis! The proofs are to be found every where.—In Mr. Southey's Botany Bay Eclogues, in his book of Songs and Sonnets; his Odes, his Inscriptions, &c.; in Mr. Coleridge's ode to an Ass's Foal; in his lines to Sarah; and in Mr. Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads.' p. 328.

## SOUTHEY.

'Of Mr. Southey's larger epics I have but a faint recollection at this distance of time; but all that I remember of them is mechanical and extravagant, heavy and superficial. The difference between him and sir Richard Blackmore, seems to be, that the one is heavy, and the other light, the one solemn, and the other pragmatical, the one phlegmatic, and the other flippant. Kehama is a loose sprawling figure, such as we see cut out of wood or paper, and pulled or jerked with wire or thread, to make sudden or surprising motions, without meaning, grace, or nature in them. The little he has done of true and sterling excellence, is overloaded by the quantity of indifferent matter which he turns out every year, prosing and versing with equally mechanical and irresistible facility.' p. 326.

## COLERIDGE.

Of this gentleman, 'the only person from whom the critic ever learnt any thing,' it is observed: 'In his ancient manner, he seems to conceive of poetry but a drunken dream—reckless, careless, heedless of the past, present, and to come. His tragedies are, except a few poetical passages, drawing sentiment, and metaphysical jargon. He has no genuine dramatic talent. His *Canciones ad Populum* are dreary trash.' p. 329.

Mr. Murray the London bookseller, it is said, has new works in the press of the aggregate value of 40,000*l*.

The British Naval Chronicle, and the Critical Review have been discontinued.

## FABLE.

(Ascribed to Sterne.)

My fable is concerning  
A Cuckoo and a Lark.  
If I had said a Nightingale,  
You would have cried,  
You could not fail,  
That it was pride,  
And nought beside,  
Which made me think of such a tale.  
Upon a tree as they were sitting  
They fell into a warm dispute,  
(Warmer than was fitting)  
Which of them was the better flute.  
After much prating,  
And debating,  
Not worth relating,  
Things came to such a pass,  
They both agree  
To take an Ass  
For referee.  
(The Ass was studying botany and grass  
Under the tree.)  
What do you think was the decree?—  
'Why,' says the Ass, 'the question is not  
hard.'  
And so he made an excellent award,  
As you shall see.  
'The Lark,' says he,  
'Has got a wild fantastic pipe,  
But no more music than a snipe;  
It gives one pain  
And turns one's brain,  
One can't keep time to such a strain:  
Whereas, the Cuckoo's note  
Is measured and composed with thought;  
His method is distinct and clear,  
And dwells,  
Like bells  
Upon the ear,  
Which is the sweetest music one can hear.  
I can distinguish too, I'll lay a wager,  
His manner and expression,  
From every forester and cager  
Of the profession.'  
Thus ended the dispute.  
The Cuckoo was quite mute  
With admiration;  
The Lark stood laughing at the brute  
Affecting so much penetration.  
The Ass was so intoxicated,  
And shallow pated,  
That ever since  
He's got a fancy in his skull  
That he's a commission from his prince  
(Dated when the Moon's at full)  
To summon every soul,  
Every Ass and Ass's foal,  
To try the quick and dull;  
Trametting through the fields and streets,  
Stopping and judging all he meets;  
Pronouncing with an air  
Of one pronouncing from the chair,  
'That's a beauty—this is new,  
That's passing false—the other true.'  
Just like the ——— Review.



# THE ANALECTIC MAGAZINE.

JUNE, 1819.

ART. I.—*Reports of Cases argued and adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States.* By Henry Wheaton, Counsellor at Law.

**T**HE value of the numerous publications which have lately appeared, digesting, expounding, or recording the principles of law, and the decisions of judicial tribunals, whether we consider the merits of the respective authors, or the importance of the subject, seems to entitle them to notice in literary journals. They are generally remarkable for great perspicuity of style, sound and acute sense, indefatigable research, and extensive erudition.

The naval victories achieved during the usurpation of Cromwell, and the reign of Charles II. which gave England her supremacy on the ocean, promoted in a less degree her strength and improvement, than did the passage of the navigation act and the abolition of all feudal tenures and exactions. The removal of the obstacles to the alienation of property, and the passage of the statute of wills [32 Henry 8th] conferred greater benefit on our ancestors, than all the glory acquired in the fields of Cressy and Agincourt; and the high rank which Great-Britain now possesses, as a powerful and enlightened nation, may be principally attributed to the pure administration of her laws.

It is, therefore, the essential interest of a free people to watch over every act of internal legislation, and every judgment of their judicial tribunals, and these considerations derive additional force in this country from the peculiar structure of our political institutions. Many of the questions presented to the courts of the U. States involve an examination of the principles of the constitution and of national law. To the judiciary is entrusted the important duty of guarding the charters of our liberty against all encroachments by the legislative departments. This power is the necessary consequence of the oath imposed on judges, and of the principle that the constitution is the fundamental law of the land. It is a power, however, which has been sometimes disputed—but its frequent exercise has so universally met the approbation of the people, and frequent occurrences have rendered the necessity of

its existence so apparent, that faction alone can now dissent to the salutary doctrine. The judiciary department may, therefore, be considered in our republic, as holding the place of the tribunitial power in the Roman commonwealth—possessing all the advantages of the latter; and at the same time, from the nature of its duties and limitations, exercising its authority with such a degree of moderation and impartiality, as the tribunes, from the injudicious organization of their power, were incapable of. Without the hazard of contradiction, we may boldly assert, that in no country has the judiciary been, hitherto, more respected, or its decrees more readily obeyed, than in our own. We shall have occasion, in the course of our remarks, to notice the very delicate situations in which the supreme court of the United States has frequently been placed, by the decisions of questions which brought it in collision with state authorities, and with other departments of the general government; and there is none who will not laud the dignity and independence with which it asserted its rights, and discharged its duties, on those trying occasions.

Much of the reluctance of foreign reviewers, to introduce works on municipal law into the walks of science and literature, may be attributed to the barbarous style in which its doctrines were long involved. The classical student, who was compelled by necessity, to exchange the society of Pope, Shakspeare, and Milton, for the austere sages of the common law, might justly complain, during the last century, in the poetical language used by Blackstone, in his farewell to the muse—

‘Instead of these, a formal band  
In furs and coifs around me stand,  
With sounds uncouth, and accents dry,  
That grate the soul of harmony;  
Each pedant sage unlocks his store  
Of mystic, dark, discordant lore,  
And points with tott’ring hand the ways  
That lead me to the thorny maze.’

But these charges are no longer applicable. Sixty years ago the student was compelled to wade through the Year-books, Rolle, Brooke, and Fitzherbert, to acquire the commonest principles of this law. Even the useful learning contained in the immethodical labours of Coke, could not console him for the disgust which his taste was destined to experience from his rude phraseology. But for the last one hundred years, a constant and gradual improvement has taken place in the language and style of legal publications, and in the arrangement of the matter. There is, perhaps, no subject on which more treatises, marked with talent, industry, and learning, have been published of late, than on the various heads of the law. Among these works, we may place in the first rank, Blackstone's Commentaries,—and from the 500 volumes to which we allude in the above remark, may be selected the treatises of Fearne, Todd, Chitty, Newland, and Roberts.

This emancipation of the law, from the thralldom of tasteless barbarism, must, in some measure, be attributed to the great improvement that has taken place within the same period, not only in our language, but in our habits of thought—an improvement which is easily perceptible by a comparison of the compositions of the present age with those of the past. But we must look to other causes for this improvement, as the progress in refinement of law writers did not keep pace with that of other authors. The principal step which produced the change, was the statute of 4th Geo. II, passed in 1731, which required the records of the court to be kept in the English language. From the year 1363 until that time, the records of the court were drafted in the Latin language, if that jargon could be called Latin, which the common-law lawyers had adopted in their pleadings. Before that year, the same records were required to be kept in the Norman language—one of those badges of servitude which the Norman conquerors had imposed on England. While the science of the law was thus involved in bad French or bad Latin, it is not wonderful that the English of the lawyers should partake of the same base and barbarous character.

Important and beneficial as were the acts of 4 and 6 Geo. II, they were not received, it would seem, with much favor by the profession. We were not a little amazed by the perusal of the following passage, from the preface to the eleventh edition of Jacob's compilation of 'Every Man His Own Lawyer.' 'We have reason to believe (says the editor) that the original edition came out soon after the legislature was pleased to command all law proceedings to be in English: the precedents therefore, of writs, declarations and deeds, whether we consider them, as some of the first attempts of *professional*—*nay, national disgrace*; or, of their having been continued without any variation, equally serve in apology for our presuming to strike them all out in the present edition.' To this sapient and perspicuous remark, is added the following note: 'The abrogating the court hand in which the judicial records of this country were engrossed, may be added to that *disgraceful* æra, 4 Geo. II, (the year wherein the bill for translating the *Latin proceedings into English, or as the event justifies the turning them into nonsense*, passed into law,) nothing in my most humble apprehension can well exceed the absurdity of those who wished to be considered rational beings, much more to the members of the legislature than their reason for adopting the legal innovation alluded to, viz. that the generality of mankind might be able to read the instruments by which their lives, their liberties, and their properties were disposed of: for I do not believe there is a single individual to be found in that country, which is so materially affected by the above innovation, as not to acknowledge, and few, very few, who could not foresee (and that too without Scottish prescience) that neither the lawyer, nor the man of learning, would thereafter be able to explain such instruments to the

ignorant and uninformed.' From such advocates of black letter, and law jargon, it could not be expected that any ray of taste or genius should ever beam. These complaints furnish a striking instance of the opposition which every improvement (however innocent and laudable) is destined to meet with from the dread of innovation.

To the benefit resulting from this act, we may add two other causes, for the improvement made in the science of the law, and the taste of its professors during the last century. 1st. The increase of the commercial transactions of England during that period, and 2d. The appearance about the year 1753, and the subsequent success and authority of lord Mansfield, at the English bar.

1. Before the eighteenth century, the amount of personal property bore no proportion to that of real property in England; accordingly, the actions depending in courts of justice, for the most part related to the latter. The law of real property became, therefore, infected with the technical jargon, the trifling subtilties, the Gothic taste, which the Norman lawyers introduced, and which the Aristotelian philosophy made the fashion of the dark ages: evils which the progressive refinement of modern days has not yet been able entirely to remove. The law of personal property, being little used, escaped the general infection—and when the increasing commerce of the world gave it importance, it became necessary to mould it entirely anew from the few principles which had been previously promulgated. In applying these principles, it was often necessary to study and refer to the purer writers of civil and natural law. This association tended to liberalize the minds of the professors; and the consequence may be discovered by comparing the commentaries of Coke, or the treatises of Fearne and Runnington, with the work of Marshall on Insurance, or Chitty on Bills of Exchange,—the former, unintelligible to common readers; the latter, adapted to the meanest capacity.

2. About the period when this new order of things arose, lord Mansfield brought with him into the practice of the legal profession, a mind enriched with the stores of general literature, a taste polished by constant converse with the muses, and an eloquence founded on the chastest models of antiquity. His powers of captivation are recorded by Pope, who was both his admirer and friend. In his imitation of Horace's Ode to Venus, we find the following lines—

‘To number five direct your doves,  
There spread round Murray all your blooming loves,  
Noble and young, who strikes the heart  
With every sprightly, every decent part;  
Equal, the injured to defend,  
To charm the mistress, or to fix the friend.’

His unexampled success in the profession, (for he was heard to say that he scarcely knew an interval between the want of employ-

ment and the receipt of 3000*l.* sterling per annum) induced others to follow his example. The emulation in taste and eloquence which was thus inspired, continued during the whole period when he presided as chief justice of England. The learning and eloquence of Dunning, Thurlow, Erskine, and Law, received their first impulse during that memorable period. Numerous incongruities of former authorities were reconciled or exploded; the Law Merchant was reared to its present state of symmetry and perfection; and classical taste was naturalized in the forum. The student of the present days, in passing from Strange or Raymond to Burrow, finds himself suddenly transported from a wilderness to a more fertile and cultivated region. The letters of Junius, and the declamations of Chatham, have cast a shade over the reputation of lord Mansfield; but we know not what profession is more indebted to any of its votaries, than the profession of the law, to that able and distinguished jurist.

The increase in the number, and improvements in the qualifications of the members of our bar, have kept pace with the general progress of the United States, in wealth, glory, and population. As early as the year 1775, Mr. Burke observed, 'that in no country, perhaps in the world, was the law so general a study: that all who read (and most could read), endeavoured to obtain some smattering in that science; and that, after tracts on popular devotion, the principal part of the books exported to the plantations, were those on the law.' It is not exaggeration to say, that at least ten thousand persons in the United States derive their subsistence from the practice of the law, and we may likewise add, that those who practise that profession, are not one third of the number of those who have been qualified to practise, but who afterwards deserted it. We may also boast of the many legal publications which have issued during the last five and twenty years from our press. If we are not mistaken, Dallas's Reports were the first which were published in this country. They were honoured with the commendation of lord Mansfield; who, when blind, had them read to him by an amanuensis. The reports of Washington, in Virginia, and Bay in South Carolina, soon followed—and so many works of this description have of late been published in almost every state in the Union, that the number of American reports now exceed 150 volumes. They all reflect credit, in various degrees, upon the learning and talents of the judges—the acuteness and ingenuity of the barristers, and the accuracy and elegance of the reporters.

The volumes which form the subject of the present article, are the reports of the decisions of the supreme court of the United States, in the years 1816, 1817, and 1818. They continue the series of Dallas and Cranch's Reports. The present reporter of that court, was named to that duty by the judges in 1816; and shortly after, an act was passed by Congress, giving him an annual salary for his services, on certain specified conditions. Of the utility of such an office, it might be expected, that no doubt could be entertained;

but it seems that though the special office of a reporter existed at an early period of English history, it was discontinued as long ago as the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. It was again revived in the reign of James I, by the influence of lord Bacon, but was soon afterwards abolished from some cause which cannot now be satisfactorily accounted for; probably from want of talents or industry in the reporter—the jealousy with which lord Bacon was regarded by his numerous rivals, or the ambition of lord Coke to supersede, by his labours, the necessity of such an officer. The reports which have been transmitted from the reign of Henry VII, are, therefore, the result of the voluntary industry of able judges or lawyers, whom a predilection for the profession, and emulation to excel in it, induced to record the judgments of the courts. But the necessity of such a responsible officer as reporter, is apparent, from the act of parliament which was passed soon after the restoration, prohibiting the printing of law books, without the license of the lord chancellor, the two chief justices, and the chief baron. This act was renewed from time to time, but finally expired in the reign of William and Mary. Permission, however, from the judges, seems long after to have been deemed necessary for printing reports of adjudged cases, as we find certificates to that effect prefixed to the reports of Strange, Raymond, Salkeld, and other succeeding reporters, and this permission was required, if we may judge from the style of the certificates, not so much to give credit and authenticity to the reports, as protection and authority for the publication, from the jealousy which the courts of common law formerly entertained respecting the publication of their proceedings. The necessity of such certificates has long ceased, but it is the natural consequence of this general privilege to publish reports, that the publications are more or less entitled to credit, in proportion to the diligence and accuracy of the reporter. Many instances of errors may be found throughout the English reports, and judges are frequently compelled to doubt or deny that they used the expressions attributed to them in the reports of preceding cases. When to the doubt and confusion which this state of things is calculated to produce, is added the liability to error from the *viva voce* delivery of decisions, we may form somewhat of a correct opinion how irregular and unsatisfactory is the English mode of promulgating legal decisions.

The evils which we have just enumerated, have been entirely avoided in the United States, by the official station of the reporter, and the practice adopted by the judges of the supreme court to deliver only written decisions. When they agree in opinion, only one decision is pronounced—and it is only when there is a difference of sentiment on the point in issue, or the grounds of the judgment, that opinions *seriatim*, are expressed. In England, however, the judges in all cases, deliver severally their private opinions—another fertile source of dispute and confusion.

The talents and learning of the judges, of which these volumes afford abundant proofs, give them an additional claim to the regard of the profession. In no branch of the government have the appointments to office been actuated by a greater attention to the merit of the individual selected. Little or no intrigue, or personal partiality has mingled in the judicial appointments of our country. The judges, previous to their elevation, held a high rank in their profession, for talents and integrity; and though the rule is not sound, that the best advocate will make the best judge, it may generally be collected, that the lawyers whose exhibitions at the bar are distinguished for profound learning and accuracy of thought, will honour the bench on which they hold a seat. To excel at the bar, quickness of perception, ready elocution, and a fund of ingenuity is required. But the qualities required in a judge, are judgment, learning, and temper. Where these qualities are wanting, the advocate, however able, is unqualified for the bench. Few men have been more successful at the bar, as advocates, than Erskine and Curran, but the first did not give satisfaction as chancellor, nor the latter as master of the rolls.

Of the legal erudition of the judges of the supreme court, the cases of the town of Pawlet vs. Clark and others, 9 Cr. 292; Coolidge and Payson, 2. Whe. 66; Craig vs. Leslie, 3d Wheaton, p. 576. bear incontestable proof.

Of the soundness of their judgment, we could cite numerous instances, but it gives us pleasure to refer more particularly to the firmness and independence with which the court has discharged its duty, when brought into conflict with state authorities, and with other departments of the general government. Three noted instances have occurred.—The case of *Olmstead vs. the executors of Rittenhouse*; the case of *Martin vs. Hunter's lessee*, and the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*. In the first case, the legislature of Pennsylvania interposed, by a law, to prevent the execution of a decree passed by judge Peters, in the district court of that state, and required that the money for which the suit was brought, should be paid into the state treasury, and that the governor should protect the rights of the state, and the persons and properties of the defendants from any process whatever, issued out of any federal court. After the passage of this act, the district judge, on an application being made for process of execution, with a very commendable degree of prudence, declined ordering it, with the view to bring before the supreme court of the United States, a question so delicate in itself, and which was likely to produce the most serious consequence to the nation. Upon the application of the plaintiff, the supreme court issued a mandamus to the judge of the district court, commanding him to execute the sentence pronounced by him in that case, or to show cause to the contrary. The reasons for withholding the process, assigned in answer to this writ, were not deemed sufficient by the court. 'If the legislatures of the several states,' says the court, in their opinion delivered by chief

justice Marshal, 'may, at will, annul the judgment of the courts of the United States, and destroy the rights acquired under those judgments, the constitution itself becomes a solemn mockery, and the nation is deprived of the means of enforcing its laws by the instrumentality of its own tribunals. So fatal a result must be deprecated by all; and the people of Pennsylvania, no less than the citizens of every other state, must feel a deep interest in resisting principles so destructive of the union, and in averting consequences so fatal to themselves.' 'It will be readily conceived, that the order which this court is enjoined to make, by the high obligations of duty and of law, is not made without extreme regret at the necessity which has induced the application. But *it is a solemn duty, and therefore must be performed. A peremptory mandamus must be awarded.*' Process of execution was accordingly awarded by the district judge, in obedience to the mandamus—and the governor of Pennsylvania immediately ordered general Bright, commanding a brigade of Pennsylvania militia, to call out a portion of the militia, and employ them to protect and defend the persons and property of the defendants against the process. These orders were obeyed,—a guard was placed round the house of the defendants, who opposed with arms in their hands, the persevering efforts of the marshal to serve the writs.—But the execution was at last served by the marshal, who eluded the guard, on one of the defendants, and an application for a habeas corpus refused. The debt was finally discharged, and to make the triumph of the law complete, the general and his guard were indicted for obstructing the process of the court, found guilty, and received the sentence of the law. In the charge delivered by judge Washington to the jury, we meet with the following proof of animated eloquence and dignified feeling. 'It seems, however, that the power of deciding on all cases arising under the constitution and laws of the United States, is considered as being unsafely lodged in the national courts; because it may be abused for the purpose of drawing every case into the vortex of the federal jurisdiction. Whence can arise this jealousy? Have the judges of those courts, or of any courts, an interest in extending the sphere of their jurisdiction? Quite otherwise—as the jurisdiction of the court is abridged, the labour of the judge is diminished. Is it a privilege which is claimed for the advantage of the court, or of the individuals who compose it? By no means. It is the privilege of the citizen, and as long as I have the honour of a seat on the bench, I will consider myself one of the guardians of this privilege, (a very feeble one I acknowledge) and with a steady and unvarying eye, fixed upon the constitution, as my guide, I shall march forward without entertaining the guilty wish to limit this privilege, where the citizen may fairly claim it, or the desire not less criminal, to enlarge its boundaries because it is claimed.'

The second case to which we have referred, as exhibiting the firmness and independence of the supreme court, is that of Mar-



tin Delusee, of *Fairfax vs. Hunter*, 1 Wheaton, 304. The suit was originally brought in the state court of Virginia, holden at Winchester, for the recovery of a tract of land in the Northern Neck. Judgment was given for the defendant in that court, and on an appeal to the highest court of appeals, the court of law of Virginia, the judgment of the district court was reversed, and judgment entered for the plaintiff. As the construction of the treaty of peace, concluded in the year 1783, and the treaty of 1794, between Great Britain and the United States, was involved in the decision, the defendant, in the original suit, appealed to the supreme court of the United States, which reversed the judgment of the court of appeals in Virginia, and issued its mandate to the latter court, to carry its judgment into execution. The court of appeals of Virginia, rendered the following judgment on this mandate. 'The court is unanimously of opinion, that the appellate power of the supreme court of the United States, does not extend to this court, under a sound construction of the United States; that so much of the 25th section of the act of Congress, to establish the judicial courts of the United States, as extends the appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court to this court, is not in pursuance of the constitution of the United States: that the writ of error in this cause, was improvidently allowed under the authority of that act: that the proceedings thereon in the supreme court were *coram non judice*, in relation to this court, and that obedience to its mandate be declined by this court.'

On this disobedience of the mandate of the supreme court, the cause was again brought before that court. It was a direct conflict between the jurisdiction of the state, and United States' courts. The question was elaborately argued, and we doubt whether the whole records of jurisprudence exhibit a more clear, elegant and conclusive strain of reasoning, than the opinion of the supreme court, delivered by judge Story. It asserted the jurisdiction of the supreme court over the case, and as the state courts refused to carry the former mandate into effect, the execution was immediately awarded.

In the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*, which was an application for a mandamus against the defendant, who was secretary of state, founded on a complaint, that a commission, appointing the plaintiff a justice of the peace, had been illegally withheld from him by the defendant, under the orders of the president of the United States—the supreme court decided, that when a commission for an officer, not holding his office at the will of the president, is by him signed and transmitted to the secretary of state, to be sealed and recorded, it is irrevocable—the appointment is complete—and that the president cannot authorise a secretary of state to omit the performance of those duties which are enjoined by law. The application was, however, discharged on the ground that the supreme court had not the power to issue a mandamus, it being an exercise of original jurisdiction, not warranted by the constitution—and that

Congress had not the power to give original jurisdiction to the supreme court in other cases than those described in the constitution. In this instance, the same care is exhibited by this tribunal, not to pass those very barriers in relation to their own jurisdiction, which it was their duty to make other departments respect. The opinion of the supreme court, delivered in this case, by chief justice Marshall, is an admirable specimen of logical analysis, and power of ratiocination. We might multiply proofs of the independence exhibited by the national judiciary—and cite the case of the release of the *Exchange*, a vessel under the flag of the emperor Napoleon, which had been seized and condemned under some of his arbitrary orders, and was libelled by its American owners in the district court of Pennsylvania—we might also cite the case of the *Nereide*, to prove, how little national feeling sways the judgment of the court. But the volumes reporting the decisions of the supreme court abound with evidence of judicial integrity; and in fact, we may venture to predict, that the decisions on admiralty law (exceptionable as are the decisions of the courts of all other nations on this point, from their subserviency to the policy of their respective governments), will be hereafter appealed to as criterions of belligerent rights and commercial rectitude.

The reports of cases decided by a court, holding so high and independent a rank, elevated far above all temporary, selfish, and political considerations, deserve the peculiar regard of the legal profession, not only in this, but likewise in foreign countries. We do not, therefore, hesitate to recommend the three volumes of *Wheaton's Reports*, to the attention both of the lawyer and the statesman. In the discharge of his duties, the reporter has displayed a degree of attention and diligence, that furnishes a pledge that he does not design his office as a sinecure. His reports have been invariably given to the public, within a few months after the delivery of the decisions, in time to gratify the interest they excited, and to regulate the practice to which they related. The statement of the facts, on which the various cases turned, is full and perspicuous,—and the arguments of the counsel, when necessary to be reported, present with accuracy and justice, the positions on which they respectively relied. In one respect, we would recommend to Mr. Wheaton, a change in his mode of reporting the arguments of the counsel, viz. not to insert in a note, as is generally done in these volumes, the authorities that are cited, but to embody the citations in the argument itself. It is true, that from the course he has pursued, to add a note containing a full view of the law relating to the reported case, the necessity of these citations is very much superseded—and there is no professional lawyer who will not agree with us that these notes are valuable accessions to legal learning. They are not mere references to adjudged cases, but they exhibit an elaborate survey of the whole law on the subject, not only as it exists in our own country, but also in foreign systems of jurisprudence. In questions on commer-

cial and admiralty law, which profess to have for their foundation the dictates of reason and justice, a knowledge of the rules and principles which would govern in foreign courts, is indispensably necessary. In fact, in every head of the law, such knowledge is useful, for the observation of Cicero, '*Etenim omnes artes quæ ad humanitatem pertinent habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur*,' has direct application to the various codes of all nations, as all laws profess to have for their object and end, the happiness and welfare of mankind. We, therefore, commend Mr. Wheaton's laudable attempts to introduce to us the productions of foreign jurists, and view with pleasure his frequent quotations from Pothier, Valin, Huberus, and the French codes. It is a branch of learning that has hitherto been too much neglected amongst us, and the study of it will be conducive to improvements in our internal legislation.

Of the notes attached to the reports, we find two, deserving of notice, in the appendix to the first volume,—the first on the practice of prize courts; the second, on the rule of war of 1756. In the appendix to the second volume, there is a still more valuable and elaborate note on the principles and practice of prize courts. This branch of the law was little familiar to our lawyers at the commencement of the late war. It has been particularly studied by Mr. Wheaton; and his notes, together with his essay on maritime captures, would, of themselves, be sufficient to instruct the lawyer in its principles. In the second volume, there are also several valuable notes appended to the reported cases; for instance, to the case of *Craig and Duval*, p. 62, a note on the construction of covenants in deeds for real property, and the damages recoverable upon a breach of them—and to the case of *Morgan's heirs vs. Morgan*, p. 302, a note showing on what grounds, and in what instances, courts of equity will compel the specific performance of contracts. In the third volume, the note to the case of the *Star*, p. 93, presents an admirable view of the rules respecting salvage, adopted in this as well as foreign nations; the note to the case of *Lanusse vs. Barker*, p. 143, contains an equally excellent exposition of the law on contracts of guaranty, and the obligations existing between a creditor and a surety. In a note in page 196, there is a correct, though summary view taken of the law of blockade,—and in page 207, of the effect of licenses from the enemy, or to trade with an enemy in time of war. There is also a valuable note in the appendix to the volume on the patent laws.

From the survey we have thus taken of these volumes, the reader may judge of the industry, learning, and talents of the reporter, and the value of his labours. We hope he may receive a better reward from public encouragement than those who have hitherto laboured in the same vocation. The next volume of his reports we anxiously look for, from the number of important and interesting decisions that were pronounced during the last term of the supreme court. The judgment in the case of the bank of the United

States, and on the insolvent laws of the various states, will further evince the extensive power and useful influence of the national judiciary, in regulating the operation of the state and general governments under the federal constitution.

For our part we avow our partiality for the judiciary, over every other department of our government. Possessed of no weight of patronage, clothed with no trappings of state or wealth, its tranquil, prudent, and majestic march in the discharge of its duties, has commanded the reverence and affection of the nation. There was a time, when demagogues in our legislative halls, conceived that they possessed exclusive power of deciding upon the binding force of the laws they passed, and that the supervision claimed by the judiciary, when their acts came before it for enforcement, was an usurpation. But those days, thank God, are passed; the judiciary is no longer regarded with jealousy,—and we may safely repose on its wisdom and fidelity, as the guardian of our rights, and the protector of our blessed constitution.

ART. II.—*On the means of Education and the Scientific Institutions in New York.*

ONE of the best modes of ascertaining the moral character of a people, is by an inquiry into the means of public and professional education, which are provided for its youth.—With this view, we think the following account of the advantages the city of New York enjoys in this respect, will not be unacceptable to our readers; and may, perhaps, call forth information of the same kind from the other cities of the union.

That part of the community, whose advancement in learning is necessarily very limited from their poverty, and the imperious necessity of turning their hands at an early age to labour, in order to procure the means of subsistence, has been by the munificence of the state, and city, and of the congregations of the several churches, furnished with the means of acquiring knowledge suited to their capacities, in institutions principally modelled on the systems of Lancaster and Bell;—among these it is only necessary to mention the great Lancaster school, where several hundred children are gratuitously instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

It is much to be regretted, that there does not exist in the city of New York, any public school for the instruction of the middling and higher classes of society, where by a well directed public patronage, the means of elementary education might be opened to the children of the industrious and saving, and yet the instruction so well conducted as to prepare for a collegiate course, or for the counting-house;—such a school has been several times contemplated, but has never yet been put into execution.—Its place is filled by a number of private schools, very different in plan, and various in merit, but on the whole of respectability, although, not of a quality to place New York in this respect on a level with Geneva or Edinburgh.

The only college in the city of New York, is one founded by royal charter in the year 1754, and then styled 'KING'S COLLEGE.' It had all the privileges and immunities granted to it, which were enjoyed by Trinity college, Cambridge. To found it, a handsome subscription was made up in the province of New York, and some valuable gifts were procured in England; Trinity church granted eight acres of land; but its chief benefactor was Joseph Murray, a distinguished lawyer of that period, who presented a valuable library, and an estate worth 8000*l.* currency.

The government was vested in a board of rectors, partly gentlemen of respectability in the province, and partly of persons holding high official situations. Among the latter we find the primate of the English church, the president of the board of trade and plantations, the governor, lieutenant governor, and secretary of state of the province, the president of the council, and the speaker of the house of assembly, the colonial treasurer, the mayor of the city, and the pastors of the five prevailing religious sects. Among the former, are many names of eminence in the colony, and famous in the subsequent revolutionary struggle.

We need only mention the De Lancys, the Livingstons, the Crugers, the Phillipses, the Waltons, the Apthorps, and the Morris, with the noble names of Kennedy and the earl of Sterling, to show the respectability of this board.—Under their auspices, a building intended as a wing of the entire plan was erected, and the course of instruction commenced under able and active teachers. The first president was the Rev. Dr. S. Johnson, to whom succeeded the Rev. Myles Cooper of Queen's college, Oxford, of whom it may be fairly said, that he was probably, the most elegant scholar that America ever saw. His political prejudices, led him to take an active part in the contest of that eventful era, and he was deeply engaged in a newspaper controversy, in which, as was afterwards known, his most successful opponents were his own pupils. Under the guidance of these two eminent men, were formed minds and characters, which have since filled a great share in the annals of the world. The party feelings of Dr. Cooper must have been severely hurt with the idea of having trained up to the combat, such men as John Jay, the chancellor Livingston, Gouverneur Morris, and Alexander Hamilton.\*

The breaking out of the revolution, and its consequences, inflicted a blow upon the college from which it has hardly yet recovered. Dr. Cooper judged it prudent to fly, from the resentment his active conduct, as a partizan, seemed likely to draw upon him, as soon as hostilities commenced. In April, 1776, the college was taken possession of by order of the committee of public safety, as a military hospital.—Parts of the library and apparatus, were packed and deposited in the city hall, other parts in a room in the

\* The breaking out of hostilities, prevented general Hamilton from completing his collegiate course.

steeple of St. Paul's church, from which they were not recovered for thirty years; and much appears to have remained for the pillage of a soldiery, who had not yet acquired any habits of discipline. The occupation of New York by the royal troops, did not mend its situation, and for eight years, the voice of science was silent in those halls, which were erected as its shrine.

When the war terminated, the literature of the state speedily became an object of legislative attention, and the government of all the seminaries of the state, was vested in a body styled the Regents of the University, in whose hands the affairs of the college, the name of which was changed from King's to Columbia college, remained till April, 1787. At this era, it was committed to the care of a board of twenty-four trustees, under whose management it has ever since continued. The peace found it in a most deplorable condition; little remained of the buildings but the bare walls, the library was much injured, and the philosophical apparatus totally destroyed, the monied estate of the institution dissipated, or barely sufficient for the needful repairs. The state legislature, who at that time were well disposed towards it, had but little in their power. In this state of things, recourse was had with most improvident haste to meet the urgencies of the moment, by the disposal on long leases, of the real estate granted by the church, and thus a scanty revenue was procured for immediate purposes, at the desperate cost of locking up its capital for nearly two generations. This income was at one time so small, as with the fees of tuition, to be barely adequate to the support of two professors for the under graduate course. The countenance of the legislature was totally withdrawn, when Albany became its seat, and resources derived for the greatest part from the city of New York, were most unjustly bestowed upon an institution too distant to give the inhabitants of that city, a chance of reaping any benefit from it. The acknowledgment of the right of the people of Vermont, to the grants of land now included in that state, stripped the college of property, which, although forcibly withheld from their occupation, might have produced in the way of compromise, at least half a million of dollars.

Even in these times, the character of the college was ably supported by Dr. W. S. Johnson, the first president after the revolution, (and son of Dr. S. Johnson, its former president) who for many years, was actively employed in its public instruction, and derived lustre from the high reputation of the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Moore, bishop of New York, who held the office of president from 1801 till 1811. The distinguished talents of Dr. Kemp, who held the professorship of natural philosophy and mathematics for twenty-eight years, made it the first school for these sciences, in the United States; and its classical reputation has been ably supported by the learning of Dr. Wilson.

In 1811, the Rev. John M. Mason, was appointed provost, and the higher order of classical learning committed to his charge.—

The fees of the students were increased, and paid into the treasury of the college, from which the officers derived an income no longer precarious. The requisites for admission, were raised to a much higher level, and measures taken to prevent the honours of the college being conferred unworthily.

From circumstances arising out of the health of Dr. Mason, and his various other occupations, his appointment, and the alteration in the requisites and course of study was not attended with the immediate benefit that was expected; but the mode of reading the classics, introduced by him, in which the illustrations of his fine taste were added to the correct grammatical method of Dr. Wilson, is still continued, and though he has resigned his office, the institution still feels the pressure of his powerful spirit.

On the resignation of Dr. Mason, the active duties of the chief officer merged in Dr. Harris, who succeeded bishop Moore as president: of this gentleman it can truly be said, that he is, without exception, the most useful officer, who has ever presided over Columbia college. From his active zeal, and various concurring circumstances, it is now a flourishing institution. A new professorship has been founded, and with the other three, is fully supported by the tuition fees. The income of the property has been much increased by the falling in of some of the older leases. The state government have given an earnest of patronage by the gift of twenty acres of valuable land on the island of New York, and very lately of ten thousand dollars. New and extensive buildings are erecting, and the old ones have undergone a complete repair. The library and philosophical apparatus will probably attract the attention of the board, as soon as apartments shall be provided for them, and the course of instruction already excellent, will be increased as the increasing number of students provides the means.

The languages are taught by professors Wilson and Moore with much ability, professor Arrain is a most accomplished teacher of the mathematics, but in natural philosophy, from the peculiar bent of his mind, to the pure mathematics, he has not been so successful.—Professor Mc Vickar has in the short period of his appointment, given earnest of his future services in the branches of moral philosophy and the belles lettres; while the study of English composition is most sedulously attended to by the president.

The college numbers professors Mc Vickar and Moore among its alumni, and the excellence of its instruction may be judged from the fact that another of its alumni competed for the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy against Dr. Arrain, and now fills the mathematical professorship at Princetown, with honour to himself and his alma-mater. Among its alumni, may also be counted very many of the distinguished characters in the three learned professions in the city of New York and its neighbourhood, and others who have filled honourable stations under the state and general governments, and the governors of the state of

New York, except Henry Clinton, whose education was at an end before the foundation of this college.

This list might have been longer, had not other causes conjoined with its scanty funds and the want of legislative provision to narrow the sphere of its utility. The condition of the gift from Trinity church, that its president shall always be an Episcopalian, has given rise to the idea, that an improper influence might be exercised over the minds of the students. To prove how unfounded this fancy is, it is only necessary to remark, that calvinists have often formed the majority of the professors and of the board of trustees, and that the religious duties are limited to prayers, partly selected from the Episcopal liturgy, and partly original, combined with the reading of the scriptures without comment. The population of the city of New York, consists in a great measure of foreigners or of emigrants from the neighbouring states, most of whom have brought with them prejudices in favour of their native institutions, or against the system adopted at Columbia in imitation of the Scotch colleges, of permitting the students to reside at the houses of their parents or in private lodgings, instead of confining them within the walls of the college. Added to this, the religious dispensations, which long engrossed the whole attention of the board of trustees, to the exclusion of all exertions of a more meritorious nature.—The commercial habits of the people of New York, have not given room for any great private encouragement of science, and the whole period since the revolution, has passed without recording any private benefaction. It may perhaps, be also said, that the number of persons concerned in the management is against strong united efforts, and likely to promote lukewarmness or opposition to even the best concerted schemes. The number of students is at present one hundred and thirty, and on the increase.

Education does not cease with the collegiate course; in it we only acquire the rudiments of that knowledge which it is often the whole business of a busy life to develop. Our object will not, therefore, be complete, without an examination of the means for professional education, an account of the public libraries, the learned societies, and the state and progress of the fine arts. Under the same idea, it is at present projected to form an institution for the delivery of lectures upon subjects which cannot be made part of an undergraduate course, but which form such a part of the information which is expected from a well educated man, as to be indispensable to that character. It has been proposed to add this as a separate faculty to Columbia college; the plan is yet in embryo, but is well calculated to improve the moral character of the citizens of New York. The subjects which have been already named as fit for this purpose, are national and commercial law, political economy, chemistry applied to the arts, mechanics as applied to manufactures and other useful purposes, criticism, general literature, and poetry, with other instructive and popular topics.



Leaving this, let us proceed to the other objects we have named above.

The study of law in the state of New York, is entirely conducted in the offices of private attorneys and counsellors, and no attempt has been made to make it a matter of public instruction, since the time of the lectures delivered in Columbia college by the present chancellor Kent. The license of attorney is made the step to the degree of counsellor. It is a matter of doubt, whether the entire separation of the two employments, and the establishment of a public law school, authorised to confer at once the degree of counsellor, would not raise the character of the profession.

The bar is at present very strong, and numbers of young men are rapidly rising to bear a distinguished part in its forensic discussions.

The Episcopal church, has lately founded in New York, a theological school, which from the talents of the professors who have been named to it, bids fair to rise to eminence. It has received a most splendid donation in land from an individual, of great public spirit and high private worth.

The Scotch Presbyterians, have long had a school for the education of ministers of their peculiar tenets, and it has not been less remarkable for the learning and abilities of its conductors, than for the number of intelligent and learned divines it has furnished to that church. Drs. Mason and Matthews are its chief ornaments.

A medical school, attached to King's college, existed in New York prior to the revolution, which was revived at the close of the war; it met however with but little success, and finally merged in the college of Physicians and Surgeons. No fault is to be attributed to the teachers, who were all well, and some of them eminently, qualified; but much of its failure is to be attributed to the discussions and jealousies which have almost continually pervaded that profession.

After the institution of the college of Physicians and Surgeons, and before the dissolution of the medical faculty of Columbia college, another medical school, led by Drs. Brown and Romeyn, arose, and conferred degrees under the auspices of the college at Brunswick in New Jersey, and New York exhibited for a short time the singular sight of three rival colleges, teaching the same profession and conferring the same degree.

The medical education of New York, is conducted by a college of Physicians and Surgeons, instituted by the Regents of the University, in 1801, but which has several times been on the point of dissolution, from internal dissensions. Its affairs at present appear to go on with tolerable unanimity. Its students amount to nearly two hundred, who are well instructed by professors of distinguished ability.

New York cannot boast of its public libraries. The Society Library is by no means worthy of such a city, and appears almost deprived of public patronage. The library of the college has about

four thousand volumes, many of them rare and curious, but is rather the nucleus round which to form a collection, than any thing else. The Historical Society has a most valuable but not extensive collection in its department. The college of Physicians has not yet acquired any very great number of books, and the circulating libraries circulate nothing but novels and ephemeral productions.

Messrs. Eastburn & Co. have in the way of their trade, formed a collection of books, such as has never been approached in this country, and which rivals in quality, the great collection of Lackington. That such an establishment should have been formed, speaks no less in praise of the enterprise and intelligence of Mr. Eastburn, than of the literary taste of the people of New York, and bespeaks their moral improvement, more than any other circumstance.

Mr. Eastburn has also attached to his establishment, rooms where the literary and scientific journals of Europe are regularly imported and greedily perused.

The Literary and Philosophical society was founded within a few years, and has already published a very respectable volume of transactions; another is said to be in readiness. The munificence of the corporation of the city has provided it with apartments, in a building in which are also located the Historical society and the Academy of Arts.

The Historical society has already been casually mentioned; it has besides its library, under its charge a very valuable collection of mineralogy, conchology, and medals made by Messrs. Col. Gibbs and J. G. Bogert, the greatest part of which is their own private property.

The Academy of Arts has among other valuable articles in its possession, a set of casts from the most admired antique statues, a number of good original pictures and copies from the first masters, several valuable books and port folios of engravings, and a complete edition of the works of Piranesi, the gift of the late emperor of France. Its collection is open to students, under direction of the keeper, who furnishes instruction gratis, and since this arrangement has gone into effect, much promising talent has been elicited. The Academy has raised by loan a sum of two thousand dollars, which has been sent to England for the purpose of procuring a full length portrait of the venerable West, to be painted by sir Thomas Lawrence. Its exhibitions have been very respectable, but its progress is in some measure checked, and its utility circumscribed by the opposition of a cabal of artists.—Some of the patronage, to which it was legitimately entitled, as the natural focus of the arts, has been applied in another direction, and a building appropriated to the catch-penny purpose of exhibiting *panoramas*, stands as a monument of misdirected taste and wasted public spirit. At the head of the academy is Col. Trumbull, whom it is only necessary to name, and several artists of great respectability, rank among its honorary members, academicians and associates: among its fo-

reign members it ranks Napoleon and Lucien Bonaparte, the great Canova, West, Lawrence, and many others of high eminence.

In looking over these different institutions, it is impossible not to be struck with the great agency one individual has had in their foundation and improvement; it is needless to say that this individual is the present governor of the state of New York. It may perhaps be said, that he has had great advantages of situation, but his utility has often depended more upon his strenuous private exertions, than upon his high official situations. He has been most active in the formation of the Historical and the Literary and Philosophical society, has patronized the college of Physicians, and been the chief instrument in the foundation of the Lancaster free-school. The donation of the State to Columbia college, during the last session of the legislature, received his official countenance and much of his private influence; he presided for several years in the academy, and in short, has in every instance, shown himself the friend of learned men and the patron of science.—His promotion to the government of the state, has enlarged the sphere of his utility and exertions, and his name will be long remembered coupled with the greatest public work ever commenced in the Western Hemisphere.

From the above remarks it will be seen that New York possesses very many of the sources, which give rise to public improvement in knowledge, and is rapidly acquiring more; and if the progress be continued in the same ratio, she may soon rank as high in the intellectual scale as she does in the commercial. Y.

#### ART. III.—*On Gessner and his Works.*

SWITZERLAND has given birth to many illustrious men. The character of its inhabitants, from the time of Cæsar, has retained all its peculiarities and distinctive qualities. The same energy of spirit—grandeur of feeling—unvacillating and unmingled hatred of arbitrary aggrandizement, and the same glow of patriotism, that distinguished the opposition of the Helvetic republics, to the domineering ambition of ancient Rome, appear constantly to have been maintained; and manifested, perhaps, more wonderfully, in these latter days, when Austria and France assembled in their power, to crush in wantonness, that singular polity which had been built on the magnificent foundations of independence and virtue. From that interesting period, when the republics began to assume a more refined and luxurious cast of character, in consequence of their subjection to the Roman government, to the times of Albert, the son of Rhodolphus of Hapsburg, we perceive innumerable and important transactions occurring, materially worthy of the observation of the statesman and soldier. It is unnecessary, in this place, to examine the progress of the national character from that momentous period to the days of the final extinction of the Helvetic confederacy, by the French invasion. Switzerland holds now only a

nominal independence. Whether she will ever possess that high military genius again, by which she was formerly distinguished, is now a subject of comparative indifference. The early intercourse of Switzerland and Germany, promoted astonishingly the interests of letters. The language of Switzerland is not original; it embraces the languages of France and Germany. The advancement made in the arts and sciences, by the Swiss and Germans, previous to the splendid age of the Medici, is familiar to the mind of the scholar. The invention of printing, happened precisely in that age, when literature was awakening from a long and oblivious sleep. The classicks were sought after, and studied with the most persevering industry. The emigrant Greeks, who were scattered in various parts of Italy, encouraged the taste universally prevalent, for the attainment of the language and literature of Greece. But notwithstanding all this, it is incontrovertibly true, that the manner of procedure, pursued by the Germans, in the dissemination of knowledge, was inconsistent as well as injudicious. The two first books, printed in Germany, were the Psalms and the Bible. No one, it is presumed, will doubt the expediency of this measure. The propagation of speculative and visionary theology, in the next place, engaged their attention; and the press, by consequence, became the passive slave of darkminded fanaticism and blind zeal. Happily, however, Italy pursued a widely different course. Many of the most celebrated works of the ancients were given to the world, and their influence had a tendency to extend the supremacy of good taste. The revival of the classics in Germany, though slow, was unerringly sure. It has been ingeniously and accurately depicted by Madame de Stael, in her celebrated work on that country. Rudolph Agricola, first promoted in Germany, the literature of the Greeks and Romans. That was emphatically a season of regeneration. The reign of dulness and ignorance passed away. The numerous universities burst the shackles which had so long confined them to the mysterious dogmas and idle creeds of an unnatural philosophy. Since those times, other men and other things have solicited our attention. From some peculiar and marked causes, the knowledge of German literature has been extremely limited, both in Europe and America. Prejudice has long triumphed. There seems, however, to be a laudable revolution of feeling in this respect; and there are those who fondly cherish hopes, that it may be more actively and generally diffused.

The foregoing observations, desultory as they are, will appear upon reflection, to have been naturally suggested, by the subject of this essay; and it will be perceived, that they retain an intimate influence over the works and memoirs of that illustrious scholar, which we are now to portray.

*Solomon Gessner* was born at Zurich, one of the largest cantons of Switzerland, the first of April, 1730, and was the son of a very eminent bookseller and printer. His father was a man possessed

of a good natural disposition—of extreme sensibility, and some genius; though he had never received the advantages of a liberal education, yet was generally esteemed a respectable scholar, and a well-meaning and public spirited citizen. The house of Orel Gessner and Co. had long been known as an extensive literary establishment; its correspondence was enlarged, perhaps beyond any other of those times; and the many beautiful and select editions of the Latin and Greek writings, which emanated from their press, were held in high estimation for their elegance and accuracy of typography; and purchased with avidity by the learned and the opulent.

The early part of young Gessner's life, developed none of those extraordinary indications of intellectual powers, which characterized him in more mature age. He was sent, while quite young, to one of the large public schools in Zurich; and though generally beloved by his schoolfellows, because he excelled in youthful sports, yet the required exercises of the seminary were either purposely avoided or carelessly neglected. He was soon outstripped by his more diligent classmates. Neither threatenings, nor commendations, nor punishments, seemed to avail any thing, with this indocile and refractory pupil. He was looked upon by his more sagacious friends, as a good-natured fellow and a dunce,—titles, which are often given gratuitously and without reflection; and which, not unfrequently, have a tendency to repress every genuine and lofty emotion of an originally generous and subtile spirit. It has often been remarked, that a wonderful precocity of intellectual powers, is seldom the harbinger of future greatness and distinction; that those who, in early youth, astonish and confound by overwhelming exhibitions of genius, and marvellous versatility of talents, soon reach their mushroom maturity—like quick springing and beautiful flowers,—and then languish, and wither, and die; that they resemble the far-reaching upward flight of the rocket—so rapid in its ascent, and splendid in its swift-shooting flames and corruscations, but which fades and vanishes from the eye at the moment when it most excites the wonderment of a giddy crowd. Gessner never devoted much of his time to books or studies, while at the public school of the canton. It is related of him, however, that he was not indolent, as other boys are indolent, or worse than indolent; that he played but few mischievous pranks; robbed no orchards; nor poisoned dogs with arsenic. But on the contrary, he was often seen alone in his closet, sketching whimsical and ludicrous caricatures of his pedagogues; or with his little knife and chisel, carving tolerably accurate, but grotesque and strange figures of brute animals; or modelling in wax the bust of some ancient warrior or orator, the original of which, had attracted his observation, while carelessly and listlessly lounging in his father's shop.

This conduct of Gessner, distressed his father exceedingly. Parental authority had as little effect upon this seemingly incorrigible boy, as the discipline of the academy. Afflicted, alarmed.

mortified—the elder Gessner determined to try what influence a change of situation might have upon his son; and, therefore, was induced to place him under the immediate superintendence of Dr. Valentine Vogeeli, of Berge, an erudite and pious clergyman. This gentleman had often looked with the most tender and affectionate concern on Gessner, and embraced without reluctance the ungrateful and arduous duty of instructor. The young Gessner, happy in quitting the irksomeness and sameness of a public school, retired gladsomely with his generous friend to the sequestered and romantic valley of Berge. For a long time, the labours, and reprehensions, and encouragements of Dr. Vogeeli, were singularly unprofitable and hopeless. His pupil seemed to cherish a most determined and unqualified detestation of all kinds of literature. His days were spent in rambling among the mountains with his gun, attended by a favourite dog, or else in some fisherman's boat, which he would fearlessly lanch upon the waters of a broad extended lake. His love of the sublime and beautiful, commenced at this early period. He would stand for hours upon some awful precipice, and gaze upon the majestic scenes which burst upon his enraptured view; the open and serene expanse of the heavens; the ruins of antique towers and castles; the far-sweeping line of the Alps, almost imperceptible in the distance; the cataract rushing from the rocks; a stream gliding peacefully along the verdant banks,—and the soaring eagle, which the report of his gun had scared from his lofty nest. There was something in all these objects, wonderfully and magically impressive to the mind of Gessner. The powers of his soul were excited—the ardour of genius now began to steal upon it, and to animate its latent energies.

That which is called *accident* by the world, perhaps too, had a tendency to develop the mental faculties of Gessner. In one of his mountain excursions, in pursuit of game, wearied with the sport, he entered the rustic cabin of a peasant, to obtain a new supply of ammunition and refreshment. While the host left the apartment to make ready accommodations for his guest, Gessner's eye fell upon a tattered volume lying on the floor. He thought it would be suitable for wadding; he, therefore, took it up, and listlessly and vacantly turned over the defaced and mutilated pages. His curiosity soon became fixedly and entirely occupied. This volume was De Foe's interesting history of Robinson Crusoe. This was the first book that ever awakened the dormant energies of his mind; he took occasion to peruse it frequently. After this singular occurrence, the reformation of Gessner was conspicuously obvious to his affectionate friend Dr. Vogeeli. He commenced with newly excited animation his researches in literature, and in a little while vanquished the most imposing and difficult obstacles. The truth of that observation, once made to the pupils of the royal academy, by sir Joshua Reynolds, is apparently appropriate to the condition of young Gessner. 'We must all have experienced how lazily,' says that illustrious man, 'and consequently how ineffectually, in-

struction is received when forced upon the mind by others. Few have been taught to any purpose, who have not been their own teachers. We prefer those instructions which we have given ourselves, from our affection to our instructor, *and they are the more effectual, from being received into the mind, when it is most open to receive them.*'—Reynolds's Works, vol. i. sect. 2, p. 37.

Gessner now had frequent and favourable opportunities of improving himself in the languages of the ancients. His spirit of application was strong and enduring. He very soon obtained a tolerable knowledge of Virgil—grasping, as it were, with prophetic taste, the marvellously beautiful Eclogues or Bucolicks, and the Georgicks of that immortal poet. He read with care, the Pharsalia of Lucan,—and with the most rapturous and unmingled enthusiasm, the Works and Days, and the Theogony of Hesiod. The impressions which he received from the perusal of these sublime works of the shepherd of Helicon, first induced him to try his unfledged wings in the fairy regions of romance. Gessner was frequently heard to assert, 'that he should never have been a professed poet, had he never read the Invocation of the Theogony.' But his classical studies ended not here. It is affirmed of him, that he diligently studied the writings of Homer, and other Greek poets and historians, as well as those of the Romans. Without derogating from his character, we are inclined, however, to imagine that unless a supernatural change had taken place in his intellectual abilities and habits, this report must be exaggerated. The truth is, men of letters are convinced that the labour—the uninterrupted labour of many years, is requisite even to attain a superficial knowledge of them. And it must be remembered, that Gessner was yet in the first flushing and putting forth of youth.

After a residence of nearly three years with Dr. Vögeeli, Gessner was summoned home by his father, who had long been suffering with a distressing pulmonary disease, to succeed him in conducting the business of the firm. He was joyfully received, and admitted almost immediately on his return, into this far-famed and lucrative establishment; for he had already attained the stature, and claimed the dignity of manhood. His views, however, were so obviously directed to other pursuits of literature, and feeling himself incapacitated to fulfill the necessary duties which must devolve upon him, as an active partner of the concern, he was induced to make grateful overtures of relinquishment, and proposals of dissociation. But this mode of procedure, though it disappointed the long indulged hopes of the other partners of the house, yet did not fail to impress upon their minds, a deep conviction of his honourable, frank, and high-minded conduct. They, therefore, prevailed upon him, after several interviews, to continue with them, proposing the most liberal offers, and at the same time giving him to understand, that he might employ his time in any manner he thought most beneficial and advantageous to himself. Filled with gratitude, Gessner complied with their solicitations, and availed

himself of their generous indulgence, to prosecute with increasing steadiness and vigour, if possible, those studies and pursuits which possessed a character, indisputably congenial and appropriate to his peculiar disposition and genius. The life of the scholar is hardly ever marked by those astonishing and diversified incidents which so frequently prevail and glare in the histories of the hero and statesman. It is commonly spent in the seclusion of the library, or in the bosom of domestic felicity. The tumultuous movements, the heart afflicting concerns, and the controversies of a jarring world, he has little to do with; he has other difficulties to exercise and confirm his patience, and many painful and stubborn encounters with his own prejudices and predilections. If the busy sons of corporal labour, could be permitted to raise the veil, and look upon the hardships of the scholar—could they go along with him through many a tedious, mental toil—could they behold the mighty workings, the ineffectual struggles of the soul, after that *something* which has allured and enslaved him to investigation and study;—that triumphant something, which he hopes—and perhaps foolishly hopes—will benefit the world, and irradiate his own character, or pour some gleams of glory upon his grave; could they see all this, surely they would not repine at their own condition;—but unfortunately they hear not of the scholar until his fame and character are established, and in a measure command the attention of the world; or until some splendid manifestation of superior genius emanates from the dark recesses of his solitude.

In relation to Gessner, the probability is, that he spent much of his time in cultivating a knowledge of *belles lettres*, and in superintending the correction of the press. Many valuable works were published during his minority—particularly a most beautiful edition of the most admired classics. During this interval he improved various opportunities of becoming intimately acquainted with men, eminent for their literary and scientific attainments. Among the number may be mentioned, Segner, Brendel, the philosophic and melancholy Zimmermann, Jeseelin, and the celebrated Haller, who had lately been appointed professor of medicine and chemistry, in the university of Gottingen. By the advice of this distinguished physician, Gessner applied himself to the study of natural philosophy and mathematics; civil polity and statistics not unfrequently solicited his attention in hours of leisure; but above all, that which most employed his time, with a permanent and indefatigable zeal, was a critical examination of the best poets in ancient and modern languages. The *Idyllia* of Theocritus, particularly, and the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, of the Greeks and Latins, as well as the more eccentric effusions of Bocker, Sellert, Altman, Klopstock, among the Germans; Voltaire, Racine, and Corneille, among the French; and Milton, Shakspeare, and Thomson, with the English. Nor were these all the literary labours of his now maturing and extraordinary mind. He cultivated an origi-



nal and exquisite taste for landscape painting, and was indefatigable in perfecting himself in this charming art.

Passing over some time, thus instructively and advantageously occupied, Gessner being now nearly twenty-two years old, made the tour of Germany. The letters which he had received from his honourable and learned friends in Zurich and Berne, immediately introduced him into the society of the literary, the fashionable, and the wealthy; and his own amiable and ingenuous disposition and manners, together with his fine talents, charmed his new associates, and confirmed the universal predilection in his favour.

He returned to Zurich in 1753, and was received with unfeigned marks of cordiality and affection by his early and steadfast friends. It was in this important year, that he first presented himself to the world in the character of an author, by the publication of an Idyl, in measured prose, entitled *Night*. This little piece was favourably received by the public. It is not remarkable for any thing, but its crowded luxuriant metaphors, and wildly rhapsodical sentiments; the errors—but the pardonable errors—of youthful productions. Traces of genius, however, and a cultivated imagination are discernible;—the bright seed time of a brighter harvest!—There is something melancholy, but inviting in the invocation.

‘Mild night! how soft thy shades descended, as I reposed on this moss covered stone! I watched the glorious sun as he declined behind the dark mountains, and smiled cheerfully as he departed, through the light clouds that overhung the wild landscape, like a resplendent veil, gilding the meadows, the thickets and the vineyards. All nature was hushed into a hallowed and prophetic stillness—yet, reflecting the dark sweepings of crimson light which gleamed on the western heaven! The birds chanted their vesper hymns, and sought their solitary nests. The shepherd, accompanied by his long shadow, breathed on his pipe a farewell melody as he returned mournfully to his desolate hut.’—Gessner’s Works, vol. 2. p. 219.

Gessner artfully contrives to compliment the scholars, Hagedom and Gleim in another part of this poem, from whom he had received particular and grateful civilities in the course of his tour. The outline of the metamorphosis of the glow worm, is apparently borrowed from some fable of Ovid—perhaps from the blended stories of Arachne and Calisto. Gratified by the unexpected and unanimously happy success of this poem, he shortly afterwards published the romantic pastoral tale of *Daphnis*; which he dedicated to Mademoiselle Charlotte Heidegger, a beautiful and fascinating girl, for whom he had long cherished an ardent attachment.

It is observable that the same remark already made in relation to the transformation of the glow worm, is also applicable to the fable of Næthus and the nymph. The whole pastoral, indeed, was suggested to Gessner, by an ancient Greek tale, entitled Chloe and Daphnis, written by Longus, an obscure personage, but evidently a man of merit and literature, of which his pastoral gives abun-

dant testimony; his name, however, is not mentioned in any works of the classic writers, and it is therefore impossible to imagine with correctness, in what age he flourished. The next production which Gessner was induced to print, is the *Song of a Swiss to his Mistress*, arrayed in panoply. It is founded on an affecting and singular circumstance, which occurred during the terrible siege of Zurich, by the emperor Albert; when the wives of the Zurichers appeared in the fortress, clad in complete armour. The history of those eventful days is well known. This imposing accessory force, to the already subdued defenders of Helvetia, it may be mentioned, induced the emperor to withdraw his forces for a time from the gates of the city. It is impossible to give an adequate idea of this fine poem in a translation.

‘Thus clad in glittering arms, elect of my soul, thou resemblest the celestial spirit who guarded the gates of Paradise. He frowned terribly in his wrath on the wicked, but benignly smiled on the virtuous and the brave; thus thy bright blue eye appals the degenerate foe, but beams with radiant light and loveliness on the beloved of thy bosom!’—Gessner’s Works, vol. 2. p. 209.

Pastoral poetry is esteemed by many the most pleasing kind of poetry; it is doubtless the most ancient. The care of flocks and herds was among the earliest employments of mankind; the probability is, therefore, that the scenes of nature first attracted observation, and were the simple subjects of primitive poetry. The shepherds amused themselves in singing soft and tender ditties, or breathing some pensive and irregular melody on their oaten flutes; for these things amused their solitude, and wore away the gloominess incident to the mental vacuity of their passive occupations. The felicity and tranquil condition of those ages, were peculiarly adapted to such poems; the mere physical properties are not only subjected to the influence of the vicissitudes of seasons; the intellectual affections and sensations also, must acknowledge their supremacy. Hence, the pastoral poet is enabled to portray the strikingly permanent effects produced on moral character, by adventitious circumstances, as well as their power in quickening, and cleansing to unstained purity; and withal, elevating the spirit. Thus a comparative view may be sketched of the innocence and unsophisticated simplicity of rural life, and the dangers and difficulties inseparable from public society. Besides, there are circumstances of an infinitely loftier and more majestic character. The beautiful, and the grand, and the magnificent objects of creation, would naturally excite inquiry after the great cause of this wonderful mechanism; the architect who framed these goodly works, and splendid scenery in the mighty drama of the world, must obviously awaken an insatiable curiosity—unmingled astonishment—hal-  
lowed contemplation. If the means by which their operations are continually prosecuted, are palpably conducive and proportionate to the attainment of ends, either visible or invisible, which may, perhaps, be ascertained by the reasonings of analogy; if benevolent

intention is continually manifested in the development; gratitude, sincere and deep; love profound, mingled with holy, sublime, but unutterable sensation, must engross the whole of the immortal soul, when it contemplates the glorious and beneficent deity.

Dr. Blair is inclined to think that pastoral poetry was not the earliest form of poetical composition; but rather cultivated when society had advanced in civilization and refinement, that it was not adopted, in fact, until men could look back through the shadowy regions of retrospection, on the innocent and uncorrupted lives of their ancestors, and contrast the superior felicity they enjoyed with their own. Alexander Pope in his *Essay on Pastorals*, and Fontenelle and Watson in their discourses on the same subject, have entertained different sentiments. It is irrelevant and unnecessary to pursue the argument in this place, and besides we have already pronounced an opinion. The *Idyllia* of Theocritus, hold in this class of composition, the first rank, at least in antiquity, if not in execution—they were written in the Doric dialect. He has been called the father of pastoral poetry; there are exceptions indisputably to some of his effusions, which are dark examples, some for their ill-nature and abusiveness, and others for their immodesty, too much, indeed, as Aristotle has been pleased to express it, of the *rus verum et barbarum*. Virgil, who imitates Theocritus, and who maintains assuredly the next station to him, has excelled his master in judgment, contrivance, and good taste. His *bucolics* are wonderful masterpieces. They are beautifully and strikingly various in their character. It has been supposed that some of them were written at the solicitation of his agricultural friends, for the purpose of giving, indirectly, a new and more dignified character to the profession of husbandry and rural occupations, which had degenerated in the anarchy of the times. Thus the ancient policy was to be renewed and restored, and at the same time, new principles of action to be developed and confirmed. These suggestions will appear more credible, on reflecting upon the nature of the tenure of landed property in the ancient republic of Rome, and by whom the profession was pursued; that warriors, and consuls, and senators, directed the plough, and that their extent of grounds were limited, and the laws rigid and conditional. Bishop Warburton, among the moderns, was inclined to be of this opinion—but he was always the disciple of novel opinions and ingenious paradoxes: we all remember his whimsical discourse on the sixth book of the *Æneid*. We are contented to believe (in relation to the *bucolics*) that Virgil only meant to give a portrait of various situations in rural life, for the amusement of the Roman people, and that they had nothing to do with an exacting of interest in the concerns of national husbandry.—The greater number of the pastorals of modern ages are comparatively weak and unnatural. Petrarch amused his contemporaries with poems of this cast, written in Latin; but they are now quite forgotten. The innovation attempted in the *Arcadia* of Sannazarius, published in the enlight-

ened age of the Medici, is memorable. His example, however, did not admit of imitation, and he has no disciples. The Pastor Fido of Guarini, and the Aminta of Tasso, both deservedly rank high, though the one is strained with hyperbolical and fulsome sentiment, and the other is not unfrequently rendered obscure, by affected conciseness and simplicity. Spenser, and Ambrose Philips, seem to have been genuine pastoral poets. Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd, and the Oriental Eclogues of Collins, though frequently praised, are hardly ever read. The Eclogues of Pope, are merely beautiful transcripts of Virgil and Theocritus; the versification is singularly accurate and felicitous, but they are too finical and *sophomorical*—too much of the twang of monotony, and the tricks of antithesis and alliteration; when we have read them once, we never wish to read them again. His Messiah, perhaps, is an exception. Undoubtedly, the best pastoral poet in the English language is Thomson.—He was emphatically the child of nature. No one shall ever sound his airy harp again!

Frequent reasons have been assigned, why the French poets have never excelled in this class of poetry. The explanation of Voltaire seems most palpable and convincing. He asserts that it arises from the ideas of slavish wretchedness, poverty, and degradation, which are commonly associated in France with agricultural employments. The same thing is mentioned by the abbe Delille (the author of the two best pastorals in the French language, the *Jardins* and *Homme de Champs*) in the preface to his admirable translation of the Georgicks. There is the following just remark in that discourse, as quoted by professor Stewart of Edinburgh.—‘A translation,’ says he, ‘of this poem, if it had been undertaken by an author of genius, would have been better calculated, than any other work, for adding to the riches of our language. A version of the *Æneid* itself, however well executed, would, in this respect, be of less utility; inasmuch, as the genius of our tongue accommodates itself more easily to the description of heroic achievements, than to the details of natural phenomena, and of the operations of husbandry. To force it to express these with suitable dignity, would have been a real conquest over that false delicacy which it has contracted by our unfortunate prejudices.’

It is not impossible that revolutions may be experienced, and the most ardent wishes of such well-disposed philosophers, hereafter, be adequately fulfilled. Works of originality, however, are not easily produced. Those productions are mere imitations, in general, which are oftentimes supposed to possess primitive intrinsic value: their worth, therefore, consists evidently in the proportionate ratio they may possess, to the skilfulness and good taste and accuracy with which they have been executed. We estimate them pretty much as we should copies of good painters from the first rate masters;—say, as the copies of Raffaele from Massaccio and Michael Angelo, or of West from Correggio. Hence, as the history of poetry comprehends different periods of time, in-

tervening, when works of this unique description are composed, in like manner, each valuable production comprehends a distinguished era itself; nevertheless, divers models may be proposed, examined, and adopted, perhaps in the same age, without destroying the argument; and this mode of procedure will more generally obtain, where the knowledge of the arts and sciences is most extensively disseminated and encouraged.

If the foregoing observations be just, it is obvious that he who professes to write pastoral, or any other kind of poetry, must possess peculiar characteristics of mind. No person inherited them in such rich abundance as Gessner. We must be allowed to quote in this connexion, the judicious and interesting criticism of Dr. Blair, upon the works of the poet of Zurich. 'Of all the moderns, Gessner,' says he, 'a poet of Switzerland, has been the most successful in pastoral compositions. He has introduced into his Idylls, as he entitles them, many new ideas. His rural scenery is often striking, and his descriptions are lively. He presents pastoral life with all the embellishments of which it is susceptible; but without any excess of refinement. What forms the chief merit of this poet is, that he writes from the heart, and has enriched the subject of his Idylls with incidents which give rise to much tender sentiment. Scenes of domestic felicity are beautifully painted. The mutual affection of husbands and wives, parents and children, of brothers and sisters, as well as of lovers, are displayed in a most touching manner. In the subject and conduct of his pastorals, he appears to me to have outdone all the moderns.'—It is almost unnecessary to amplify what is so elegantly expressed in these remarks. It is known that Gessner took Theocritus for his model. The reception of his Idylls, far exceeded his most sanguine expectations. They were no sooner read, than universally admired. There were some, indeed, who stood aloof on their first publication; some who looked for wild and excessive metaphor, or an exuberance of delicate allusion, or affected sentiment—to such, the classical spirit that breathed in every page of Gessner, could avail nothing in conformation; but either fashion or good taste soon vanquished their scruples, and they who were first to condemn, now joined most rapturously in the applauses of his admirers and friends.

These poems were the frequent subjects of correction and emendation. 'These Idylls' (says he, in the well written preface to the collection) 'are the fruits of my happiest hours;—of those blissful hours when fancy and peace shed their benignant influence around me, and excluding all that belongs to the times in which we live, awakened all the charms and felicities of the golden age. The well regulated and calm mind dwells with supreme pleasure on the visions of sequestered tranquillity and unmingled happiness; the scenes in which the votary of poetry portrays the wild and simple beauties of unsophisticated nature, become powerfully endeared to us by those bright associations of resemblance to the peaceful and pleasant, which we ourselves have once enjoyed. Frequently

do I fly from the turmoil of the city, and seek the wilderness and solitary place. The variegated beauties of the landscape, sooth the mind into a still and tender melancholy, and disperse that gloominess and displeasure, which grieved me amid the busy crowd of men. Filled with an almost holy rapture, I give up my soul to the contemplation of nature, and feel, perhaps, at such times, richer than an Utopian monarch, and happier than the shepherd of the golden age.' Gess. Works, vol. 2, p. 1.

This quotation shows us openly, unreservedly, the character of the *poet* and the *man*; and yet we know not which to love best and most heartily. Most of the Idylls are exquisitely and highly wrought; replete with pictures, wonderfully engaging and affecting, to the reader of sensibility. The mere heaping together of wild flowers in luxuriant profusion, is not enough to charm the senses;—there is a skilfulness of disposition and arrangement, and well suiting of places, necessary for display and effect. Glittering ornaments and fanciful allusions, to which natural objects have long been subservient, as subjects of likelihood and comparison, are not, and should not, be the principal features in a well written performance. To be sure, they constitute much of the necessary and essential part in all kinds of poetry; and philosophy is much obliged to them for their adventitious powers. But this will not weaken the former proposition. There must be something solid and substantial. The magnificent temple must be supported on a durable base, by pillars of strength, as well as of grace, symmetry and beauty. Gessner felt the truth of this, and has acted with discriminating judgment, in making a due and proper intermixture of the genuine elements of pastoral poetry.

(To be continued.)

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ART. IV.—*Extracts from 'Histoire de la Magie en France, depuis le Commencement de la Monarchie jusque a nos Jours.'* By M. Jules Garinet.

[From the French.]

**W**HEN Charles the bald (who was no conjurer) besieged the capital of Anjou, the French troops were assailed by a multitude of demons, in the form of locusts, having six wings, and teeth as hard as flints. These singular enemies flew with the utmost regularity, ranged in order of battle, and were preceded by a corps of pioneers of their own kind. It would have been useless to oppose them by arms of human manufacture. The church therefore opened her artillery; they were exorcised, and the immense host being put to the rout, plunged headlong into the sea.

A count of Maçon oppressed the ecclesiastics, stripped the convents of their provisions, turned the canons out of the churches, and the monks out of the monasteries. As his crimes were public, they were punished in a memorable way. One day, whilst he was in his palace surrounded by his guards, an unknown knight entered, and, without descending from his horse, he went straight up

to the count and desired him to follow him. The count, impelled by a supernatural power, obeyed, and mounted a horse which was in readiness at the gate of the palace. The unfortunate sinner was immediately carried into the air, and his cries were heard until he was no longer visible.

This fact is related by Peter the venerable; who was for a length of time abbot of Cluni, and who died in 1156. He has left behind him two books of miracles, to which he was himself a living witness!

In 1456, Robert Olive was burnt at Falaise. It was proved on his trial that the devil, with whom he held communion, assumed the name of Chrysopole; and at the instigation of the said Chrysopole, Robert Olive killed and burnt little children.

In 1557, four hundred sorcerers were burnt at Toulouse.

In 1587, the parliament of Paris condemned Jacque Rolet, as a *wolf-man*, for having eaten the best part of a little boy who unfortunately fell into his power. (*De Lanere, arrets notables de Paris.*)

In the year 1588, in a village among the mountains of Auvergne, about two leagues from Apchon, a gentleman, who was standing at one of the windows of his chateau, saw a huntsman of his acquaintance pass by, and requested that he would bring him some game. The huntsman was attacked by a large wolf; he fired his arquebuse without wounding the animal; he then seized the wolf by the ears, and, with his hunting-hanger, cut off one of his paws, which he put into his bag. He returned to the gentleman's castle, and on searching his bag for the wolf's paw, he drew out a human hand with a gold ring on one of the fingers. The gentleman immediately recognised the hand to be his wife's, and *this led him somehow to suspect her*. He went in quest of her, and found her in the kitchen, with her arm hid under her apron. The gentleman produced the hand, and she could not deny having assumed the form of the wolf which attacked the huntsman. The woman was tried, found guilty, and burnt at Riom.

At Tours, in 1589, fourteen persons condemned for sorcery, appealed against the punishment of death, which had been pronounced on them. The court appointed a commission of physicians to examine these supposed sorcerers. The commission were of opinion, that it would be proper to administer Hellebore to the unfortunate creatures, rather than to visit them with any other punishment, and they were accordingly acquitted.

Fifty sorcerers and sorceresses were executed in the city of Douai, in the year 1606.

In 1610, the parliament of Bordeaux pronounced sentence of death upon four persons who were carried into the clouds by the help of the devil.

We shall not enter into a detail of the circumstance which took place in 1816, at Treilly, about three leagues from Amiens. The chief of the establishment of the Jesuits at St. Acheuil was too deeply compromised in it. Nor shall we do more than merely call

to the recollection of the reader the more recent affair, in which the devil, under the form of a white sheep, appeared to two young persons of the city of Burges. The magistracy having thought proper to interfere, the mystification was incomplete.

It would appear that the history of magic is drawing to a close—occasionally indeed conjurers start up here and there; but instead of being exorcised, they are confined in mad-houses; instead of being burnt, they are exposed to public ridicule. It is evident that they cannot long sustain this treatment. However, in case they should appear in force again, it is proper that the world should know how to deal with them. For this purpose we extract a few articles from the code relating to sorcerers, drawn up at Dole, on the 19th of August 1601, by Henry Boguet, grand judge of Sainte Claude. As it is probable that our unbelieving legislators will make no enactment on this subject, the following may be the means of providing, in case of necessity, against a deficiency so prejudicial to good order. The code is perfectly conformable to the principles of humanity of the age in which it was drawn up.

‘The judge of the district shall take cognisance of the affair and try it. The ordinary forms of trial are not to be observed in such cases.

‘The suspicion of sorcery is sufficient to authorise the arrest of any individual. The examination must immediately follow the arrest, because the devil assists sorcerers in prison.

‘The judge must closely watch the countenance of sorcerers; observe whether the person suspected sheds tears; whether he looks downward, mutters to himself or blasphemes, for these are all proofs of guilt.

‘Shame frequently prevents a sorcerer from confessing; for this reason the judge should be alone, and the clerk who writes down the answers concealed.

‘If the accused do not confess, he must be placed in close confinement, and trusty persons appointed to draw the truth from him.

‘There are some judges who make promises of pardon, and nevertheless finally pronounce sentence of execution; but this custom, though authorized by many doctrines, is extremely cruel.

‘If public report accuse the criminal of sorcery, he is a sorcerer.

‘A son is allowed to give evidence against his father.

‘Witnesses of infamous character may be heard as well as others.

‘Children likewise may be heard.

‘Variations in the answers of the witnesses must not be considered as a presumption favourable to the innocence of the prisoner if all accuse him of sorcery.

‘The punishment is that of fire. Sorcerers may be strangled, and afterwards burnt.

‘Wolf-men must be burnt alive.

‘The judge may condemn on mere conjecture, and presumption; in that case the criminal must not be burnt, but hanged,’ &c. &c.



What would the grand judge of Sainte-Claude say to our modern codes? There is a wide difference between our legislators and those of his age. But nobody can call in question the superiority of the latter, for Daniel Romanez, an advocate of Salins, accepted the dedication with the utmost gratitude; and the author, the wise Boguet, received the following admirable certificate:—

‘I the undersigned, Doctor of Sacred Theology, declare having read the book entitled, *Discourse on Sorcerers*, in which I find nothing contrary to the catholic and Roman religion, or morality; but consider it as *abounding in excellent doctrines*.

*Dole, Aug. 13, 1601.*

DELABARRE.

ART. V.—*Marshal Grouchy.*

**T**HIS distinguished officer has lately published a pamphlet in the French language, entitled ‘*Observations on the Narration of the Campaign of 1815, by General Gourgaud. And Refutation of some of the Assertions of other Publications, relative to the Battle of Waterloo.*’

The first charge of general Gourgaud against the marshal is, ‘his uncertainty on the 17th, as to the movements of the enemy. If he had been at Wavres on the evening of the 17th, in communication with the left of the French army, Blucher would not have dared to divide his forces before him, and supposing he had done so, that Grouchy should have pursued him.’

The Prussians had commenced their retreat after the battle of Ligny, on the evening of the 16th, and though Grouchy had applied for orders to Napoleon on that night, and had been near his person during all the morning of the 17th, he was not ordered in pursuit until twelve o’clock, when the Prussians had been fifteen hours on the march. Napoleon was altogether ignorant of their direction, and left it to Grouchy to obtain information on that head. Grouchy’s army was 32,000 strong. Blucher, who, after the battle of Ligny, had rallied the corps of Bulow, had 95,000 men (these estimates are from official reports).—Napoleon’s orders were issued at Fleurus, which is about ten hours march from Wavres, by Saravalain. The orders contain no direction towards the latter town, and Grouchy’s first direction was upon Gembloux and Saravalain, which movement was approved by Napoleon, as appears below, by the answer to Grouchy’s despatch. The corps of generals Vandamme and Gerard, part of Grouchy’s force, could not be put in movement till two o’clock P. M. It was therefore impossible that he could have been with his army at Wavres on the evening of the 17th, even supposing he had known that he ought to move upon that point.

The second cause assigned in the work of general Gourgaud, for the loss of the battle of Waterloo, is ‘the misunderstanding relative to the instructions given to marshal Grouchy—and the *non-reception* of the orders which his majesty sent to him in the night of the 17th and morning of the 18th.’

The following official letter of marshal Soult, chief of Napoleon's staff, written on the part of his majesty, from the field of battle of Waterloo at one o'clock P. M., belies this assertion. 'M. Le Marechal, you have written at two o'clock this morning to the emperor, that you were marching upon Saravallain. This movement is in conformity with the dispositions of his majesty, which have been communicated to you.'\*

How could this assent be given to Grouchy's movement, if he had misunderstood the intentions of Napoleon? and he certainly cannot be blamed for the *non-reception* of orders, supposing them to have been given—which Grouchy doubts.—Had they been given, the letter of Soult would have referred to that circumstance; he would have expressed astonishment and dissatisfaction at their non-execution, and would have repeated the dispositions they prescribed.

Grouchy asserts that he reminded Napoleon that the Prussians commenced their retreat at 10 P. M., and that much time must elapse, before the corps, which were scattered, the men cleaning their arms and cooking, having no expectation of marching that day, could be put in motion: that the enemy would thus have seventeen or eighteen hours advance; that from the reports of the cavalry sent to reconnoitre, it appeared that Blucher was retreating towards Namur, and that thus in pursuing him he should be separated from Napoleon's army, and out of the circle of his operations. These observations were badly received. He repeated to Grouchy the orders he had given, adding, that it was to him to discover the route taken by Blucher; that he (Napoleon) was going to fight the English; that he must complete the defeat of the Prussians, in attacking them as soon as he should join them; that he should correspond with him, &c. Such were the only orders received by Grouchy, and it would certainly have been difficult to have misunderstood them, and more so to have assured from such orders any important results, or to have discovered immediately in what direction he ought to march. After much inquiry he inferred that Blucher was retiring on Brussels or Louvain, and Grouchy marched his infantry on Gembloux. As he had expected, much time was lost before the corps of Vandamme and Gerard, and particularly that of the latter, were in motion: impatient at their delay, Grouchy preceded them to Gembloux. There he learned that, during the night of the 16th, several Prussian columns had passed, as well as a number of generals, but he could not learn their ulterior direction; and while he was gathering this unsatisfactory intelligence, the first troops of Vandamme appeared. General Gerard was still behind, and the whole of his force did not reach

\* An attentive examination of the Map gives the following distances:

Fleurus to Gembloux, 3 leagues or 9 miles.

Gembloux to Wavres, (by Saravallain) 6 leagues or 18 miles.

Fleurus to Wavres, in a straight line, 3 leagues or 24 miles.

Wavres to St. Lambert, by the right bank of the Dyle, 3 leagues or 9 miles.

Wavres to Waterloo, 4 leagues or 12 miles.

Gembloux till 10 at night. Meanwhile Excelman's cavalry, which had passed beyond the town, reported that they had fallen in with some Prussian cavalry. It was night, and the rain fell in torrents; yet Grouchy ordered the pursuit of the enemy, and that every exertion should be made not to lose sight of him. Grouchy reported to Napoleon his situation, and, during the night, having received some further information as to the march of the Prussians, he addressed to him a second letter, at two o'clock in the morning, to inform him that he should resume his march before day light, in the direction of Saravallain. At sunrise, Vandamme's corps was in motion in that direction, following the cavalry of Excelmans: successive reports confirmed that several Prussian columns had passed by Saravallain and its environs, and from that village he wrote again, to announce to Napoleon, that he expected every moment to join the rear-guard of the enemy, sending the despatch by major La Frenais, an officer perfectly capable of giving an account of what had been gathered of the movements of the enemy, and of bringing back orders, if any should be given. He rejoined Excelmans, who, since the morning, had been on the heels of the extreme rear-guard of the Prussian cavalry, and at half-past 11, at about a league and a half from Wavres, they discovered a rear-guard of infantry, with cannon. The cannonade began immediately, and Vandamme arriving with the head of his infantry, marched upon the Prussians, who took a position in the wood of Limilette, from which they were immediately driven upon Wavres. The enemy was vigorously pursued, and between one and two o'clock, Grouchy was master of the part of the town situated on the left bank of the Dyle.

During the affair near the wood of Limilette, a cannonade was heard at a distance on the left. Grouchy rode in that direction, and had no doubt but that it was from Napoleon's attack on the English army. Having reached the Prussians, whom he was ordered to pursue, and being already engaged with them, his duty was not to abandon them, but to attack them vigorously at Wavres, to prevent their undertaking any thing on the side of Waterloo. He was not then, nor could he be, informed, that at the break of day, two of Blucher's corps had quitted Wavres, directing their march towards the British army, or that at about that moment the head of these corps were reaching the heights of St. Lambert, in sight of the French troops at Waterloo. Moreover, having but 32,000 men, and having reason to believe the Prussian force of 95,000 concentrated before him, Grouchy was too weak to divide his forces, and would have run the risk of being cut to pieces had he done so. Nevertheless, a little after, general Pajol, who was in the rear, had orders to move upon the village of Limale, and in the direction of the cannonade that was heard.

In possession of a part of Wavres, Grouchy had in his front, on the other side of the Dyle, a Prussian army, the strength of which it was difficult to estimate, from the nature of the ground. It

crowned the heights on the other side of the town, occupied the village of Bielge, and the mill of that name, below it, and extended in the direction of Limilette. A lively cannonade was opened from the two banks, between Vandamme's battery of twelve, and the batteries of the enemy—the infantry also kept up a fire on both sides, but the passage of the river could not be forced, defended as it was by the musketry from the houses, and by the artillery.—The head of Gerard's column arriving during these operations, he was ordered to attack the mill of Bielge, for the purpose of passing the Dyle at that point. The cavalry of Excelmans was at *Lower Wavres*, and Pajol had been directed, as before mentioned, to Limale, in order to put Grouchy in communication with Napoleon, and to be ready to cut off the retreat of the Prussians, if they should retire on Brussels, after being driven from the position of Wavres—Pajol would have been before them on that route, and must have greatly harassed their movement. The attack on the mill being feebly made, failed; and Grouchy was preparing to renew it, when an officer from Napoleon, delivered to him, at about four o'clock, a despatch from marshal Soult, of the following tenor:—

*' From the field of battle of Waterloo, the 18th,  
one o'clock in the afternoon.*

' M. Le Marechal, you wrote at two o'clock this morning to the emperor, that you were marching upon Saravalain; your project then was to move to Corbuix or to Wavres. This movement is in conformity with the dispositions of his majesty, which have been communicated to you. Nevertheless, the emperor orders me to say, that you are always to manœuvre in our direction. It is to you to see the point where we are, to regulate yourself accordingly, and to maintain our communications, as well as to be always ready to fall upon any troops of the enemy, that may attempt to disturb our right, and to beat them. At this moment the battle is gained on the line of Waterloo—the enemy's centre is at Mont St. Jean—thus, you will manœuvre to join our right.

(Signed) The duke of DALMATIA.'

' P. S.—A letter just intercepted states, that general Bulow is to attack our flank: we think we perceive this corps on the heights of St. Lambert; therefore, lose not an instant in moving towards us, joining us, and destroying Bulow, whom you will take greatly at fault.' (*en flagrant délit.*)

At the moment of receiving this letter, all Grouchy's troops were engaged—Vandamme's corps could not be drawn from its position without the danger of the enemy repassing the river, and preventing, or at least retarding his movements. It was the same with the part of Gerard's corps engaged at the mill, which had not yet been carried; but about half of the latter corps was in the rear, and nearer to St. Lambert than the troops at Wavres. Accompanied by Gerard, Grouchy went to meet that portion of his corps, intending to direct it by Limale towards St. Lambert.—

This corps was in a state of partial disorganization, and its movements were slow, and without precision, in consequence of the impression made upon them by the desertion to the enemy of Lieutenant-General Bourmont, and some other officers, and different causes. The evening before, it had been an enormous time in leaving the plains of Fleurus, and on this morning, it was much too late in leaving Gembloux. The arrival of these troops, the only force really disposable, and capable of being marched immediately towards St. Lambert, occasioned great delay. They at last appeared, but the want of guides, the difficulty of the roads, and divers secondary circumstances, retarded greatly the movement which had been ordered. While these matters were in progress, Grouchy returned with Gerard to Wavres; hoping that Vandamme could have passed the Dyle, and that he might direct his corps towards St. Lambert, by the left bank—he found things in the state in which he had left them, and after alighting from his horse to conduct himself a new attack on the mill, in which Gerard was wounded, and the object not accomplished, finding there could be no success at Wavres and Bielge, and wishing, at all hazards, to move towards Napoleon, he then determined, whatever inconveniences might result, to leave only the corps of Vandamme, and the cavalry of Excelmans, before an army, the strength of which was not well known, and to have the troops of Gerard parallel with the Dyle, towards Limilette, to unite them with the rest of that corps which had marched thither. Grouchy himself repaired to that place with all haste: unhappily the country on the right of the Dyle is intersected with ravines and streams, which fall into the river, and the practicable and customary road between Wavres and St. Lambert is by the left bank, so that the movement of these troops required much time. Meanwhile, Pajol's cavalry, and a division of infantry, crossed the Dyle, and at night they were masters of the first heights on the other side; within cannon shot of which the Prussians had posted themselves—a rough and steep road affords the only passage from the valley, through which the river flows, to the plain, on which the villages of Limale and Limilette are situated. The darkness of the night rendered this ascent slow and difficult, and the space above was not sufficient to enable the troops to display: the enemy also was so near that his balls reached the head of the defile—it is probable that had Grouchy been vigorously pushed, he would have been driven, with loss, to the other side of the Dyle. Thus it was important to drive the enemy on this point, since it would enable him to remove the Prussians opposed to Vandamme, to accomplish his junction with Napoleon, respecting whom, however, he was not uneasy, the letter of Soult giving him to understand that the battle was gained at Waterloo:—he was, however, surprised at hearing nothing more from him, officers and parties having been despatched to procure intelligence. He employed the greater part of the night in preparing for an attack at the break of day,

and notwithstanding all his efforts, he had but a small force on that side of the river when the dawn appeared—the enemy attacked him, was repulsed, and his force increasing, he moved a division towards Bielge, to take that village in flank. This attack forced the Prussians to evacuate it, as well as the part of Wavres occupied by them. Vandamme then passed the Dyle without opposition, the enemy was pursued to Rosierne, in the direction of Brussels, and Grouchy was persuaded that Napoleon, victorious the evening before, was already master of that city. These illusions soon vanished—about 11 o'clock, an officer, despatched by Soult, announced the disasters of Waterloo. Marshal Grouchy then commenced his retreat, in two columns, the success of which was assured by the brilliant defence made by general Vandamme at Namur, on the 20th, where the Prussians, in their attacks, sustained so heavy a loss, that they made no effort to pursue beyond Dinant. The marshal promises hereafter the details of his retreat to Paris, in a more complete work, upon the campaign of 1815, certain indispensable materials for which are yet wanting in the United States. The results of this retreat are known—the hopes of a powerful enemy, in advance of him, on his direct line of communication with the capital, were completely frustrated: the troops under his orders (as well as the fragments of Napoleon's army, which he rallied to his corps at Soissons), were brought back without loss to Paris, and the first idea of the minister of war, in announcing the event to the legislative body, was to propose a decree that Grouchy had deserved well of his country. The foregoing sketch closes the defence against the charges contained in Gourgaud's work. And the exculpation is full and clear, taking only into consideration the time which was suffered to elapse before the pursuit of the Prussians was ordered, and the plain inferences to be drawn from the despatches of marshal Soult, disregarding all the other details given by marshal Grouchy.

The marshal then proceeds to refute the charges brought against him by writers in this country—in these explanations it is unnecessary to follow him, as they contain much repetition and reasoning on the preceding facts. It may be useful, however, to give the following summary of the marshal's:—'When Napoleon ordered me on the 17th, at noon, to pursue the enemy, and, in consequence of the delays of the generals under my orders, their troops did not leave the plains of Fleurus till about three o'clock of that day, the Prussian army was already collected near Wavres. When I reached Wavres between one and two o'clock of the 18th, the Prussian columns were already on the heights of St. Lambert, and in sight of the French army, which was engaged at Waterloo.

'I have just shown that the late hour of the arrival of my troops at Gembloux, and the weather, still more than my slender information as to the real movements of the Prussians, had hindered me from pushing my infantry beyond that town, on the 17th. But on the 18th, before sunrise, it was in motion in the direction of

Saravallain and Wavres, which latter place, the head of the column did not reach, until between one and two o'clock, though it marched without halting an instant. To assert that then I could have paralyzed, by a flank movement, which my proximity to the enemy did not permit me to make, the attack of general Bulow on the right wing of the French at Waterloo, shows ignorance of the position of the Prussian army, which was at this time in echellons, between Napoleon and me—and shows a forgetfulness of distances, of the state of the roads, and the nature of the country; for the Prussian corps which decided the fate of the battle, had marched from Wavres at day-light, and were on the march from four in the morning until one in the afternoon, before they reached the head of the defile of St. Lambert. (See the report of M. Blucher). Thus then, *unless I could have given wings to my soldiers*, it was impossible that they could have arrived in time to be useful at Waterloo.

‘ To hold in check, as it is asserted I could have done, an army 95,000 strong, with a corps of 32,000 men, was a very difficult task, and it is publishing an erroneous opinion to advance that I could have accomplished it. — On the evening of the 17th, my troops had scarcely reached Gembloux. On the evening of the 17th, marshal Blucher had all his army, except a rear-guard, collected near Wavres—at sunrise on the 18th, Blucher detached from Wavres a part of his troops, for the purpose of forming a junction with the duke of Wellington. At sunrise on the 18th, I was seven hours’ march from thence. How could I hinder the detachment, and prevent the junction?

‘ It cannot be said, with more justice, that marshal Blucher had deceived me, or had concealed from me the movement of a part of his army, as some writers have advanced.—

‘ 1st. Because, not only I was not in position before M. Blucher, when he commenced his movement towards the left of the English army, with the design of turning the right of the French at Waterloo, but, as I have remarked, my troops were at a great distance when this movement was executed.

‘ 2d. Because I did not reach the Prussian rear-guard till the 18th, about noon, a league and a half from Wavres, that town having been occupied during the night by the enemy’s corps, which effected, at break of day, the movement in question.’

Some other charges are also noticed by the marshal, but the foregoing abstracts embrace the main grounds on which they are repelled. The object of this sketch of the marshal’s work, is merely to do justice to his military conduct, which had been unjustly assailed: and it is unnecessary to touch upon the other parts of his work, in which he defends the conduct of Ney, and casts censures on the arrangements of Napoleon. C.

ART. VI.—*Second Letter from Switzerland.*

[From Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.]

*Lausanne, 3d September.*

**T**HAT enthusiastic love of her native land, for which madame de Stael was so remarkable, excited in her the strongest desire of returning to it, notwithstanding her courage and her resolutions. After being convinced, however, of the impossibility of doing so, she resolved to pass into England, there to breathe the air of liberty, the only atmosphere indeed which agreed with her.

Among all the states of Europe, England stood highest in madame de Stael's esteem, both on account of its institutions and the character of its inhabitants.

She thus renounced her residence at Coppet, quitting it by stealth, dreading obstacles which might have been thrown in the way of her departure. I was with her at the time, and I think I never saw any thing so sad as the preparations for setting out. They were made secretly, and she forbore to speak of them, the better to conceal the anguish she experienced. This was indeed severe, for she had then reason to fear that her absence might be for ever; and who was ever able to bid a last adieu to the abode of his ancestors without shedding tears of sorrow? In our day, so many have experienced this misfortune, that its nature is fully understood. At Coppet, madame de Stael left the shade of her father, and the neighbourhood of France;—of that France, so famous for its virtues, its crimes, and its achievements.

At this period it was difficult to reach England. Madame de Stael crossed over Germany, in order to go into Russia, without knowing whether she should embark on the Baltic or the Black Sea, for these were now the only seas which were free. She decided however for the north, notwithstanding the attraction which the countries of the east held out to her imagination.

This long journey was completed during the campaign of Moscow. At St. Petersburg she witnessed the discouragement of the Russians, and the return of that energy which the firmness of the monarch restored to the nation. There she maintained the doctrine of resistance as noble in itself, as the only means of saving the world.

Quitting the capital of Russia, as the season advanced, she embarked for Stockholm, the flames of Moscow illuminating her departure. Whatever was now to be the issue of this great event, it was truly awful, as being in fact more colossal than the world on which it was passing. Every nation of Europe had marched towards the pole, against the will of Heaven, and in these regions, disasters were already foreseen, from which the French alone seemed to conceive themselves exempted; as if Providence had promised an eternal flight to their eagles.

Madame de Stael passed the winter at Stockholm. There she had frequent opportunities of seeing the Crown Prince, having been formerly on terms of intimacy with him. They canvassed



the necessity, and, above all, the possibility of opposing a successful resistance to the destructive designs of Bonaparte. At this period indeed, she exercised a marked influence over the political events of Europe. It had therefore been safer for Bonaparte to have allotted her a residence at Paris than on the frozen ocean; but, happily for the world, tyrants are apt to commit mistakes as well as good men.

After a gloomy winter, during which madame de Stael's health had suffered from the severity of the climate, she departed for England. There she could enjoy that liberty of which she had been so long deprived; and she did enjoy it,—thanks to that spirit which renders it almost as difficult to destroy liberty in England as to establish it elsewhere.

While in England, she published her work on Germany; a work which Bonaparte had seized, because in it she urged the Germans to escape from their historical insignificance, by having recourse to deeds, of which they were so sparing, in place of words, of which they were so prodigal. He had caused it to be seized, because every line of it breathed forth the dignity and independence of man, both of which it was in the nature of his system to proscribe.

This work, of a graver cast than *Corinne*, has added to modern science a very extensive domain, which I shall denominate the Natural History of Nations. Madame de Stael has given us the key of this science, which, in point of importance, ought surely to rank far above that of reptiles and birds.

The sciences have always owed their origin to some great spirit. Smith created political economy—Linnaeus, botany—Lavoisier, chemistry—and madame de Stael has, in like manner, created the art of analysing the spirit of nations, and the springs which move them. To whatever extent the advancement of this science may, in the course of time, be pushed, the glory of having been its author must ever remain with madame de Stael.

Her merits, in this respect, will be more gratefully acknowledged by posterity than by her contemporaries. These have not much relished the picture she has drawn of them. Indeed, we always believe ourselves more beautiful than our portraits represent us; and nations who read their history are apt to exclaim, like one of my neighbours, while contemplating his face in a looking glass, 'Heavens! how very ugly these mirrors do make one.'

Madame de Stael's political opinions were confirmed during her residence in England, by habitual intercourse with the Mackintoshes, Lansdownes, and Horners, those heirs of liberty, whose numbers are, alas! so alarmingly decreasing.

She had hardly been a year in England when she beheld the downfall of an empire, which the will of Heaven had raised up and cast down, to serve as an example to mankind.

After the restoration, madame de Stael returned to Paris. That event seemed a recompense to humanity for all she had suffered.

It was the nations of the north who came in their turn, as by a miracle, to establish the peace of the world, and to preserve its civilization. In those institutions which the king had just accorded to the wishes of France, she recognised the political principles in which she had been nursed, and the predominance of which she had, from the commencement of the revolution, sighed for in vain.

She now eagerly attached herself to those institutions so conformable to her views and her wishes. She was happy, too, at finding herself in that city where her life had dawned; and where she regained her friends of all ages and all countries, whom the peace attracted to Paris, as to a general rendezvous.

Fatigued, however, by so much travelling, she quitted the French capital sooner than might have been expected, and being now free to choose her residence, she came to enjoy the repose of Coppet. She returned to inhabit that dwelling which time had rendered pleasant, and with which were associated the image and remembrance of her father. I there saw her again. She was ever the same; for, in the whole course of her life, neither her sentiments nor her opinions changed. These opinions merely acquired additional strength, as experience rendered her more certain of the facts on which they were founded.

Crowds of foreigners now thronged her house. They came to see and to hear her, whose every word darted light into the mind: they came thither also to enjoy happiness under her hospitable roof. I too have often resided under it, and the time I spent there was the happiest of my life. It was not merely that one found in it more knowledge and more wit than might be met with elsewhere; but I was happy because that knowledge and that wit were never employed to diminish the pleasure of existence. Kind good-nature and gayety were alike welcome there. The imagination was always occupied, and the soul experienced that happy feeling which inspires contempt for every thing base, and love for all that is noble.

Lord Byron was one day announced. It was natural that the most distinguished female of our age should desire to know the only poet who has found the poetic muse in our day. Madame de Stael was well acquainted with English, and could appreciate lord Byron in his own tongue. He occupied a country house opposite to Coppet, on the other side of the lake of Geneva. To come thither he crossed that lake, whose aspect inspired his muse with the Prisoner of Chillon.

Madame de Stael, now in a very ailing state, returned to Paris in the month of September, 1816. It was there that this brilliant meteor ceased to shed her life-giving rays on every society. As her soul surpassed her physical strength, she enjoyed, till her last moment, that world which she loved so well, and which will so long regret her; for all places may be filled up but hers, which must ever remain empty.

I had quitted her in the spring to go into Italy, having no idea that we should lose her so soon. There was in her so much of the spirit of life, that half a century seemed insufficient to consume it. I know that, even down to the last days of her life, her house was the centre of union for every thing distinguished in Paris. She knew how to draw out the wit of every one, and those who had but little, might offer that little, without fear, as she never despised it, provided it was natural. Her soul gave and received all impressions. In the midst of two hundred persons, she was in communication with all, and would successively animate twenty different groups. There she exercised the empire of superiority, which no one dared to contest with her. The ascendency of her presence put folly to silence; the wicked and the foolish alike concealed themselves before her. In this way madame de Stael was not only valuable to society for what she did, but for what she prevented.

It was indeed a remarkable blessing of Providence, the having imparted so much talent to a woman. It was the first time we had seen such a phenomenon. As a woman, madame de Stael has exercised an influence upon her age, so much the greater, that the laws of society could not oppose her, because the existence of such a woman had not been anticipated. Madame de Stael was thus able to possess, with impunity, a greater elevation, more eloquence, and more character, than a man could have done in her situation; and for this reason, that she dared to tell the truth; a degree of boldness which men seldom possess, being subject to too many tribunals.

I returned from Italy somewhat uneasy at the news we had there received of madame de Stael, but without being much alarmed by it. I approached Coppet in sadness, for I knew she no longer dwelt in it. Arriving on the 28th July, I stopped, before entering the village, in order to look for a moment into that park where I had so often roamed. I approached those courts which I believed to be deserted, but found them, on the contrary, crowded with people. A miserable ill-clothed rabble were pressing against the railing; I asked them the reason of so great an assemblage? They were come, they said, to assist at the obsequies of madame de Stael, and to receive the last mark of her kindness at her tomb.

I entered by the door of the vestibule which was open. I passed in front of that very theatre in which I had been ten years before; the curtain was down, but that day of emotion, of success, and of life, rushed involuntarily upon my recollection. I thought of it the more keenly, on seeing the domestics in mourning, who were the same I had then known. They took no notice of me, and I remained in the lobby.

I saw the coffin descend, borne by the principal inhabitants of the village, for these old men would not yield up the privilege of carrying her mortal remains to that tomb where her father awaited her. Their's was no desire to pay homage to her renown, (for of

what importance was that to them?) but to her who had ever been forward to do them kind offices, and who was an object of their love on account of her worth.

Her children, her relations, her friends followed the procession. It had nothing of solemnity but the silence of grief. Foreigners who had never been acquainted with her, lined the way, and bore evidence of the regret of the whole world.

Her coffin was placed at the foot of that where her father reposes, in a monument which had been erected to unite in the same tomb whatever he best loved. This narrow dwelling, which will no more be opened, contains the mortal remains of these friends, whom so strong an affection had linked together. They have again met in Heaven, but nothing can replace them on earth.

### ART. VII.—*British Finances.*

[From the Monthly Magazine.]

**M**R. VANSITTART, on opening his budget on the 20th of April, 1818, stated the annual charges for the two years 1817 and 1818, to be as under:—

	For 1818.	For 1817.
Army . . . . .	8,970,000	9,412,373
Navy . . . . .	6,456,800	7,596,022
Ordnance . . . . .	1,245,600	1,270,690
Miscellaneous . . . . .	1,720,000	1,795,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	18,392,400	20,074,085
Interest on Exchequer Bills . . . . .	2,000,000	} 2,230,000
Sinking Fund on ditto . . . . .	560,000	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	20,952,400	22,304,085
Subsidy to Spain . . . . .	400,000	Deduct
Deficiency of ways & means } . . . . .	259,686	21,612,086
for 1817. }		<hr/>
		Shews a
	<hr/>	saving of
	21,612,986	691,999

By this we see that, notwithstanding the reduction of the army and navy, our savings are only about 700,000*l.*; and that by an act of last session, 1,000,000*l.* is to be expended for building new churches, the providing for which, the minister has postponed.

That a great reduction ought and must be made in the expenditure of the army, navy, and ordnance, I shall hereafter show. Next year, in the interest and sinking fund of exchequer bills, a reduction will take place. At present I shall only proceed to show what ways and means the minister has adopted to raise the above sum of 21,612,086*l.*

How the deficiency in the ways and means of last year arose, is shown in the eleventh report of the select committee of finance in

the house of commons. They state the estimated produce of the receipt of the revenue of 1817, and the actual receipts from returns made by the proper offices, as under:—

	Estimate.	Actual Receipt.
Customs . . . . .	9,340,657	9,761,480
Excise . . . . .	22,591,364	19,726,297
Assessed Taxes . . . . .	7,136,864	7,290,849
Stamps . . . . .	6,132,080	6,337,420
Post Office . . . . .	1,485,500	1,338,000
Miscellaneous . . . . .	245,000	492,872
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	46,931,465	44,946,919
Unapplied war duties and property tax	—	2,330,536
		<hr/>
		47,277,455
Irish Revenue . . . . .	4,973,899	4,388,005
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	51,905,364	51,665,460
	51,665,460	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Deficient . . . . .	239,304	

This deficiency, although not the exact sum, approximates sufficiently to show how the deficit in the ways and means arises; and, although there appears clearly a defalcation of 2,500,000*l.* on the whole of the permanent taxes, and that the revenue of Ireland is evidently decreasing, yet the committee labour hard to prove, that the future revenue will come up to their estimate. They also seem to forget that the great deficiency is in the excise, a revenue which must ever depend, in a great degree, on consumption, and which, in the present state of the country, cannot be expected to increase rapidly. Even if the revenue of the year 1818 has increased in the manner represented by the ministerial prints, it is scarcely probable it will be permanent.

The 21,612,000*l.* which forms the whole annual charge, the minister thus provides for,—

Annual taxes . . . . .	3,000,000
Excise war duties continued . . . . .	3,500,000
Old stores . . . . .	250,000
Profit on lotteries . . . . .	250,000
Arrears of property tax . . . . .	250,000
Profit on exchequer bills . . . . .	21,448
Loan . . . . .	3,000,000
Exchequer bills . . . . .	11,000,000
	<hr/>
	21,271,448

The loan was so closely connected with the plan of the minister for funding 27,272,700*l.* exchequer bills, as to present a very complicated system of finance, which it is proper fully to explain.

Every person subscribing 11*l.* payable by fixed instalments, and transferring 100*l.* three per cent. annuities, into a new stock of

three and a-half per cent. annuities, and also subscribing 100*l.* in exchequer bills, into the three per cent. annuities, shall receive for 11*l.* money, 12*l.* in the new three and a-half per cent. annuity; for his 100*l.* three per cent. whether consolidated or reduced, 88*l.* in the said three and a-half per cent. annuity; and, for his 100*l.* exchequer bill, 68*l.* in the three per cent. annuities reduced, and 68*l.* in the three per cent. annuities consolidated.

By this arrangement, it is evident that the stock transferred from the three per cent. annuity to the three and a-half per cent. causes no increase of the funded debt: but the case is very different as to the exchequer bill; and, for every 100*l.* taken off the unfunded debt, 136*l.* is added to the funded debt.

It now, therefore, remains to show, what effect this will have on the joint debts. As far as respects the unfunded debt, the minister's plan was evidently to take out of circulation a certain quantity of exchequer bills, to enable him to issue new bills for the service of the present year, which he has done to the amount of 11,000,000*l.*; and which, when this operation is complete, will bring the unfunded debt to the following:—

Exchequer bills out January 1, 1818 . . . . .	56,729,400
Treasury debt, English and Irish . . . . .	7,326,321
Army debt . . . . .	830,590
Navy debt . . . . .	1,614,105
Ordnance . . . . .	169,895
Barracks . . . . .	2,515

The estimated unfunded debt, January 1, 1818, by Mr. Grant's statement was only . . . . .	63,732,080
Increase . . . . .	2,949,546
Add exchequer bills to be issued for the service of 1818 . . . . .	11,000,000

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77,681,626

Deduct exchequer bills to be funded by this operation

27,272,630

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The unfunded debt, January 1, 1819, will be . . . . . 50,408,996

By this operation, it is evident the funded debt will be increased as under:—

Total funded debt, January 1, 1818 . . . . .	776,742,403
By 37,272,630 <i>l.</i> exchequer bills, transferred into three per cent. annuities, at 136 per cent. . . . .	34,948,160

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Will be, January 1, 1819 . . . . . 811,790,563

Unfunded debt at the same period . . . . . 50,408,996

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862,239,559

These joint debts, as appear by the returns made to the house of commons, January 1, 1818, were,—

Funded . . . . .	776,742,403
Unfunded . . . . .	66,681,626

843,424,029

But, from the above, must be deducted the stock which will be purchased by the sinking fund, the state of which it will be now proper to notice.

The actual sinking fund for England and Ireland, and on the imperial and Portuguese loans, was, on the 1st January, 1818, 13,989,736*l*.

To which, we should have to add, the growing interest for the year; but, as the minister has thought proper to take the whole additional charge for his new loans from the sinking fund, which still rather exceed the growing interest, we may fairly estimate the produce of that fund applicable to the reduction of the national debt at 14,000,000*l*., and which, taking the current average price of stock at 70 per cent. will reduce the debt, in the course of the year, as under,—

Gross funded debt . . . . .	811,790,563
Will be redeemed . . . . .	20,000,000

Leaves the funded debt . . . . .	791,790,563
Unfunded . . . . .	50,408,996

842,199,550

And even, with all the efforts of our boasted sinking fund, produces a reduction of 1,224,476 only.

It is evident the present system cannot continue, and that the minister, although sorely against his will, must reduce his army, reduce the expenditure of the navy, reduce the interest of the national debt, and part of the civil expenditure. In what points these reductions can be made, I shall next endeavour to point out.

#### ART. VIII.—*Memoir of Wordsworth.*

(From the Monthly Magazine.)

**WILLIAM WORDSWORTH** was born at Cockermouth, of a highly respectable family, April 7, 1770. At the age of eight years he was sent to Hawkshead school, in that part of Lancashire which is separated from the county to which it belongs, by Westmoreland and the sea. The grammar school of Hawkshead was founded and endowed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, by the venerable Edwin Sandys, archbishop of York, and it has ever been accounted one of the best seminaries in the north of England. Two of its living ornaments are the subject of this sketch, and his brother Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, the present chaplain to the house of Commons, rector of Lambeth, and dean of Bocking; whose extremely acute and erudite letters on the Greek definitive article in confirmation of the late Granville Sharpe's rule, procured him the patronage of the archbishop of Canter-

bury, and the valuable preferments which he now so deservedly enjoys.

The two boys were educated at the same school, and though they had but little similarity of taste, a strong fraternal attachment subsisted between them, of which a striking instance occurred while they were both very young: when one being furiously assailed by a much more powerful lad than himself, the other, with affectionate gallantry, planting himself by the side of his brother, fought with such spirit, that the aggressor was obliged to desist.

Of William, it is said, by those who were his contemporaries at school, that in his classical attainments he was considerably above par, when compared with boys of his own age; while in English composition, both prose and verse, he frequently obtained the distinguished commendation of Mr. Taylor, the head master, who was a man of great critical judgment. The chief delight of the youth, even at a very early age, consisted in reading and reciting passages of the best of our poets. Before the morning hour of repairing to school, he has been often seen and heard in the sequestered lane, either alone, or with a favourite companion, repeating aloud beautiful passages from Thomson's Seasons, and sometimes comparing, as they chanced to occur, the actual phenomena of nature with the description given of them by the poet. At the age of thirteen, his genius was indicated in verses on the vacation, which procured him the praise of the master; but it should seem that this incipient effort did not quite satisfy himself, since we are told that at the next returning season of welcome relaxation from scholastic discipline, he composed another poem on the same subject, which was also applauded by those to whom it was shown. This stirring of the spirit of poesy within, was kept up and invigorated by the romantic scenery which tempted his youthful steps to ramble among the mountains, and along the margin of the lake of Esthwaite, near the school of Hawkshead:

Having laid in a good stock of grammar learning, William Wordsworth removed, in October, 1787, to the university of Cambridge, where he was matriculated a student of St. John's, as his brother, sometime afterwards, was of Trinity College. Here our author continued long enough to complete his degrees in arts, but without aspiring to, or attaining, the academical honours of wrangler or prizeman. During one of the long vacations, he made a pedestrian excursion through part of France, Switzerland, Savoy, and Italy, accompanied by a college friend. Of this tour he wrote an account, under the title of "Descriptive Sketches in Verse," which was printed in 1793; in which year also he published, "An Evening Walk, an Epistle in Verse, addressed to a Young Lady, from the Lakes in the north of England."

Whether Mr. Wordsworth was intended for any of the learned professions, we have not the means of knowing, but if such was the case, he disappointed the expectations of his friends, by leaving



the university altogether soon after his return, and amusing himself in wandering over different parts of the country. At length he took a cottage in the hamlet of Alfoxden, not far from Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, where he either contracted or renewed an intimate friendship with Mr. Coleridge. In this remote part of the kingdom, they lived almost in a state of seclusion, employing their hours either in climbing the Quantock hills, traversing the winding shores of the bay, or in sitting at home, planning literary works. Sometimes, indeed, they visited the only little inn of the village, but here their conversation was above the frequenters of the place, and their character altogether such as to excite surprise and curiosity. At this time the violence of the revolutionary tempest in France occasioned much observation and dispute, not only in the metropolis and large towns, but in every obscure nook and corner of the British isles. Such a subject could not, therefore, fail to be agitated in the public house where our two friends occasionally spent their evenings. Wordsworth had no turn for politics; and was generally silent, but his friend, being at that period a zealous reformist, took such an active part in the questions which arose, as to beget a suspicion, in one person, that these two strangers were spies or incendiaries. This sagacious politician was no other than the lawyer of the village, and having once formed this idea in his fertile brain, it soon acquired the figure and substance of reality. Every action of the sojourners was accordingly watched, by a person employed for the purpose; who, true to his trust, traced their footsteps, and without being seen by them, placed himself in a situation where he could hear their discourse, when they sat upon a craggy cliff observing the dashing of the waves on the beach. Sometimes he would meet them, as it were by accident, in their walks, and by entering into familiar chat with them, draw the conversation on by degrees to politics, merely to catch some clue to a discovery. All these arts, however, produced nothing, and the man, very much to his honour, gave so faithful a report of all his observations, that no farther inquiry was made, nor were the two friends apprised of the snare that had been laid to entrap them, till a long time afterwards, when all suspicion was completely removed.

It was during this retirement on the coast of Somersetshire, that the 'Lyrical Ballads' were planned, and in part written, 'as an experiment,' says Mr. Coleridge, 'whether subjects, which, from their nature, rejected the usual ornaments and extra colloquial style of the poems, in general, might not be so managed in the language of ordinary life, as to produce the pleasurable interest, which it is the peculiar business of poetry to impart.'\*

These Ballads, with some other poems, appeared first in one small volume, in 1798, in which year the author and his sister made a tour through part of Germany, where they fell in with Mr. Coleridge, who, through the liberality of the late Mr. Wedgworth,

\* *Biographia Literaria*, vol. ii. p. 3.

had been enabled to prosecute his studies in a foreign university. How long the travellers continued abroad, we are not informed, but in 1800, we find Mr. Wordsworth settled at Grassmere, in Westmoreland, where, or at Rydall, in that neighbourhood, he has continued to dwell ever since. In 1803, he married Miss Mary Hutchinson, of Penrith, a young lady of the most respectable connexions and exemplary character, who has brought him five children, of whom three, two sons and a daughter, are still living.—With such inducements to active exertion, and the aid of potent friends, who hold his merits in high estimation, the poet might no doubt have distinguished himself in public life, to the lucrative advantage of his family. But alike indifferent to the temptations of ambition and riches, he seems to have imbibed the spirit of Hooker, who besought his patron to remove him from the bustle and intrigues of the world, to a situation ‘where he might see God’s blessings spring from his mother earth, and eat his bread in peace and privacy.’

The picturesque beauties of Windermere, and the scenery of the neighbourhood, proved more attractive charms than the pleasures of artificial society; and here, in the bosom of a happy circle, our author enjoys the utmost tranquillity, on a moderate income, arising from a patrimonial estate, and the situation of distributor of the stamps for the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, which office he owes to the personal friendship of the earl of Lonsdale.

In 1807, Mr. Wordsworth gave to the public a miscellaneous collection of poems, in two small volumes, of which a new and considerably improved edition made its appearance in the year 1815. Among the many additions which the author thought proper to make to this last impression, were a preface and supplementary essay, both directed to the same object—that of applying his principle of simplicity in composition to every species of poetry.

The next original production of Mr. Wordsworth was of a different cast, and one, that from his turn and habits, could hardly have been expected. This was a bulky political pamphlet, printed in the year 1809, with a title remarkable for its elliptical abruptness and prolixity.—‘Concerning the Relations of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, to each other, and to the common enemy, at this crisis; and specifically as affected by the Convention of Cintra; the whole brought to the test of those principles by which alone the Independence and Freedom of Nations can be preserved or recovered.’

In this performance ministers were censured, not for intermeddling in the affairs of the peninsula, but for neglecting to pour into the heart of Spain all their military resources. The essay is written in an energetic strain, and reflects credit upon the patriotic feelings of the author.

In 1814, Mr. Wordsworth published the first portion of his long-promised performance of 'The Recluse;' in a large and splendid quarto. To this part he gave the title of 'The Excursion;' but of the rest of the work, nothing has yet seen the light, unless the story of 'The White Doe of Rylstone; or, the Fate of the Nortons,' which appeared in the same form in the following year, be considered as an episode of the great poem.

This last piece closes the list of our author's publications, on which we shall observe, that if the character of a man is to be inferred from his literary progeny, that of Mr. Wordsworth is at once stamped with the genuine marks of native excellence; for no liberal reader of his poems can rise from the perusal of them without sentiments of respect for that spirit of virtue which breathes in every line. But we are assured that the poet is one who writes from the heart, and who lives as he writes. They who know him most intimately, speak of him as constantly discharging all the relative duties of the husband, father, and friend, with scrupulous fidelity and the most affectionate tenderness. He is universally esteemed in his neighbourhood, for the benevolence of his disposition, the courteousness of his manners, his readiness to relieve the distressed, and to promote every design calculated for the general benefit. To this summary of pre-eminent talent and substantial worth, we may add, that he is a firm friend to the constitution, which is the same as saying that he is a loyal subject of the king, and a sincere member of the church of England.

ART. IX.—*Lord Ellenborough.*

[From the New Monthly Magazine.]

**D**IED at his house, in St. James's square, on Sunday evening, the 13th instant, the right honourable *Edmund Law*, LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

This great lawyer was the second son of Dr. Edmund Law, master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and bishop of Carlisle, a prelate of considerable learning and acuteness as a metaphysician, but far from being orthodox in his religious opinions. His eldest son became bishop of Elphin in the father's life time, and the youngest is at present bishop of Carlisle, instances of ecclesiastical dignity in one family rarely, if ever, equalled. The late chief justice was born in 1749, and received his education at the Charterhouse school, for which seminary he ever cherished a great regard. At the age of eighteen, he became a fellow-commoner of his father's college, and in 1771, was third wrangler. The year following he was one of the successful candidates for the member's prize; soon after which, he left the University for the Temple. Upon being called to the bar, he went the northern circuit, where, owing principally to his father's influence and his mother's connexions, he gained considerable practice. The case was different in Westminster Hall, and he had to contend not only with some fortunate

rivals, particularly Mr. now lord Erskine, but to endure the personal dislike of lord Kenyon. In allusion to this enmity and contention, Mr. Law, on one occasion, most aptly quoted these lines of Virgil—

Dicta, ferox, non me tua fervida terrent  
 —Dii me terrent et *Jupiter hostis*.

But an event occurred which more than compensated for the professional enmity of his brethren, and superiors in the courts below. This was the memorable trial of Mr. Hastings, for whom Mr. Law was employed as the leading counsel, through sir Thomas Rumbold, who had married his sister. This protracted trial brought the powers of the advocate into full play, and those powers could not be slender that had to cope with the combined talents of the commons. Mr. Law was at first despised by the managers, but in a short time he convinced them that they had no ordinary mind to grapple with, and Burke on more occasions than one, felt the force of his arguments in a manner that worked his naturally irascible temper almost to frenzy. Thurlow, from his olympic height, looked down with pleasure upon the legal strife, and when appealed to by the managers, he generally decided in favour of the counsel. One day during these conflicts, a paper was put into the hands of Burke, containing these lines—

Of't have we wonder'd that on Irish ground,  
 No poisonous reptile has e'er yet been found;  
 Reveal'd the secret stands of Nature's work,  
 She saved her venom to create a BURKE!

The effect of this pointed satire was instantly perceived, and though the orator tore the paper, and scattered the pieces about in affected contempt, the operation of the sting was visible in his countenance.

On the advancement of sir John Scott, now lord chancellor, to the Common Pleas, Mr. Law was appointed attorney general; and on the death of lord Kenyon, he was made chief justice of the King's Bench, with a peerage. When Mr. Pitt died, one of the acts of the new administration that excited much observation, was the nomination of his lordship to a seat in the cabinet, but though the propriety of the measure itself was extremely questionable, no one ever brought the slightest imputation upon the noble judge for his conduct in that situation.

Increased infirmities, if not brought on, yet certainly aggravated by intense application to public duties, at length completely undermined a constitution naturally strong; and a short time before his dissolution, finding there were no hopes of a recovery, he resigned an office which he had filled with equal uprightness and ability.

In October 1782, he married Miss Towry, the daughter of commissioner Towry, who survives him, and has issue, 1. Edward, married to Octavia Stewart, youngest daughter of Robert earl of Londonderry. 2. Charles Ewen, married in 1811, Elizabeth Sophia, sister to sir Charles Ethelston Nightingale, of Kamesworth,

in the county of Cambridge. 3. Mary. 4. John. 5. Elizabeth. 6. Anne. 7. A daughter born January 11, 1812.

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ART. X.—*Memoir of Sir Philip Francis, K. G. C. B.*

[From the Gentleman's Magazine.]

**D**ECEMBER 22. Died at his house in St. James's square, after having been reduced to a state of extreme debility, by an excruciating disease, with which he had been for several years afflicted, and from which his age precluded all chance of recovery, sir Philip Francis, K. B.—Of this distinguished person the following memoirs cannot fail to be interesting.

He was born in Dublin, October 22, 1740, O. S. Dr. Francis, the translator of Horace, was his father; his grandfather was John Francis, dean of the cathedral of Lismore, in Ireland; and his great grandfather John Francis, dean of Leighlin. The maiden name of his mother was Roe, a descendant from sir Thomas Roe.

Sir Philip received the first rudiments of his education in Ireland. In 1750, he came to England, and was in 1753 placed at St. Paul's school. In 1756, Mr. Henry Fox, afterwards lord Holland, gave him a small place in the secretary of state's office. Mr. Pitt, who succeeded Mr. Fox, patronized him, through the recommendation of his secretary, Robert Wood. By that patronage he was appointed secretary to general Bligh, in 1758, and was present at the capture and demolition of Cherburg. In 1760, he was made secretary to the earl of Kinnoul, ambassador to Lisbon, when the queen of Portugal was married to her uncle. In 1763, he was appointed by the late lord Mendip to a considerable post in the war-office, which he resigned, in the beginning of 1772, in consequence of a difference with viscount Barrington. The greatest part of 1772 he spent in travelling through Flanders, Germany, the Tyrol, France, and Italy. Shortly after his return to England, lord Barrington did him the justice to recommend him to lord North. At that period the situation of our affairs in the east attracted the attention of the nation, and formed a subject of anxious deliberation in the cabinet. The origin of our connexion with India, and the foundation of our establishment there, was commercial. A different system, however, soon began to prevail, and owing to a variety of events, which it is foreign to our present purpose to detail, we soon acquired an immense accession of territory. Our factories were converted into forts, and our merchants into soldiers and statesmen. In this situation of things, it became a question as to the territorial sovereignty of those newly acquired dominions, and it was finally decided that our cabinet should have a permanent jurisdiction. This point being settled, the British government determined to give a new form to our establishments in the east. To avoid the jealousies which had previously subsisted, in consequence of a division of power, it was thought proper to establish a central authority at Calcutta, to which

Madras and the other presidencies should be subject. For this purpose a bill was introduced by lord North, in 1773, containing a variety of regulations, by which the civil government of Bengal was to be vested in a governor-general and council, while the juridical administration was to be confided to a supreme court of judicature.

In conformity to the first of these plans, it was determined to send out three persons of known integrity and talents, not only to enforce the act in question, but also to constitute a majority in the council, by means of which the improvident expenditure of the revenue might be controlled, the grievances of the native powers redressed, the interests of the company benefited, and the English name, which had been but too frequently compromised and tarnished, restored to its wonted lustre.

For the completion of these honourable purposes, two soldiers and one civilian were selected: first, the commander-in-chief, sir John Clavering; secondly, colonel Monson; and lastly, Mr. Philip Francis. Although young, Mr. Francis was selected as the man of business, to organize the plans, direct the proceedings, and regulate the conduct of the whole.

The exertions of this honourable triumvirate, although opposed by the governor-general, and one of the old members (Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell), continued to effect many salutary changes; but the death of colonel Monson in 1776, and of general Clavering in 1777, totally changed the state of affairs. Mr. Francis being now left in a minority, all the improvements of himself and his colleagues were abandoned, and the old system adopted, with an eagerness which reflected but little honour on the faith or stability of the English councils.

The records of his long contest with Mr. Hastings, are preserved in the books of council, the reports of the committee, and in the journals of the house of Commons. This quarrel had previously occasioned a duel in India, when, on the 17th August, 1780, Mr. Hastings shot sir Philip through the body. He left Bengal in December 1780, passed five months at St. Helena, and arrived in England in October 1781. On the dissolution of parliament in 1784, he was elected for Yarmouth, in the isle of Wight. On the 27th July following, he happened to make use of an expression in the house of commons, for which the late Mr. Pitt never forgave him. After speaking of the first earl of Chatham, with all possible honour, he unfortunately added, 'but he is dead, and has left nothing in the world that resembles him.'

In 1786, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to explain the new act, introduced by the new premier, for regulating the affairs of the India company. He seized upon that occasion to condemn many parts of Mr. Pitt's original project, and more especially that obliging persons returning from the east to declare, upon oath, a statement of the amount of their fortunes, which article was after-

wards expunged. The matter under consideration was, however, disposed of by the previous question.

In the session of the year 1788, when Mr. Hastings had delivered in his answer to the articles of impeachment, exhibited in the name of the people of England, at the bar of the house of lords, the commons immediately proceeded to the appointment of a committee who should propose a reply. Upon the name of Mr. Francis being put, a division ensued,—ayes 23—noes 97. This circumstance was highly unacceptable to the original promoters of the prosecution, and called forth a most animated remonstrance on the part of Mr. Burke, the father of the measure.

When the managers were about to be nominated, Mr. Fox seized that opportunity to move that the name of this gentleman might be added. He enumerated the different qualities which he deemed requisite in a person who should become an accuser in the name of the public, and endeavoured to show that all these centered in the gentleman proposed by him.

Mr. Windham, another of the managers, followed Mr. Fox, and delivered his sentiments on the same subject. After some discussion on the proposition, in which Mr. Pitt, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Francis himself, took part, the house divided, and the numbers were in favour of Mr. Francis sixty-two, against him one hundred and twenty-two, on which the name of Mr. Frederick Montague was substituted. But this only afforded a new opportunity to exhibit the merit of that gentleman, for a letter was soon after addressed to him by Mr. Burke, signed by all the managers, requesting his assistance and advice in the important business on which they were then engaged. It was observed, that ‘an exact knowledge of the affairs of Bengal was requisite in every step of their proceedings, and it was necessary that their information should come from sources, not only competent, but unsuspected. They had perused with great attention the records of the company, and they had found there inculcated, on the part of Mr. Francis, wise and steady principles of government, an exact obedience to the authority placed over him, an inflexible integrity in himself, and a firm resistance to all corrupt practices in others; crowned by that uniform benevolent attention to the rights, properties, and welfare of the natives, which had been the leading objects in his appointment. Such conduct, so tried, acknowledged, and recorded, demanded their fullest confidence; and such were the qualities that had excited their wish for his assistance.—They were all unanimous in the sentiments they had expressed; and had therefore pleasure and pride in attesting them under their signatures.’

About this period the public called aloud for a reform in parliament. Mr. Francis, on this occasion, evinced an earnest wish for such a change as might be bottomed on the original principles of that constitution which it was intended to rescue from corruption.

At the general election in 1796, Mr. Francis stood for Tewkesbury, in conjunction with Mr. Moore. Both these gentlemen endeavoured to establish the franchises of the freemen; but their opponents, who advocated the exclusive right of the housekeepers, were returned. In 1802 Mr. Francis proved more fortunate, having been returned for the borough of Appleby, without opposition or expense.

In consequence of his intimate acquaintance with the affairs of the East India company, he lost no opportunity of delivering his opinion on subjects connected therewith, and of advocating those measures which he conceived likely to prove most conducive to the public interests in those distant climes. He invariably reminded the house of commons, and the nation, of the impolicy, as well as injustice, of the frequent wars in India.

In May 1804, he opposed the proposition, 'that the thanks of the house be given to the marquis of Wellesley, and to the officers and soldiers concerned in achieving our late successes in India, &c.' on the principle that the terms were so worded as to include an approbation of the causes of the war. Upon every occasion, in fact, in which India was mentioned, he displayed not alone an intimate knowledge of its origin as an English settlement, but an ardent desire for its welfare.

His exertions, in conjunction with Mr. Wilberforce, for the abolition of the slave trade, were not less active. His sincerity, too, upon this subject, was made manifest from the fact, in his own situation in life, of every motive by which the conduct of men is usually determined, being united and powerfully pressed upon him to engage him to take part against his opinion. Connexions of every sort; friends who were dear to him, and who thought their fortunes were at stake; solicitations from persons to whom he was bound by many ties; and the prospect of advantage to himself and family at a future day to be forfeited or preserved. All these were in one scale, and nothing in the other but the justice of the cause, and the protection of creatures, who would never know that he had endeavoured to serve them, or whose gratitude would never reach him.

On October 29, 1806, his majesty, at the recommendation of lord Grenville, was pleased to invest him with the order of the Bath.

To the labours of speaking in the house of commons, he came rather late in life, and unpractised in the art. Fluency, the *copia verborum*, and *torrens dicendi*, were not his—his speeches were studied, and consequently formal in the delivery, but they were no less studied by him, than they were worthy of being studied by others, for the soundness of the principles, and the excellence of the matter. Of his profound knowledge of the affairs of India, Burke, and others, might be brought to give evidence. These are the words of Mr. Fox: 'I cannot avoid paying that tribute of praise to the industry, perseverance, and clear-sighted policy of



my honourable friend, on questions relative to India, which they so much deserve. In my opinion, there is no one subject of his majesty, or in all his dominions, whose merit with regard to the affairs of India, can be put in competition with that of my honourable friend.'—*Par. Deb. Feb. 25, 1806.* During the administration of Mr. Fox, sir Philip expected to have been sent out governor-general to India, but other interests prevailed, and he lived and died (to use the language of Mr. Burke), 'with no other reward but that inward sunshine of the soul which a good conscience can always bestow.' No man, who like him, was for half a century perpetually in the press, was ever so little known by the public at large. Scarcely a year elapsed, even after he had passed the age allotted to man, without a production from his pen; and he was known, and perhaps only known, in political circles as the ablest pamphlet-writer of the age. A MS. of an historical character, relating to the persons and personages who have figured in the present reign, occupied his care and attention to the latest period. Whenever it appears, it will be found marked by many of the characteristics which so distinguished the best delineations of Tacitus. The works of sir Philip resemble, in one particular, those of lord Bacon, of whom it was said, that 'no man crammed so much meaning into so few words;' or, as Edmund Burke said of his style—'There is no gummy flesh in it.' His language is figurative and expressive in perfection. You never doubt about his meaning. Let the subject be what it may, he makes it plain and intelligible; and this he does with such simplicity of expression, that any man not much used to writing, would be apt to flatter himself he could write just as well on the same topics; *ut quisvis speret idem.* The secret of his genius, and force as a writer, he himself discloses in this paragraph:—

'With a callous heart, there can be no genius in the imagination, or wisdom in the mind; and therefore the prayer with equal truth and sublimity says—"Incline our hearts unto wisdom." Resolute thoughts find words for themselves, and make their own vehicle. Impression and expression are relative ideas. He who feels deeply, will express strongly. The language of slight sensations is naturally feeble and superficial.'—*Reflections on the Abundance of Paper, 1810.*

Our readers are aware that the Letters of Junius were attributed to him. It is advisedly, however, that we avoid giving any opinion on this question. Of the work entitled 'Junius Identified,' a very learned judge observed—'If there is any dependence on the law of presumptive evidence, the case is made out.' The article on this subject in the Edinburgh Review, seemed to put the question at rest in the affirmative, as did the work of the ingenious discoverer, and all further public debate about the matter. It was an enigma found out, and all interest had ceased. Whether the conclusion come to be right or wrong, will, in all probability, be decided by documents which personal motives may now no

longer operate to conceal. That sir P. Francis was, independent of this question, one of the luminaries of the present reign, will not be denied. His mind was so happily constituted, that it burnt bright to the last; and though he fell full of years, yet the world, as all who knew him will admit, could have better spared many a younger man.

Sir Philip Francis has left a son and two daughters, Mr. Philip Francis, Mrs. Johnson, and Mrs. Cholmondeley. When between seventy and eighty, he married Miss Watkins, the daughter of a clergyman. The disparity of years was great, but the attachment had been of long duration, and his sole motive was to procure a companion worthy of his society, which object he accomplished to the utmost gratification of his hopes.

In person sir Philip was thin, well formed, and above the ordinary stature; his features regular, and his eye keen, quick, and intelligent. His appearance altogether prepossessing, gentlemanly, and dignified. Till within a few years of his decease, he possessed a remarkable degree of activity of body, and his spirits were so mercurial as almost to 'o'er-inform his tenement of clay.' It was a favourite saying of his own, that 'the sword wears out the scabbard;' and it is surprising that in him it did not wear it out sooner. The garrulity of old age was not his portion. Too irritable and impetuous to listen to long narratives, he had, to the last, the good sense and taste never to inflict them on others. It is said that nothing is necessary to please but the inclination, and when it was his inclination, no man was ever more irresistible and triumphant.

The remains of sir Philip Francis was interred December 31, in Mortlake church. His funeral was, *by his express desire*, quite private. His son alone followed him to the grave.

ART. XI.—*Notice of Archibald Campbell, Author of the Voyage round the World.*

[From the Edinburgh Magazine.]

OUR readers cannot have forgotten the name of Archibald Campbell, the poor Scottish seaman, whose account of his voyage round the world was, three or four years ago, noticed at considerable length in the *Quarterly Review*.\* This unhappy adventurer's narrative was, in every way, well deserving of the interests which it created at the time of its publication. It was modest and unassuming in its manner, and in its matter, free to a great extent, from the many species of blunders and inaccuracies which are commonly so abundant in the productions of persons in the humble situation of life of Archibald Campbell. At that time, however, its merits could not be quite so fully appreciated as now. Although the apparent candour of the mariner was well qualified to lend credit to all his statements, yet even his benevolent editor abstained from

\* See No. XXXI, October, 1816.

expressing himself in any very decided manner respecting their authority, and the same diffidence was, of course, shared by his reviewer. But in the years which have now intervened, the narratives of succeeding voyagers have given perfect confirmation to all the assertions of Campbell, and his story may, therefore, be considered as forming an authentic link in the history of the Sandwich islands, with regard to which, for several years previous to his arrival there, we had received no certain or direct intelligence.

We refer to Campbell's book itself, and the review of it already mentioned, for any information which our readers may require, in order to restore them to a perfect acquaintance with the early and important incidents in his various life. At the time when his book was published, it will be recollected, the sores upon his legs were still in a very distressing condition, owing to the unskilful manner in which they had been amputated, below the ankle, by the Russian surgeon, into whose hands he fell, immediately after they were frostbit. The period of tranquil existence which he had spent in the Sandwich islands, the voyage homewards, and a residence of many months in his native country, had all been found insufficient to remove the irritation of his wounds, and he was still not only a cripple, but an acute sufferer, when he attracted the attention of Mr. Smith, in the Clyde steam boat. The kindness of that excellent person soon enabled him to lay the story of his afflictions before the public, and the success of the book was such, as to furnish a sum far beyond any expectations of Archibald Campbell. Had he remained in this country during the time when the public impression was strongly in his favour, there is reason to believe, that something might probably have been done to provide the means of comfortable retirement to one whose errors, in themselves venial, had been so severely punished in the person of the offender, and had furnished a lesson so capable of doing good to others. Neither Campbell nor his friends, however, entertained, at the moment, any expectations of such a nature, and the poor man, whose patience was quite exhausted, resolved, as soon as he got a little money into his hands, to seek in it the means of being once more transported to the friendly territories of king Tamahmaah, and his own comfortable farm on the banks of the Wymannoo. In the midst of all his distresses, he found leisure for courtship; so he set sail with his wife in the autumn of 1816, for New York, in the hope of finding a passage to Owyhee, on board of some of the American ships, which have, of late years, been almost the only visitors of these islands. On the 23d of December following, he writes as follows, to a medical gentleman in Glasgow (who had shown him much kindness while in that city), 'I am very sorry to inform you that we shall have no opportunity of going to the Sandwich islands this season, the vessels having all left Boston for the northwest coast before our arrival, and it is very likely that there will be no more ships going that way until they return again, which will not be these two years; therefore, I am at a loss what

to do. There is nothing at all doing here in my line,\* and times are much worse here than at home, and a great many of the passengers that came out with us have gone home again, not being able to find work of any kind.' He then states his intention to procure, if possible, a passage to the Brazils, where he had been led to believe he might have better success. In the meantime, however, it was announced that some person was about to publish an American edition of his book, which unhandsome procedure, Archibald forthwith took the most effectual method of preventing, by publishing an American edition of it himself. Of this edition, he sold 700 copies in a month, and cleared about 200 dollars on the speculation.

His legs continued all this time to be as troublesome as ever, and Campbell determined to give himself a chance of being a sound cripple, by having them amputated over again, above the ankle. This resolution he carried into effect last winter, with the most perfect fortitude. His right leg was amputated on the 20th of November, 1817, and the bursting of an artery, a few hours after the operation, threw him into a brain fever, from which he escaped with difficulty. 'My whole leg,' says he, 'began from the end of the stump to be inflamed with erysipelas, combined with phlegmatic inflammation, which, luckily for me, turned into a suppuration. I am happy to inform you, that ever since I have been mending so fast, that I was able to go home all last week, and it is only yesterday (January 13, 1818) that I returned to have the other leg cut; and the surgeon says I shall have a better chance of recovery, as my habit is not so full.' The second operation was accordingly performed in a few days after this, and his recovery was even more easy than he had been led to expect. 'As soon as I got out of the hospital,' says he, 'I made myself a pair of artificial legs, with which I already begin to walk pretty tolerably, and am going to Albany, Baltimore, &c. to get subscriptions for the second edition of my book.' (May 18, 1818.)

But during his stay in New York, Campbell has not been an author, publisher, and patient only. He has also been carrying on various little species of traffic, in globe glass mirrors, plaster of Paris casts, Scots almanacks, &c. &c. with various, but, on the whole, not very flattering success. As soon as he shall have sufficiently supplied the transatlantic reading public, with his voyage round the world, Archy, who is a Jack of many trades, purposes to turn another of his talents to a little advantage, and to make a voyage to the Clyde 'to see his friends, in the capacity of cook to a merchantman.' He still, however, has a hankering after his 'stead-ing' in Owyhee; and it is probable that ere long we shall have it in our power to inform our readers that he has come to '*his ain again.*'

We might quote some farther passages from his letters to his friend in Glasgow, but although they are all highly interesting to

\* Campbell was bred a weaver.

those who have seen any thing of the man, we are apprehensive of trespassing too far on the patience of the general reader. The letters are written in a clear distinct style, and in a very good penmanship; and his account of the state of things in America, so far as it goes, shows that Alexander has been in his youth, no unattractive or unworthy member of some of the '*literary and commercial*' clubs so common among the weavers of the west of Scotland. His notice of Mr. Cobbet is laconic enough. 'You mention that you could wish to hear about Mr. Cobbet; but I can hear little about him, as there is few people that I have spoken to that likes him, and they say that he cannot be believed: he has an office at No. 19, Wall street, and lives at Brooklyn, a small town in Long Island, forenent New York.' The letters are all concluded in a very polite manner, as thus: 'Be pleased, sir, to give our best respects to your father and sisters, and our compliments to your servant-maids; meantime, we remain, sir, your most obedient and very humble servants, ARCHD. & ISABELLA CAMPBELL.'

We trust our readers will pardon us for detaining them so long with the history of this poor countrymen of ours. Those of them who have read his book will, we are quite sure, be happy in this renewal of their acquaintance with him; for our own parts, we hope he will, on his arrival forthwith, publish a full account of all his adventures during this last voyage. He must now be pretty well initiated into the ways of the booksellers, and we do not see why Mr. Campbell should not succeed as well in his transactions with that slippery generation, as many other authors of greater pretensions.

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ART. XII.—*Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*, during the Years 1799-1804. By Alexander de Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland. Vol. IV. London, 1819. 8vo. pp. 573.

[From the Journal of the Belles Lettres.]

**T**O announce a new volume of M. de Humboldt's journey, is to announce a work distinguished for philosophical research, for indefatigable adventure in quest of knowledge, for striking incident as a mere book of travels, and for an infinite store of new facts and discoveries in every branch of moral, political, and natural history. This is so well known to the reading world, that we shall not waste a word upon the subject; but simply take this opportunity of bearing testimony to the great truth and accuracy of the author's statements, which we are enabled particularly to do in the present instance on the authority of a friend, who, having travelled over much of the same ground, assures us, from his experience, that M. de Humboldt's narrative is remarkable not only for the extent of its information, but for the unvarnished fidelity with which his subjects are described.

We confess, however, that we dislike this tardy mode of bringing out publications. Like the travellers, we should be glad to

know when we set out how far we are going; and as we proceed, where our voyage is to end. But when volume follows volume, with intervals of years between, much of the spirit certainly evaporates, and we have always a suspicion that the library at home is a great eker out of the memoranda abroad. M. de Humboldt, however, is so instructive and pleasing, that we ought not to complain of this practice when writing about him.

With regard to the new volume, we shall not analyse it, but select such parts as seem most curious, trusting that the well-earned reputation of the author will render further praise unnecessary. Carraccas, with its productions and wonders, the Rio Apure, the Rio Oroonoko, and the circumjacent territory, form entirely the subject of this very interesting portion of M. de Humboldt's work.

When at Calabozo, the travellers endeavoured to obtain and examine the gymnotus, or electrical eel, abounding in the stagnant basins in that vicinity, but could not succeed in pursuing the inquiry. The following extraordinary scene is described:—

‘Impatient of waiting, and having obtained very uncertain results from an electrical eel that had been brought to us alive, but much enfeebled, we repaired to the Cano de Bera, to make our experiments in the open air, on the borders of the water itself. We set off on the 19th of March, at a very early hour, for the village of Rastro de Abaxo; thence we were conducted by the Indians to a stream, which, in the time of drought, forms a basin of muddy water, surrounded by fine trees, the clusia, the amyris, and the mimosa, with fragrant flowers. To catch the gymnoti with nets is very difficult, on account of the extreme agility of the fish, which bury themselves in the mud like serpents. We would not employ the *barbasco*, that is to say, the roots of *piscidea erithryna*, *jacquinia armillaris*, and some species of *phyllanthus*, which thrown into the pool, intoxicate or benumb these animals. These means would have enfeebled the gymnoti; the Indians, therefore, told us, that they would “fish with horses,” *embarbasco con cavallos*. We found it difficult to form an idea of this extraordinary manner of fishing; but we soon saw our guides return from the savannah, which they had been scouring for wild horses and mules. They brought about thirty with them, which they forced to enter the pool.

‘The extraordinary noise caused by the horses’ hoofs, makes the fish issue from the mud, and excites them to combat. These yellowish and livid eels, resembling large aquatic serpents, swim on the surface of the water, and crowd under the bellies of the horses and mules. A contest between animals of so different an organization, furnishes a very striking spectacle. The Indians, provided with harpoons, and long slender reeds, surround the pool closely; and some climb upon the trees, the branches of which extend horizontally over the surface of the water. By their wild cries, and the length of their reeds, they prevent the horses from

running away, and reaching the bank of the pool. The eels, stunned by the noise, defend themselves by the repeated discharge of their electric batteries. During a long time they seem to prove victorious. Several horses sink beneath the violence of the invisible strokes, which they receive from all sides, in organs the most essential to life; and stunned by the force and frequency of the shocks, disappear under the water. Others, panting, with mane erect, and haggard eyes, expressing anguish, raise themselves, and endeavour to flee from the storm by which they are overtaken. They are driven back by the Indians into the middle of the water; but a small number succeed in eluding the active vigilance of the fishermen. These regain the shore, stumbling at every step, and stretch themselves on the sand, exhausted with fatigue, and their limbs benumbed by the electric shocks of the gymnoti.

‘In less than five minutes two horses were drowned. The eel, being five feet long, and pressing itself against the belly of the horses, makes a discharge along the whole extent of its electric organ. It attacks at once the heart, the intestines, and the *plexus cæliacus* of the abdominal nerves. It is natural, that the effect felt by the horses should be more powerful, than that produced upon man, by the touch of the same fish, at only one of his extremities. The horses are probably not killed, but only stunned. They are drowned, from the impossibility of rising amid the prolonged struggle between the other horses and the eels.

‘We had little doubt, that the fishing would terminate by killing successively all the animals engaged; but by degrees the impetuosity of this unequal combat diminished, and the wearied gymnoti dispersed. They require a long rest, and abundant nourishment, to repair what they have lost of galvanic force. The mules and horses appear less frightened; their manes are no longer bristled, and their eyes express less dread. The gymnoti approach timidly the edge of the marsh, where they are taken by means of small harpoons, fastened to long cords. When the cords are very dry, the Indians feel no shock in raising the fish into the air. In a few minutes we had five large eels, the greater part of which were but slightly wounded. Some were taken by the same means toward evening.

‘The temperature of the waters, in which the gymnoti habitually live, is from  $26^{\circ}$  to  $27^{\circ}$ . Their electric force diminishes, it is said, in colder waters; and it is remarkable, that in general, as a celebrated naturalist has already observed, animals endowed with electromotive organs, the effects of which are sensible to man, are not found in the air, but in a fluid that is a conductor of electricity. The gymnotus is the largest of electrical fishes. I measured some, that were from five feet to five feet three inches long; and the Indians assert, that they have seen still longer. We found, that a fish of three feet ten inches long, weighed twelve pounds. The transverse diameter of the body, without reckoning the anal fin, which is elongated in the form of a keel, was three inches five lines. The gymnoti of Cano de Bera, are of a fine olive green.

The under part of the head is yellow, mingled with red. Two rows of small yellow spots are placed symmetrically along the back, from the head to the end of the tail. Every spot contains an excretory aperture. In consequence, the skin of the animal is constantly covered with a mucous matter, which, as Volta has proved, conducts electricity twenty or thirty times better than pure water. It is in general somewhat remarkable, that no electrical fish, yet discovered (of which there are only seven), in the different parts of the world, is covered with scales.'

The following is an extraordinary picture of the scenery on the river Apure, down which our travellers went in a boat to the Oronoko.

' Sometimes the river is bordered by forests on each side, and forms a straight canal a hundred and fifty toises broad. The manner in which the trees are disposed is very remarkable. We first find bushes of *sauso*, forming a kind of hedge four feet high; and appearing as if they had been clipped by the hand of man. A copse of cedars, brazillettos, and *lignumvitæ*, rises behind this hedge. Palm-trees are rare; we saw only a few scattered trunks of the thorny piritu and corozo. The large quadrupeds of those regions, the tigers, tapirs, and pécaries, have made openings in the hedge of *sausos*, which we have just described. Through these the wild animals pass, when they come to drink at the river. As they fear but little the approach of a boat, we had the pleasure of viewing them pace slowly along the shore, till they disappeared in the forest, which they entered by one of the narrow passes left here and there between the bushes. I confess that these scenes, which were often repeated, had ever for me a peculiar attraction. The pleasure they excite, is not owing solely to the interest which the naturalist takes in the objects of his study; it is connected with a feeling common to all men, who have been brought up in the habits of civilization. You find yourself in a new world, in the midst of untamed and savage nature. Now it is the jaguar, the beautiful panther of America, that appears upon the shore; and now the hocco, with its black plumage and its tufted head, that moves slowly along the sausoës. Animals of the most different classes succeed each other. "*Esse como en el Paraíso*," said our pilot, an old Indian of the missions.

' When the shore is of considerable breadth, the hedge of *sauso* remains at a distance from the river. In this intermediate ground we see crocodiles, sometimes to the number of eight or ten, stretched on the sand. Motionless, the jaws opened at right angles, they repose by each other, without displaying any of those marks of affection observed in other animals that live in society. The troop separates as soon as they quit the shore. It is, however, probably composed of one male only, and many females; for, as Mr. Descourtils, who has so much studied the crocodiles of Saint Domingo, observed before me, the males are rare, because they kill one



another in fighting, during the season of their loves. These monstrous reptiles are so numerous, that throughout the whole course of the river, we had, almost at every instant, five or six in view. Yet at this period, the swelling of the Rio Apure was scarcely perceived; and consequently hundreds of crocodiles were still buried in the mud of the savannahs. About four in the afternoon we stopped to measure a dead crocodile, that the waters had thrown on the shore. It was only sixteen feet eight inches long; some days after, Mr. Bonpland found another, a male, twenty-two feet three inches long. In every zone, in America as in Egypt, this animal attains the same size. The species so abundant in the Apure, the Oroonoko, and the Rio de la Magdalena, is not a *cayman*, or alligator, but a real crocodile, with feet dentated at the external edges, analogous to that of the Nile. When it is recollected, that the male enters the age of puberty only at ten years, and that its length is then eight feet, we may presume, that the crocodile measured by Mr. Bonpland, was at least twenty-eight years old. The Indians told us, that at San Fernando, scarcely a year passes without two or three grown-up persons, particularly women who fetch water from the river, being drowned by these carnivorous lizards. They related to us the history of a young girl of Uritucu, who by singular intrepidity and presence of mind, saved herself from the jaws of a crocodile. When she felt herself seized, she sought the eyes of the animal, and plunged her fingers into them with such violence, that the pain forced the crocodile to let her loose, after having bitten off the lower part of her left arm. The girl, notwithstanding the enormous quantity of blood she lost, happily reached the shore, swimming with the hand she had still left.

‘The movements of the crocodile of the Apure, are abrupt and rapid when it attacks any object; but it moves with the slowness of a salamander, when it is not excited by rage or hunger. The animal in running, makes a rustling noise, that seems to proceed from the rubbing of the scales of its skin against one another. In this movement it bends its back, and appears higher on its legs than when at rest.

‘Crocodiles are excellent swimmers; they go with facility against the most rapid current. It appeared to me, however, that in descending the river, they had some difficulty in turning quickly about. A large dog, that had accompanied us in our journey from Caraccas to the Rio Negro, was one day pursued in swimming by an enormous crocodile, which had nearly reached him, when the dog escaped its enemy by turning round suddenly, and swimming against the current. The crocodile performed the same movement, but much more slowly than the dog, which happily gained the shore.

‘The crocodiles of the Apure find abundant nourishment in the chiguiries (the thick-nosed tapir of naturalists), which live fifty or sixty together, in troops on the banks of the river. These unfortunate animals, as large as our pigs, have no weapons of defence;

they swim somewhat better than they run: yet they become the prey of the crocodiles in the water, as of the tigers on land. It is difficult to conceive, how, persecuted by two powerful enemies, they can become so numerous; but they breed with the same rapidity as the cobayas, or little guinea-pigs, which come to us from Brazil.'

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ART. XIII.—"Mathews' At Home."

[From the Literary Gazette.]

**T**HIS admirable mime having had a trip to Paris, has returned from *abroad* with a new budget of entertainment wherewith to be *at Home*. With this change of performance, it is *our* duty to be pleased, since it accords with the counsel we presumed to offer to the performer last season. But even without that recommendation, we think he must be very stoical who could resist the laughter-moving melange which is now presented at the English opera house. We will shortly describe it.

The *first part* consists of a poetical poem; in delivering which, Mr. Mathews is not so pre-eminently successful, as his talent does not lie either in the melody of song, or powers of distinct recitation. As all the world goes to Paris, he resolves to go thither also, enters the diligence in London, paints his fellow travellers, &c. and after sundry zig-zags, arrives at Dover. The examinations at the custom-house over, and some odd contraband articles detected, the 'delights of the packet' are said and sung. Here the scene is wonderfully diverting. The account of the passengers, and the various effects of nausea, not carried to a disgusting pitch, are exquisitely imitated. In *part second*, the voyagers land at Calais, are astounded by the jabber around, and amazed at hearing the little children speak French. Several commissioners (commissionaires) are polite to our humorous traveller, and it is some time before he finds out that persons under this sonorous title are runners of errands. From Calais to Paris, his route is by Boulogne, Montreuil, Nampont, (Sterne's Nampont, which has received more celebrity from one *one dead ass*, than other towns receive from *hundreds of living ones*!) Abbeville and St. Denis. At Abbeville he meets with an unfortunate countryman, 'poor Mr. Rogers,' who is returning to England under a medical prescription, to avoid the slightest irritation of his nerves, and who is accompanied thus far by his particular friend monsieur Denise, who torments him to death, by correcting his pronunciation of the French tongue. Taking an affectionate leave of his orthoepical persecutor, who is to retrace his way to Paris, by the coach, at three o'clock in the morning, the exhausted and forgiving Englishman retires to bed, in the same room with Mathews. Between two and three, the latter is roused by a loud knocking, and inquiring what is wanted, is answered, 'Not you, do not take the trouble to awake, I want my friend monsieur Rogers, and have woke seven gentlemen already, one of which is not him!' It is the accurate Denise, who cannot

depart till he has disturbed the slumbers of the poor invalid, to set him right in his last words on the preceding evening, ‘*Adieu, Denise,*’ which he unhappily pronounced ‘*Adjew, Dennis.*’

St. Denis is so called from its patron, who walked thither from Paris, after decapitation, with his head under his arm; a feat not so marvellous, as the distance is only five miles, and the road excellent! At the capital, of the entrance into which, a description combining much force and truth with whimsical remark is given, our tourist resides in Meurice’s hotel, which is quite an English colony. Here he hires an Irish *Valet de Place*, and becomes intimate, pro tempore, with his fellow lodgers, Mr. Daniel Dowgate, Mrs. Loquax, Mr. Marmaduke Minikin, &c. &c. These are his companions to *see the lions*, and their various characters, remarks, and adventures, fill up the second and third parts. In Mr. Dowgate, we recognized an admirable imitation of a well-known character in the festive circles of London, with whom we were acquainted; and his many friends will, without displeasure, see the amusing eccentricities revived of the respectable Mr. James Whittle of Fleet street. His John Bull-ism, his ‘classical’ phraseology, his ‘catch the idea,’ and other bye-words, his look, voice, action, and even way of thinking, are all executed with surprising felicity. From this specimen, we should presume that all the other characters are drawn from *individual* life, were we not convinced of it by the truth and *individuality* of the portraiture. Among the Parisian scenes, we can only designate a few of the most striking; a visit to the catacombs, and a lecture on craniology, by a professor with a long German name, pro Spurzheim: a day at Meurice’s, a humorous song, with comic recitations, in Mr. M’s best style: a visit to the theatre, and burlesque imitation of Talma’s Hamlet; the boulevards, and a rencontre with a sad traveller, Mr. Mundungus Trist, whom every thing afflicts, who cannot even be sick at sea, as he wishes, like other people, who is full of tribulation, and, among the rest, has to ‘go home to his wife,—it must be so:’ sir John and lady Munchausen, aimed at lady Morgan and her travels: the old Scotch woman in Paris, with a good story of her husband telling his ‘worthy coadjutor, maister Henry,’ who wished he was dry when ‘dreeping wi wet’ from the rain on his way to preach, to ‘gang to the pupit, for *there* he would be *dry enough*.’ and, finally, a lecture on England and the English language, by Mr. Denise. This lecture is a droll satire upon the herd of French tourists in England, like whom, Mr. Denise, who had been a prisoner of war at Portsmouth, is fond of drawing general conclusions from particular facts, in which his want of knowledge of our language, causes him to make confounded mistakes. For example, one branch of his discourse is, that ‘all the people of England are *boxeurs*. When I look from my littel vindo in de prison at Portismout, I see de ladies box, and de gentlemens box, and sometime de ladies and gentlemens box the one wit de oder. Den I read in de paper dat de duchess of B—, de earl of C—, and lady G—, and lord F—,

all go to box at de opera. Wen de man is tried for any crime, de witness box; and if he be found guilty, de jury box. One day every body box—it is Crissmas day wen de washman, de beadles, de shurshwardens, de constables, and all de parish box one house after anoder. So you see de Anglois are a nation des boxeurs.' Our countrywoman, Mrs. Loquax, blunders in the same way; for she visits a lady who has a *sore-eye* (soirée) every Monday evening, which Dowgate advises to be well-washed every Tuesday morning.

In the *fourth part* we have the Paris diligence, in which eight characters are well supported by this single actor. It is an amazing effort, and, we imagine, unexampled as a piece of mimicry. Altogether, the performances are, however, too long; and there is a little ennui between the fits of laughter, which may be most advantageously spared. The theatre, on Monday, was crowded in every part.

#### ART. XIV.—*Historical Sketch of the Siege of Fort Meigs.*

[Communicated by an Officer of the Kentucky Militia.]

**A**FTER the termination of the campaign of 1812, and immediately after the defeat at the river Raisin, general Harrison determined on fortifying a position at the foot of the Rapids, for the security of the small posts in the rear, and to facilitate the objects of the ensuing campaign. This position was denominated camp Meigs, and if well fortified, was deemed the most eligible that could be selected, as it was indispensably necessary as a depot for the artillery, military stores, and provisions. 'Towards the latter part of April, the enemy was frequently discovered in small parties about the fort, by the scouts sent out by the general; on the 26th, his advance was discovered at the mouth of the bay; and the 27th, as captain Hamilton was going down the river with a small reconnoitring party, he discovered the whole force of the British and Indians, approaching within a few miles of the fort;' and in the evening of the same day, the fishermen were fired on, and the fort immediately invested by the Indians—the hideous yells of the savages—the incessant roar of musketry—the whistling balls, and dropping lead, had become as general as the determination to defend, had become universal. The position of the rifle battery was occupied by the Indians, much to our disadvantage, being within about two hundred yards of the fort, and immediately behind an abrupt point. An express was now sent to general Clay, who was then at fort Defiance, with his brigade, consisting of Dudley's and Boswell's regiments (except the companies of Duvall, Baker, and Sebree, who reached the Rapids before the arrival of the enemy). 'This perilous journey was undertaken by captain Oliver, accompanied by a single white man and an Indian. Presently the gunboats of the enemy came in view down the river, and approached to the site of the old fort Miami, on the opposite side from camp Meigs; landed, mounted their guns, and transported their allies to the southeast side of the river.'

The British had established their main camp about a mile and a half down the river, at the place of their landing; and in the night they had commenced three batteries, and afterwards a fourth, opposite the fort, and on a high bank about 300 or 400 yards from the river. Two of them were gun-batteries with four embrasures, and one with two, and a bomb-battery. They had progressed so far in the night, that they were now able to work on them in day-light. A fire, however, was opened upon them from the fort, which considerably impeded their progress.—It was under the direction of captain Wood, the senior officer of the engineers; captain Gratioll being unwell, but able, occasionally, to take charge of a battery. The ground had been covered by a very heavy forest of oak and beech trees, which had been cleared away by immense labour, to the distance of two or three hundred yards from the lines—some scattering trees still remained, and the trunks of others were lying on the ground. Behind these and the stumps, the Indians would creep up within shooting distance, and in several instances were able to do some execution; but in general they suffered most themselves. On the left the trees had not been felled to so great a distance, and these the savages mounted into their tops with the utmost agility, and from these elevated stations, were able to send forth tremendous volleys of musketry.

The enemy continued diligently to labour in their batteries. On the morning of the 30th, they were ready to fix their cannon, which they accomplished under a warm fire from the fort, by which they lost several men. A number of boats, loaded with British as well as Indians, were then seen crossing to the southeast side, which led the general to suspect that they intended to amuse him with their batteries, while they should attempt to storm his works in an opposite direction. Orders were given for the troops who were not on duty, to rest with their muskets in their arms, so as to be ready at a moment's warning to take their posts. On the morning of the first of May, it was discovered that the British batteries were completed; and about 10 o'clock they appeared to be loading, and adjusting their guns on certain objects in the camp. By this time our troops had completed a grand traverse, about twelve feet high, upon a base of twenty feet, 300 yards long, on the most elevated ground, through the middle of the camp; there were two traverses, calculated to ward off the shot of the enemy's batteries. Orders were given for all the tents in front to be instantly removed into the rear, which was effected in a few minutes—and then the beautiful prospect of cannonading and bombarding our lines, which but a moment before had excited the skill and energy of the British engineer, was now entirely fled; and in its place, nothing was to be seen but an immense shield of earth, which entirely obscured the whole army—not a tent, nor a single person was to be seen. Those canvass houses, which had concealed the growth of the traverse from the view of the enemy, were now protected and hid in their turn. The prospect of *smoking us out*, was now at best but

very faint. But as neither general Proctor nor his officers were yet convinced of the folly and futility of their laborious preparations, their batteries were opened, and five days were spent in arduous cannonading and bombarding, to bring them to this salutary conviction. A tremendous cannonade was kept up all the rest of the day, and shells were thrown till eleven o'clock at night. Very little damage, however, was done in the camp, one or two were killed, and three or four wounded—among the latter was major Amos Stoddard, of the first regiment of artillery; a revolutionary officer of much merit. He was wounded slightly with a piece of shell, and about ten days afterwards died of the locked-jaw. The fire of the enemy was returned from the fort with our 18 pounders, with some effect, though but sparingly—for the stock of 18 pound shot was but small, there being but 360 of that size in the fort when the siege commenced, and about the same number for the 12 pounders. A proper supply of this article had not been sent with the artillery from Pittsburg. The battery of the enemy supplied us with 12 pound shot; but they had no eighteens, all their large guns being twenty-fours. On the second day they opened their fire with great fury, and continued it all day, but without any better effect. It was apprehended in camp, that the enemy, finding he could not effect his object by his first plan of attack, would transfer his guns to the other side of the river, and establish batteries upon the centre or flanks of the camp—works calculated to resist him in such an event, had, therefore, been undertaken, and were already in a state of forwardness. On the 3d, about 11 o'clock, our expectations were verified. Three pieces and a howitzer were suddenly opened on the camp from the bushes on the left. But they were soon silenced, and compelled to change their position, by a few eighteen pound shot from our batteries. They resumed their fire again on the same side, but with no important advantages. On this day, however, they did rather more execution from their fire on every side, than they had done before.

On the 4th their fire was again renewed, but with less vehemence and vivacity. Those who were serving their guns appeared to move as if they were executing orders which they disapproved, and making exertions which they knew would fail—and to depress them still more, the troops in camp, when their fire was not very brisk, would show themselves above the intrenchments and give three cheers, swinging their hats in the air. On the first three days, the fire of the enemy was incessant and tremendous; five and eight inch shells, and 24 pound shot had fallen in showers in the camp. Our batteries, at different times, had been served with great effect, as was afterwards acknowledged by some of the principal officers of the enemy. But the scarcity of ammunition, and not knowing how long the siege might continue, had compelled us to economise our fire. The approach of general Clay at this crisis, with a reinforcement of twelve hundred Kentuckians, requires our attention. Capt. Oliver, the express sent from camp, found him at fort Win-

chester (Defiance), at which place the cannonading at the siege was distinctly heard. On the 4th, the general was ready to descend in eighteen flats, the sides of which were raised high enough to cover his men from the fire of the Indians on the banks. Major David Trimble, who had accompanied him from Kentucky, voluntarily tendered his services to precede the detachment, in a barge with fifteen men, accompanied by captain Oliver, and Joseph Taylor, Esq. to apprise general Harrison of their approach. To penetrate to the camp, thus exposed in an open boat, was deemed extremely hazardous. Such an attempt had already been made by captain Leslie Combs, who was sent down in a canoe with five or six men, by colonel Dudley, on his arrival at Defiance. The captain had reached within a mile of the fort, when he was attacked by the Indians, and compelled to retreat, after bravely contending with superior numbers, till he had lost nearly all his men. It was the intention of general Clay to leave Defiance about twelve o'clock, and reach camp Meigs in the night, or at least by daylight in the morning; but it was late in the evening before he got in motion, and when he arrived at the head of the Rapids, eighteen miles above the camp, the moon had gone down, and it was so dark and rainy, that his pilot refused to conduct him through them before day—he was, therefore, compelled to encamp till morning. Major Trimble reached the fort about midnight, and informed general Harrison that the detachment, eleven hundred strong, would probably arrive about daylight. Harrison determined to make a general sally against the enemy, on general Clay's arrival, for which he made preparations at camp, and despatched captain Hamilton and a subaltern, with the necessary orders to general Clay. Capt. Hamilton proceeded up the river in a canoe, and met the detachment five miles above the fort, at daylight, and immediately delivered the following orders to general Clay.—'You must detach about 300 men from your brigade, and land them at a point I will show you, about a mile or a mile and a half above camp Meigs. I will then conduct the detachment to the British batteries, on the left bank of the river. The batteries must be taken, the cannon spiked, and carriages cut down; and the troops must then return to their boats and cross over to the fort. The balance of your men must land on the fort side of the river, opposite the first landing, and fight their way into the fort through the Indians. The route they must take will be pointed out by a subaltern officer, now with me, who will land the canoe on the right bank of the river, to point out the landing for the boats.' The general was also informed, that the British force at their batteries was inconsiderable, the main body being at their camp a mile and a half further down, and that the Indians were chiefly on the same side with the fort. As soon as captain Hamilton had delivered the orders, general Clay, who was in the thirteenth boat from the front, directed him to go to colonel Dudley, with orders to take the twelve front boats and execute the plans of general Harrison on the left bank, and to post

the subaltern with the canoe, on the right bank, as a beacon for his landing.

General Harrison intended, while the detachment under Dudley was destroying the batteries on the north side, and general Clay was fighting the Indians above the fort, to send out a party to destroy the batteries on the south side; but his plans were marred in the execution. General Clay ordered the five boats remaining, with the one he occupied, to fall into a line after his; and in attempting to do it, they were driven on shore, and thus thrown half a mile in the rear. The general kept close to the right bank, intending to land opposite to the detachment under Dudley; but finding no guide there, and the Indians having commenced a brisk fire on his boat, he attempted to cross to the detachment. The current was, however, so swift, that it soon carried him too far down for that project; he, therefore, turned back, and landed on the right bank further down. Captain Peter Dudley, with a part of his company was in this boat, making in the whole upwards of 50 men, who now marched into camp without loss, amidst a shower of grape from the British batteries, and the fire of some Indians. The boat, with the baggage and four sick soldiers, was left, as the general supposed, in the care of two men who met him at his landing, and by whom, he expected, she would be brought down under the guns of the fort. In a few minutes, however, she fell into the hands of the Indians. The attempt which he had made to cross the river, induced colonel Boswell, with the rear boats to land on the opposite side; but as soon as captain Hamilton discovered the error under which he acted, he instructed him to cross over and fight his way into camp. When he arrived at the south side, his landing was annoyed by the Indians; and as soon as his men were on shore, he formed them and returned the fire of the enemy: at the same time he was directed by captain Shaw, from the commanding general, to march in open order through the plain to the fort. As there was a large body of Indians on his flanks, general Harrison determined to send out a reinforcement from the garrison, to enable him to beat them. Major Alexander's battalion, composed of the Pittsburg blues, the Petersburg volunteers, &c.; major Johnson, with a part of his battalion, and the companies of captains Nearing, Dudley, Simmons, and Metcalf, were ordered to prepare for this service. Simmons and Metcalf were not in the fort at this time, but with colonel Boswell. They were ready to join the Kentuckians as they arrived at the gates of the fort. Colonel Boswell then formed his men on the right; major Alexander on the left, and Johnson in the centre. Major Johnson was afterwards out at this time, he was at the head of a battalion, fighting in the fort. In this order they marched against the Indians, and drove them at the point of the bayonet, though much superior in numbers, to the distance of half a mile into the woods. The greatest ardour was displayed by the troops, and when it became necessary to return, it was with the utmost difficulty that the offi-



cers of the Kentucky detachment could restrain their men from the pursuit. General Harrison had taken his position upon a battery to watch with a glass, the various operations which at this moment claimed his attention. He discovered a body of British and Indians filing along the edge of the woods, to fall on the rear and left of the corps under Boswell. He immediately despatched John T. Johnson, Esq. his volunteer aid, to recall them from the pursuit. His horse was killed under him before he could reach the detachment. The order was then repeated by major Croghan, and the reluctant, though necessary retreat, was at last commenced; the Indians then rallied and pursued them some distance, doing more execution while our men were retreating, than they had done in all the rest of the contest. The detachment under colonel Dudley, in the mean time, had made their appearance at the batteries on the other side of the river, and were performing their share in the operations of this *eventful day*—but before we direct our attention to them, we will go through the occurrences on the south side. General Harrison now ordered a sortie from the fort, under the command of colonel John Miller, of the regulars, against the batteries which had been erected on that side (the south side). This detachment was composed of the companies, and parts of companies, commanded by captains Langham, Croghan, Bradford, Nearing, Elliott, and lieutenants Gwynne and Campbell, of the regulars; the volunteers of major Alexander's battalion, and captain Sebree's company of Kentucky militia. The whole amounted only to 350 men. Colonel Miller, accompanied by major Todd, led on his command with the most determined bravery; charged upon the British, and drove them from their batteries; spiked their cannon, and took forty-one prisoners, including an officer; two officers having completely beaten and driven back the whole force of the enemy. That force consisted of 200 British regulars, 150 Canadians, and 500 Indians, being considerably more than double the force of the brave detachment which attacked them; but our troops charged with such irresistible impetuosity, that nothing could withstand them.

In this sortie, in which all the troops engaged were distinguished for their good order, and their intrepid, impetuous bravery, the militia company of captain Sebree was particularly noticed by the general, for its uncommon merit—with the characteristic ardour of the Kentuckians, they rushed into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and were for some time entirely surrounded by the Indians—they still bravely maintained their ground against more than four times their number—but they must ultimately have been cut to pieces, had not lieutenant Gwynne, of the 19th regiment, boldly charged upon the Indians with a part of captain Elliott's company, and released them from their desperate situation. The British and Indians suffered severely, and were routed in great confusion; and a few more men would have enabled the general to disperse and capture the whole force of the enemy remaining on the south

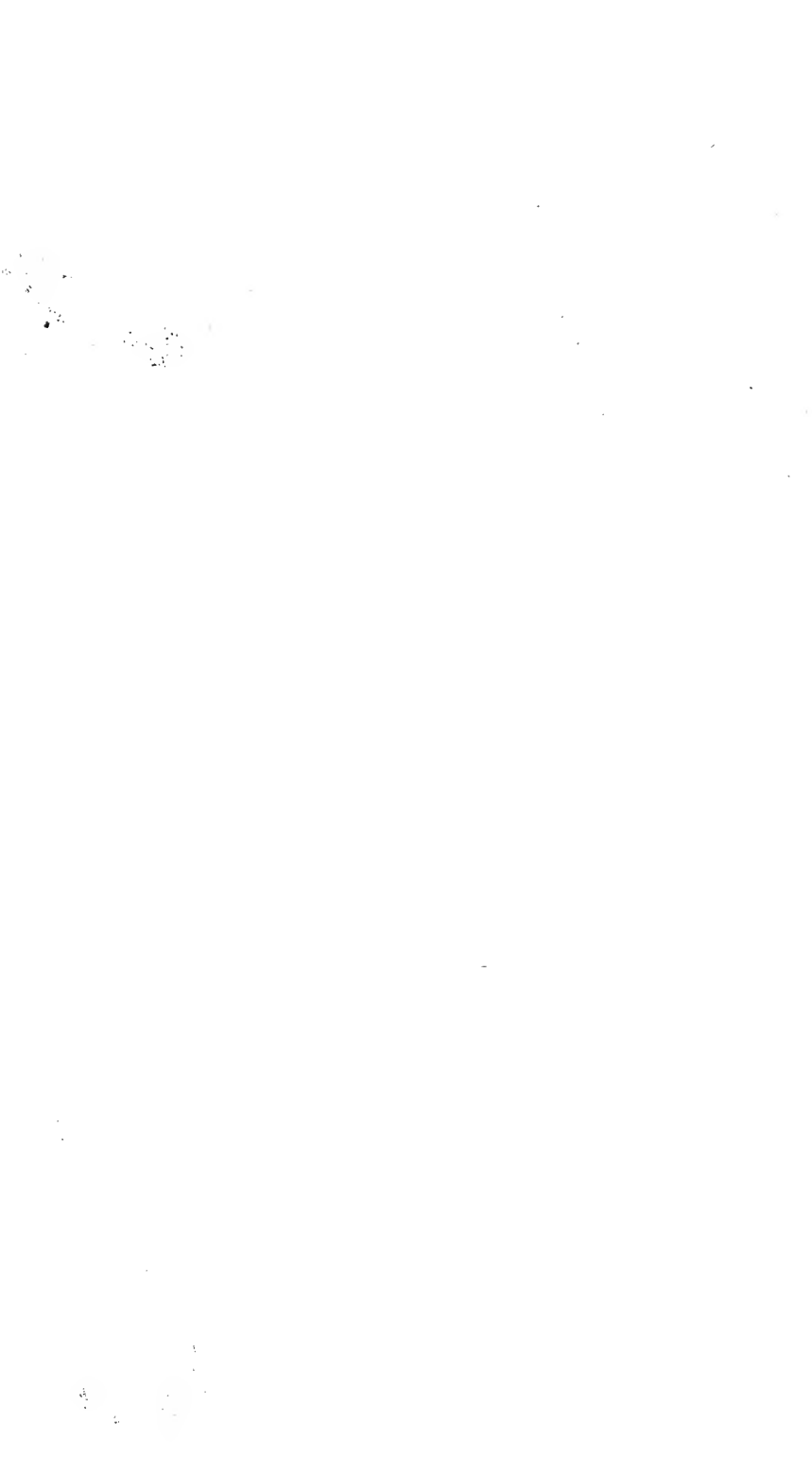
side of the river. Colonel Miller now returned to the fort with his prisoners, having lost many brave men on the field, and had several of his officers wounded. As he retired, the enemy rallied and pressed hard on his rear, till he arrived near the breastwork. The manner in which this retreat was conducted, deserves particular remark. When the object for which the detachment was sent against the batteries, had become complete—the artillerists killed and captured,—the cannon spiked, and the wheels of the carriages cut down, and the resolution formed to retreat, we were then in the woods, about a mile from the fort, and the Indians *almost around our flanks, pressing hard* their views to intercept our retreat; their left having been just reinforced by the party who were engaged in the sortie against colonel Boswell, under the command (it is supposed) of *Tecumseh*—thus situated, had the order to retreat been generally given, and generally known, half of the detachment could not have reached the fort; for, however brave and arduous were our troops, and however determined they were to execute the order of the general, yet they knew that they were fighting against about *four times* their numbers, and believed that they had accomplished every object of the general, to its fullest extent—is it not natural to conclude, that a general order to retreat from this very unequal conflict, would have produced precipitancy and some confusion? The *wounded*, and those who were rendered *weak*, from the energy necessary to be used, in a case *so extreme*, would have fallen a sacrifice to the tomahawk; but the order for a retreat was cautiously and wisely concealed from the troops generally—four positions were taken in the retreat, our troops firing as the *savages pressed on*; and when the *weak* and *wounded* got up, a second position was taken, and the general retreat not known until the fourth position was formed at the line of the woods, about two hundred yards from the fort. Thus the detachment, including the *weak* and *wounded*, were saved, only one or two being killed on the retreat—too much praise cannot be given to colonel Miller.

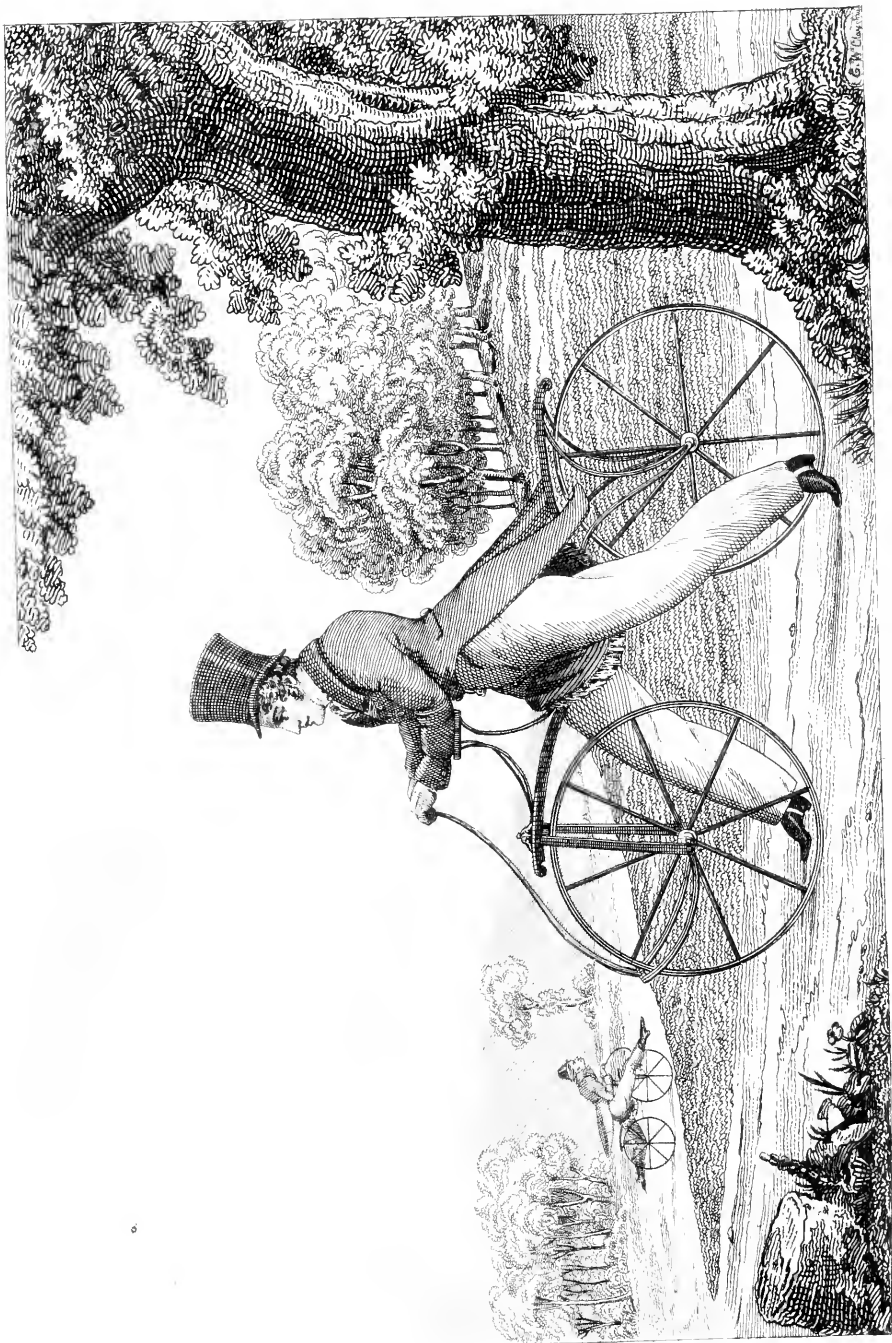
The operations on the north side of the river will now claim our attention. The detachment under Dudley effected a landing in tolerable good order, and were immediately marched for their destined object—no specific orders were given by the colonel; even his majors were left to conjecture the object of the enterprise.—After marching some distance, the troops were formed into three columns. The distance to the batteries of the enemy was about two miles. When the detachment arrived within half a mile of the batteries, major Shelby, who commanded the left, was ordered, on the suggestion of captain Hamilton, to march the left forward as expeditiously as possible, till its rear passed the head of the other two columns, and then wheel to the right and march towards the river. The batteries were thus to be surrounded; but while the other columns were still several hundred yards from the batteries, they raised the Indian yell, and charged upon them at full speed, and carried them without the loss of a man, having frightened off

the few artillerists who were serving them, almost without knowing by whom they were assailed. The most complete success was thus achieved as respected the great object of the enterprise. The British flag was cut down, and the shouts of the garrison announced their joy at this consummation of their wishes. General Harrison was standing on the grand battery next the river, and now called to the men, and made signs to them to retreat to their boats—but all in vain—they remained at the batteries for some time, viewing the curiosities of the place, and without destroying the carriages, magazines, or even spiking all of the cannon. The general offered a reward to any person who would cross the river and order them to retreat. Lieutenant Campbell undertook to perform this service, but before he could get over, the fate of the detachment was decided—about the time the batteries were taken, a body of Indians lying in ambush, had fired on a party of spies, under captain Combs, who had marched down on the left of major Shelby. Presently colonel Dudley gave orders to reinforce the spies, and the greater part of the right and centre columns rushed into the woods, in confusion, to fight the Indians—whom they routed and pursued near two miles from the batteries. The left column remained in possession of the ground, till the fugitive artillerists returned with a reinforcement from the main British camp, and attacked them. Some of them were made prisoners at the batteries; others fled to their boats; and a part who were rallied by the exertions of their major, were marched by him to the aid of colonel Dudley—but the main surrender was in the woods, to the left of the batteries; and some made their escape to Defiance. The Indians had also been reinforced, and the confusion in which major Shelby found the men under Dudley, was so great as to amount to a cessation of resistance, while the savages skulking around them, continued the work of destruction in safety. At last a retreat commenced in disorder, but the greater part of them were either captured by the Indians, or surrendered to the British. Colonel Dudley, after being wounded, was overtaken and despatched with the tomahawk. The number of those who escaped, and got into the fort, from the whole detachment, was considerably below two hundred. (The number is believed to be 192.) When the approach of the detachment under Dudley was reported to Proctor, he supposed it to be the main force of the American army; from which he was apprehensive he might sustain a total defeat: he, therefore, recalled a large portion of his troops from the opposite shore. They did not arrive in time, however, to partake in the contest on the north side. Tecumseh was among them. The prisoners were taken down to head quarters, put into the fort Miami, and many of them tomahawked by the Indians, and kept there until dark; during which time, the wounded experienced the most excruciating torments. They were taken into the British boats, and carried down the river to the brig Hunter, and a schooner, where several hundred of them were stowed away in the hold of the brig, and kept there for two days

and nights. They were finally liberated on parole, and landed at the mouth of Huron river, below the Sandusky bay. After the termination of the fighting, on the 5th, nothing more occurred worthy of notice, while the enemy continued the siege. Immediately after the firing had ceased on that day, general Proctor sent major Chambers to demand the surrender of the fort. Harrison replied to the proposition, that he considered it an insult, and requested that it might not be repeated. The demand was made as a finesse, to prevent us from molesting him in the retreat which he meditated. General Proctor was alarmed by the intelligence of the capture of fort George—he viewed his situation as hazardous, and his Indians began to desert. Proctor now saw, that if he was delayed much longer, he would probably be captured, and leave Upper Canada unprotected, as reinforcements were not to be expected, while the American arms were successful below. He, therefore, made his arrangements to retreat as soon as possible—during the night of the 8th, a considerable stir was apparent in his camp; early next morning his troops were seen to be moving off. Major Chambers had promised, on the part of general Proctor, to furnish us with a list of the prisoners in his possession; but he retreated with too much precipitation to comply. The whole force of the enemy at the siege, was about 600 regulars, 800 Canadian militia, and 1800 Indians. The force in the fort did not much exceed 1200, and perhaps not more than 1000 effectives, who had to defend a fortification large enough for three times that number. On the battle ground, on the north side of the river, 45 bodies were found, among them was colonel Dudley, who was very much cut to pieces; besides these, there were a few found in other places, which, with those massacred at the old fort, would make the number killed about 70. The Indians had also kept between 30 and 40 prisoners. In the two sorties from the fort, and in the fort during the siege, our loss was 81 killed, and 189 wounded—an unusual number of the wounded died, in consequence of exposure during the siege; and from the same cause, a considerable degree of sickness began to prevail among the troops. The loss of the British and Indians could not be ascertained; but it was undoubtedly very severe.

On the morning of the 21st of July, our picket guard, consisting of a corporal and ten men, was sent up the point about two or three hundred yards, at the east corner of the fort, where it was soon surprised by the Indians, and seven of them killed and captured. This was the commencement of the second siege, and the first item we had of the enemy being on our borders; though on the 20th, a party was sent down towards the lake by land, and another in boats, but all returned without making any discovery, except hearing the firing of some guns at Malden. They encamped with a force of about 5,000 near the old fort Miami, until the 25th, when they removed on the southeast side of the river, and the 28th they moved off, and abandoned the siege. The Indians





surrounded the fort, and kept up an occasional fire, but without effect. They raised no batteries, nor fired any cannon—the investment was only distinguished by a sham battle, which commenced on the Sandusky road, about a mile from the fort; and the firing lasted about half an hour, when they retreated towards head quarters.

It was thought a storm of our works was the object of general Proctor, in his second visit to the fort; but on gaining information from the prisoners, taken on the morning of the 21st, that our force was much greater than he expected, that object was abandoned for the enterprise against captain Croghan at lower Sandusky. From the first to the fifth of May, there were between 5 and 600 cannon balls and bombs fired from the British batteries each day. The number killed in the fort, was ten with cannon balls and bombs, and that number with small arms. During the siege, there were three or four men posted on the top of the traverses—these men, as soon as they saw the smoke gushing from the mouth of the enemies cannon, would *cry out shot!! or bomb!!* as the case might be. This arrangement was a wise one, for it saved the lives of many; by it, the garrison were enabled to fall in the trenches, before the shot reached the fort. So frequent did we hear the word *shot!!!* that the motion of the men might be very well said to resemble that of a sawyer, bobbing up and down by the force of the current. We were much annoyed by the falling of bomb shells, which made it necessary to burrow; but these were very damp and unwholesome; indeed, we were kept out of the water, while in many of them, by laying our blankets on a floor of poles and bark. The number killed in the two sorties on the south side of the river and in the fort, has been estimated at 81, and 189 wounded; this number, I am induced to believe, is too small by at least 40 or 50 in killed, and an equal proportion in wounded. How many of the enemy were killed on the south side, it is impossible to say, as the enemy kept the ground; but our men were first rate shooters, and fought in open order, behind trees and stumps, logs, &c. and frequently within 60 or 80 steps of the enemy, and for a short time within about 30. And as they had been subject to the roar of cannon and small arms for eight days, with the sight of many killed and wounded; the first *fright* must have been over, if this latter is at all to be applied them—it is reasonable then to suppose that the enemy suffered much. The account given of the killed on the north, is believed to be too small. The detachment consisted of 880; of which number, 500, or thereabouts, were paroled and sent to Kentucky; 192 made their escape to fort Meigs, 15 to Defiance, and 30 were taken off by the Indians, which leaves the number of killed about 143.

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ART. XV.—*The Velocipede or Draisena.*

[From a London paper.]

**THIS** truly original machine was the invention of baron Charles De Drais, master of the woods and forests of H. R. H. the

grand duke of Baden. The account given by the inventor, of its nature and properties, is—

1. That on a well-maintained post-road, it will travel up hill as fast as an active man can walk.

2. On a plain, even after a heavy rain, it will go six or seven miles an hour, which is as swift as a courier.

3. When roads are dry and firm, it runs on a plain at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour, which is equal to a horse's gallop.

4. On a descent, it equals a horse at full speed.

Its theory is founded on the application of a wheel to the action of a man in walking.

With respect to the economy of power, this invention may be compared to that very ancient one of carriages. As a horse draws, in a well constructed carriage, both the carriage and its load much easier than he could carry the load alone on his back; so a man conducts, by means of the velocipede, his body easier than if he had its whole weight to support on his feet. It is equally incontestable, that the velocipede, as it makes but one impression, or rut, may always be directed on the best part of a road. On a hard road, the rapidity of the velocipede resembles that of an expert skater; as the principles of the two motions are the same. In truth, it runs a considerable distance while the rider is inactive, and with the same rapidity as when his feet are in motion: and in a descent, it will beat the best horses in a great distance, without being exposed to the risks incidental to them, as it is guided by the mere gradual motion of the fingers, and may be instantly stopped by the feet.

It consists of two wheels, one behind the other, connected by a perch, on which a saddle is placed, for the seat of the traveller. The front wheel is made to turn on a pivot. On a cushion in front, the fore-arm is rested; and by this means the instrument and the traveller are kept in equilibrio.

*Its Management.*—The traveller having placed himself in the position represented in the cut, his elbows extended, and his body inclined a little forward, must place his arms on the cushion, and preserve his equilibrium by pressing lightly on that side which appears to be rising. The rudder (if it may be so called) must be held by both hands, which are not to rest on the cushion, that they may be at full liberty, being as essential to the conduct of the machine, as the arms are to the maintenance of the balance of it (attention will soon produce sufficient dexterity for this purpose); then placing the feet lightly on the ground, long but very slow steps are to be taken, in a right line, at first; taking care to avoid turning the toes out, lest the heels should come in contact with the hind wheel. It is only after having acquired dexterity in the equilibrium and direction of the velocipede, that the attempt to increase the motion of the feet, or to keep them elevated while it is in rapid motion, ought to be attempted.

The saddle may be raised or lowered, as well as the cushion, at pleasure; and thus suited to the height of various persons.



The inventor proposes to construct them to carry two persons; and to be impelled by each alternately, or by both at once; and also with three or four wheels, with a seat for a lady: besides the application of a parasol or umbrella, he also proposes to avail himself of a sail, with a favourable wind.

The instrument appears to have satisfied a desideratum in mechanics; all former attempts have failed, upon the known principle that power is obtainable only at the expense of velocity. But the impelling principle is totally different from all others: it is not derived from the body of the machine, but from a resistance operating externally, and in a manner the most conformable to nature—the resistance of the feet upon the ground. The body is carried and supported, as it were, by two skates, while the impulse is given by the alternate motion of both legs.

The Germans call this machine “Drais Laufmashin” and the French “Draisena.” Under the direction of baron Drais, a carriage was some years since constructed to go without horses, but as it required two servants to work it, and was a very complicated piece of workmanship, besides being heavy and expensive, the baron, after having brought it to some degree of perfection, relinquished the design altogether in favour of the present machine. It is stated that a person well practised, can travel eight, nine, and even ten miles an hour, on good and level ground.

ART. XVI.—*Accum's 'Chemical Amusements.'*

[From the British Critic.]

**T**HE experiments in this little volume amount to an hundred and sixty, of which we shall transcribe one or two as a specimen of the author's plan. We begin with No. 1, which has for its object, ‘To cause water to boil by the application of cold, and to cease to boil by the application of heat.’

‘Half fill a Florence flask with water; place it over the lamp furnace, and let it boil briskly for a few minutes; then cork the mouth of the phial as expeditiously as possible, and tie a slip of moist bladder over the cork to exclude the air. The water, on being now removed from the lamp, will keep boiling, and when the ebullition ceases, the boiling may be renewed by wrapping round the empty or upper part of the flask a cloth wetted with cold water, or by gradually pouring cold water upon the flask; but if hot water be applied to the flask the boiling instantly ceases. In this manner the ebullition may be renewed and again made to cease alternately by the mere application of hot and cold water.’

‘*Rationale.*—This experiment shows that the boiling point of liquids is influenced by the pressure on the surface of the boiling liquid. When the pressure is diminished, liquids boil at a lower temperature; but when the pressure is increased they require a higher temperature to produce the phenomena (why plural?) of ebullition. In this experiment part of the water during the boil-

ing becomes converted into steam, which expels the air out of the vessel. This steam is prevented from escaping by corking the flask: on applying a cloth wetted with cold water upon the upper part of the body of the flask, a portion of steam becomes condensed, a partial vacuum is formed, and the pressure upon the surface of the water becomes diminished; therefore the water begins to boil again, though considerably cooled: for a less degree of heat is now necessary to cause a part of it to be converted into steam. But in pouring hot water upon the vessel, an increase of temperature is again effected, the steam within the flask becomes more expanded, and affords the same pressure as the air would do; the water therefore ceases to boil, because its temperature is insufficient to suffer the formation of steam bubbles to form, or, what is the same, to suffer the phenomena of ebullition to take place.—Water under the usual pressure of the atmosphere boils at  $212^{\circ}$ , but when the pressure is withdrawn to a great extent, it boils at  $181^{\circ}$ ; if, on the contrary, water be heated under an increased pressure, its temperature may be much raised. In a metallic vessel water has been heated even to  $400^{\circ}$ , and has still remained in the liquid form. Hence, under an entire absence of pressure every liquid evaporates. Even quicksilver, there is reason to believe, passes into vapour in the Torricellian vacuum.'

The above experiment illustrates a principle of very extensive application in chemical inquiries—the relation between pressure and cohesion in fluid substances: the one which we are about to transcribe, No. 7. affords an example of the varying relations which subsist between temperature and fluidity. It is entitled 'To freeze water in the midst of summer, without the application of ice.'

'Take eleven drachms of nitrate of ammonia, ten of nitrate of potash, and sixteen of sulphate of soda; reduce each of these salts separately to a fine powder, and mix them gradually in a glass, or better in a thin metal vessel, with five ounces of water (the capacity of the vessel should be just large enough to hold the materials) the result will be, that as the salts dissolve, cold will be produced, and a thermometer immersed in the mixture will sink at or below freezing. A little water in a test-tube, when immersed in the mixture during its solution, becomes frozen in about ten minutes.'

'*Rationale.*—This experiment shows that chemical action is always attended with a change of temperature, that when bodies chemically combine, they undergo a change of temperature. For in all bodies there exists a certain quantity of caloric, or matter of heat, and when any change takes place in the chemical constitution of the body, its power of retaining that portion of caloric is also changed. During these changes heat is either given out or absorbed, and this increase or diminution of temperature becomes obvious to our senses, and may be measured by the thermometer. In this experiment, therefore, the cold is to be ascribed to the absorption of caloric, which attends the rapid liquification of the

salts, from their mutual chemical action; the water of crystallization, which is in a previous state of combination with the salt, quickly passes from the solid to the fluid state; it robs the surrounding bodies of caloric; and thus the portion of water immersed into the freezing mixture, losing its caloric, becomes frozen. The cold is, therefore, ultimately to be referred to the enlargement of capacity of the bodies for heat, consequent on that change of form: the cold being greater, as the capacity of the materials for heat is more enlarged. From these observations it follows that the greatest cold will be obtained from the mixture of those substances which act mutually so as to pass most quickly into the fluid state, and which in that transition have their capacities most enlarged. Hence by far the most powerful frigorific substances are those in which one of the materials is snow or powdered ice, and the other, either an acid or an alkali, or a neutral salt, or a mixture of some of these. Two substances that have been the longest known, and are familiar to every body, are common salt and snow, and nitrous acid and snow. Crystallized muriate lime deserves particular attention, as being the cheapest and most useful frigorific material hitherto known, and of extreme energy. When this salt and snow, or powdered ice are mixed together, the cold produced is very intense, and by means of it quicksilver may be frozen.'

There is no doubt but that the true secret of creating cold is to enlarge the capacity of bodies, by passing them from the solid into the fluid, and from the fluid into the gaseous form; it being well ascertained that these transitions are accompanied by a vast absorption of caloric. The freezing apparatus invented by Mr. Leslie, of Edinburgh, is constructed upon that principle; and the use of it proceeds upon the law above referred to, and which has received the fullest confirmation from a variety of experiments, namely, that in proportion as pressure is withdrawn, water passes more readily into a state of vapour: and as this change is attended with an absorption of caloric, all surrounding bodies will be reduced in their temperature, and ultimately (such as are conductors of heat) brought to the freezing point. Thus, a basin of water placed under the receiver of an air-pump, will be frozen by the simple process of exhausting that receiver, if the operation shall be assisted by the presence of some substance having a strong affinity for water to absorb the vapour as it is formed in the apparatus.

There are a great many experiments recorded and described in this duodecimo, of a more captivating kind than those we have brought forward. We have 'wells of fire,' 'red flames,' 'yellow flames,' 'orange flames,' and 'emerald-green flames;' and we have fulminations and detonations, sparks and flashes of all degrees, and smells, and colours; in short, we have some small portion of chemical quackery. As sober reasoning chemistry was compared above to practical morality, deriving its best rules from its best use, so this explosive kind of science may be likened unto a certain spe-

cies of false religion, which, in a similar way, delights much in noise and show, and crackers and detonations, and flames of all colours, and strange announcements, and unexpected results, and marvels of all kinds, calculated especially, by these marks and tokens, *ad vulgus captandum*. We say not, however, that Mr. Accum is a methodist in chemistry; on the contrary, he keeps every thing in place; crackers where crackers should be: and the consequence is, that no man has deserved more highly of the public, in the several departments of his profession, than the author of the performance now before us, which we most cordially recommend to their further notice and patronage.

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ART. XVII.—*Extract from Dr. Caldwell's Memoirs of the Life of General Greene.*

[This work, on the eve of issuing from the press, will doubtless possess a high degree of interest. We owe to the politeness of the author, the permission to make the following extract.]

BATTLE OF RAMSAOUR'S MILL.

**E**QUALLY, perhaps, unknown, to most of the inhabitants, and singularly neglected in the history of our country, is another very gallant partisan adventure, achieved on the 22d of June, 1780. Neither American regulars, nor British soldiers having any concern in this spirited affair, it was fought entirely by raw militia-men, of the whig and tory parties.

About twelve hundred of the latter, having assembled under the command of colonel Moore, encamped in a strong position at Ramsaour's mill, a few miles westward from the Catawba river, and in the vicinity of the line which separates North from South Carolina. In which of the two states the encampment was situated, is not at present distinctly recollected, although the writer of this narrative has been frequently on the spot.

In addition to rapine, and the production of general distress, a favourite object of this party was to overawe and weaken the adjacent country, by capturing and carrying within the British lines, a number of its most influential inhabitants. Besides being thus prevented from taking a lead in active measures of resistance, these were to be held as hostages for the good conduct and neutrality of their friends.

To defeat the mischievous purposes of this party, and to dislodge them from their strong hold, the most spirited of the whigs from Iredell, a neighbouring county, assembled to the amount of three hundred men, under the command of colonel Locke. These consisted principally of foot; but in part, of a small corps of mounted infantry, armed with rifles, pistols, and sabres, led by captain Falls, an officer of peculiar gallantry and worth.

This hasty levy of soldiers, presented a spectacle eminently interesting. They were fresh from their homes, their private habits unbroken, no discipline or concert of action established among them, and all their domestic feelings clinging around their hearts.

They were, in the true sense of the expression, a band of friends and neighbours, being all from the same settlement, and perfectly known to each other in private life. In the whole party there was not an individual who had not repeatedly united with the others, in rural sport and social enjoyment. As citizens, they were all of the same rank, and all respectable. They were masters of the soil they had assembled to defend.

Of this corps of patriots, the military prowess was entirely untried; not one of them, with the exception of captain Falls, having ever confronted an enemy in the field. Their only warlike acquirement was great expertness and skill in the use of the rifle. In that qualification they had few superiors.

Being all dressed in their common apparel, they exhibited no uniformity of appearance. To remedy this, and to distinguish them from the tories, who were known to be dressed in the same way, they fastened over the crowns of their hats, from back to front, descending to the rims on each side, strips of white paper, about two inches broad. Each one brought to the place of rendezvous his own rifle, fifty rounds of powder and ball, a week's provision, and a light blanket. That they might be perfectly unencumbered, neither baggage-wagon nor pack-horse was attached to the party.

Thus accoutred, eager for battle, and panting for glory, without waiting for a considerable force that was assembling in Rowan, a neighbouring county, under general Rutherford, to join them, they moved in haste and silence towards the scene of action.

The second day's march brought them into the immediate vicinity of their object. They encamped for the night, determined to strike, and hoping to surprise the enemy in the morning. But in this they were disappointed.

On advancing to the attack, about break of day, they found the foe on the alert, and ready to receive them. They, therefore, resolved to wait until it should be completely light, that the aim of their rifles might be the more deadly.

The morning opening, disclosed to them a preparation for defence and resistance, much more formidable than they had expected to find. The enemy were posted on top of a hill covered with timber, which afforded them a shelter. Their flanks were protected on one side by a mill dam, and on the other by a swamp, a small stream of water flowing in the rear. In front of their encampment was erected, of stakes and brush-wood, a breastwork so compact, as to be proof against small arms, and to impede, in a great measure, the operation of cavalry. A strong detachment of the foe was stationed in advance of the breastwork, armed with rifles, and concealed behind trees.

At first sight, this array of men and means was somewhat appalling. But the Rubicon was passed. Retreat would be ruin, accompanied with disgrace. Battle might also be ruinous, but could

not be dishonourable. Without hesitation, therefore, the latter was resolved on.

At his own request, captain Falls with his mounted infantry led the attack. When at the distance of about eighty paces, he received the fire of the enemy's advance. Returning this with considerable effect, he rushed sword in hand into the midst of them, threw them into confusion, and forced them to fall back. Pressing his fortune with too much ardour, he received a ball through his breast, and fell dead from his horse.

His party, however, undismayed by the loss of their leader, continued the action with great gallantry, until the foot advanced to their support, when the enemy was driven behind his breastwork.

Here ensued a most murderous conflict. The whigs having so far levelled the obstruction as to render it passable, rushed over it, mingled with the enemy, and in many instances, grappled with them man to man. Every instrument and mean of death was now resorted to. The bullet, the sword, the rifle-but, and even the hatchet, with which some were provided, were abundantly employed. Rarely in any case, has blood been more inexorably, or by the same number of combatants, more prodigally shed.

For a time the issue was doubtful. Pressed by superior numbers, the whigs were once compelled to give ground; some of them retreating across the breastwork. But resolutely bent on victory or death, they returned to the charge with such fierce impetuosity, and decisive effect, as bore down all resistance.

The tories broke and fled in confusion, the whigs for some distance hanging on their rear, with terrible slaughter.

Thus terminated an affair in which so many gallant spirits made their first, and too many of them, alas! their last essay in arms. In the course of it the whigs performed prodigies; and the royalists manifested a degree of resolution and valour worthy of a better cause.

The latter lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, upwards of six hundred men. The prisoners and wounded were paroled, and liberated on the field of battle.

The *numerical* loss of the former was exceedingly heavy, nearly half of them being killed or wounded. But the *actual* loss, which consisted in the character, rather than the number of those that fell, was incalculable. On that fatal day, some of the choicest blood of the south was heroically offered on the altar of freedom.

The death of captain Falls, in particular, was deeply lamented. In the ranks of his country he did not leave behind him a purer patriot, or a more gallant soldier.

His son, a youth of fourteen, had accompanied him to battle. When the captain fell, this high minded stripling, moved by an instinctive impulse of affection, sprang from his horse to embrace the body, and protect it from insult. One of the enemy, believed to be the same that shot captain Falls, advancing with a view to plunder the corpse, the son, suddenly snatching the sword of the

deceased, plunged it into the bosom of the marauder, and thus at once punished audacity, and nobly revenged his father's death.

So deadly was the aim of the tory riflemen, at the commencement of the action, before the smoke of their own fire had obstructed their view, that many of them placed their balls in the lower end of the strips of paper, which the whigs wore over the crowns of their hats. Every shot of this description, passing through the brain, was instantly fatal.

*Address from the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, &c.*

THE Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, for the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race, has been impelled by urgent considerations to lay the following representation before the public.

The Society originated in a voluntary association, formed shortly after the passage of the Act of March 1st, 1780, for the gradual abolition of slavery. A law which, although it did not pursue the full development of natural rights set forth in our State constitution, has the merit of being the first legislative procedure in any nation, in favour of the unfortunate African, and of having laid a foundation on which reason, humanity and justice have since raised some valuable superstructures.

Soon after this law was passed, it was perceived that its moderate and humane provisions would often be evaded—that the humble efforts of the unassisted black, to obtain the freedom to which he might be entitled, would too frequently fail and that the law would probably remain the empty ornament of our code, without yielding even the imperfect benefits it intended.

It is in all cases a duty on citizens to enforce the laws of their country. If a law is inexpedient it should be repealed; but while it retains the character, it ought to be accompanied by the powers of a national rule of action.

The Association, confining itself to this duty, had the satisfaction, as its principles became known, to find its numbers increase.

The Legislature approved the course it pursued, and in the year 1789 an act was passed to incorporate it by the title it now bears.

The venerable name of Franklin would not have been found in the list of its presidents, had not its principles possessed that tendency to public good which his superior mind enabled him so well to perceive, and his benevolent heart always led him to promote.

With his name we unite those of James Pemberton, Benjamin Rush and Caspar Wistar, who successively occupied the same office, of all of whom it is barely justice to say that they would not have consented to fill a station inconsistent with the best interests of humanity.

The first object enumerated in the corporate title was to promote the abolition of slavery, to convince the slaveholder of the injustice of this unnatural species of property which seems now to be generally reprobated in the abstract, but which in some other states has become practically interwoven in their systems.

The climate and the soil; the moral, religious and political habits of Pennsylvania refute all pretence for the continuance of it among us. Public opinion slowly advancing has gradually reduced the number of our slaves, and the co-operation of time will soon efface the stain entirely.

The second object was to procure the freedom of those who were unlawfully held in bondage. In this respect the efforts of the Society were expensive and laborious, and it is believed that no instance of unjust detention within the sphere of their powers came to their knowledge, without being made a subject of their care. This is at present chiefly confined to the endeavour to suppress the illegal and unjust attempts of a dishonourable class of men, who sometimes violently seize, or under false pretences arrest, by colour of law, free persons resident among us, and who are

often detected in carrying through our state those whom they have purchased or stolen elsewhere, for the purpose of sale in the southern parts of the Union.

The third object, the improvement of the condition of the African race is of extensive and increasing concern.

The descendants of those who were brought into our country by force, and compelled to constant labour, with little attention to the cultivation of their minds, have a just claim upon us for instruction and assistance, to endeavour to render them more capable of encountering the difficulties of ignorance and poverty, and of becoming useful citizens.

One of the best modes of attaining this desirable object, at present, seems to be to attend to the education of their children. For this purpose schools have been instituted, and pains have been taken to induce the parents and friends to send their children to receive instruction.

But in relation to all these objects, and particularly the last, the Society finds itself limited and restrained by inadequacy of funds. Were its means equal to its wishes, a general plan of competent education would be adopted, by which it would be in the power of every parent of the coloured race to give his child an opportunity of acquiring the art of reading, writing, and primary arithmetic.

With this preparation it is proposed that the young men should be placed out to mechanic and agricultural employments, and it is hoped that on such a foundation they would be found able to support themselves, in a reputable and useful manner.

In pursuit of these three great objects many of the members of this Society have employed a great portion of their time, and individually incurred considerable expense; they have frequently met with opposition from the interested, the unfeeling and the uninformed; their intentions have been misinterpreted, their efforts resisted, and their characters traduced. Yet they have persevered, and conscious of the integrity of their motives and the obligations of their charter, they mean to persevere in promoting "the abolition of slavery" wherever it is found practicable; in "relieving free negroes unlawfully held "in bondage," wherever the fact

comes within the sphere of their corporate powers and the law will afford relief, and in "improving the condition of the "African race" by extending the means of instruction, promoting industry, encouraging those who are honest and laborious, and aiding when necessary in the punishment or coercion of those who are incorrigibly depraved.

This statement of our labors and our views, it is hoped will meet with the approbation of the community.

But the finances of our Society, originally slender, have been reduced by the necessity of constant disbursements. A call for pecuniary assistance is generally unwelcome, yet it is hoped that on those who may concur with us in thinking that the system we have pursued is eventually conducive to national benefit, the call will not be made in vain.

A committee appointed for the purpose will shortly wait on our fellow citizens, and those who are inclined, without further application, to transmit their donations to the treasurer, Thomas Shipley, will receive the thanks of the Society.

*By order of the Society.*

W. RAWLE, President.

Attest—B. WILLIAMS, Secretary.

*Philadelphia, April 29, 1819.*

#### RUSSIAN NOVEL.

[From *La Minerve Francaise*.]

*Morpha, or Novogorod subdued.* An historical tale translated from the Russian of M. de Karamzin by A. Saint Hyppolyte.

This tale is full of interest, and gives a curious account of the ancient manners of Russia; it has also the merit of presenting the picture of a people bravely struggling for their liberty, and opposing the energy of their enthusiasm against the stratagems of civilization and the advantage of military science. The author concludes by depicting the inhabitants of Novogorod, contented in submission and filling the air with their acclamations in favour of the prince who promises them, according to custom, peace, plenty and justice. The translator adds, in a note, that the race of Ivan is extinct and for several ages that of Romanoff occupies the throne. Despotism generally brings ruin on those who establish it, and we might say of them, in the words of the poet, 'Sic vos non vobis,' &c.













